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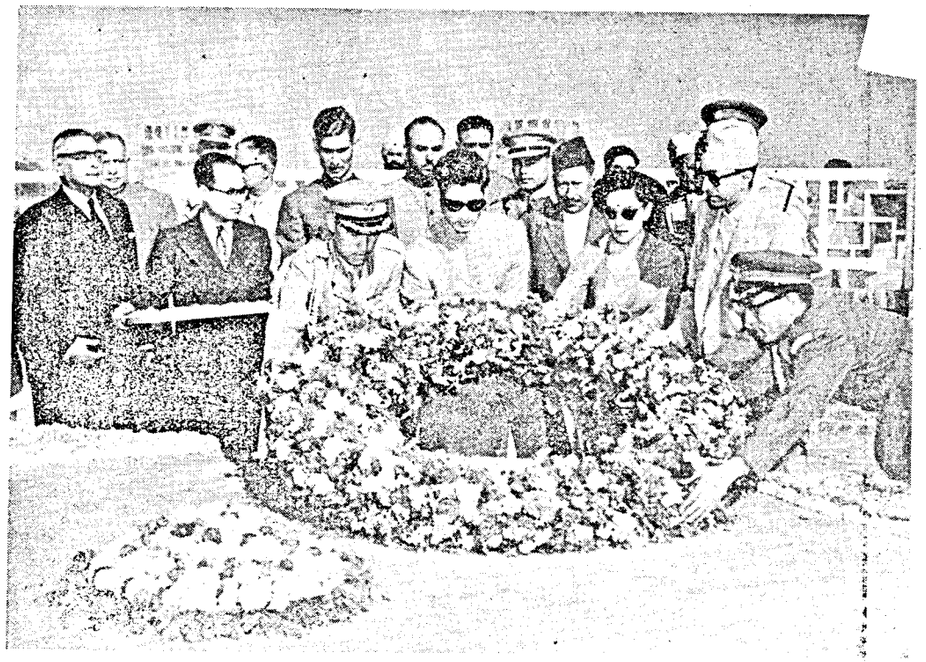
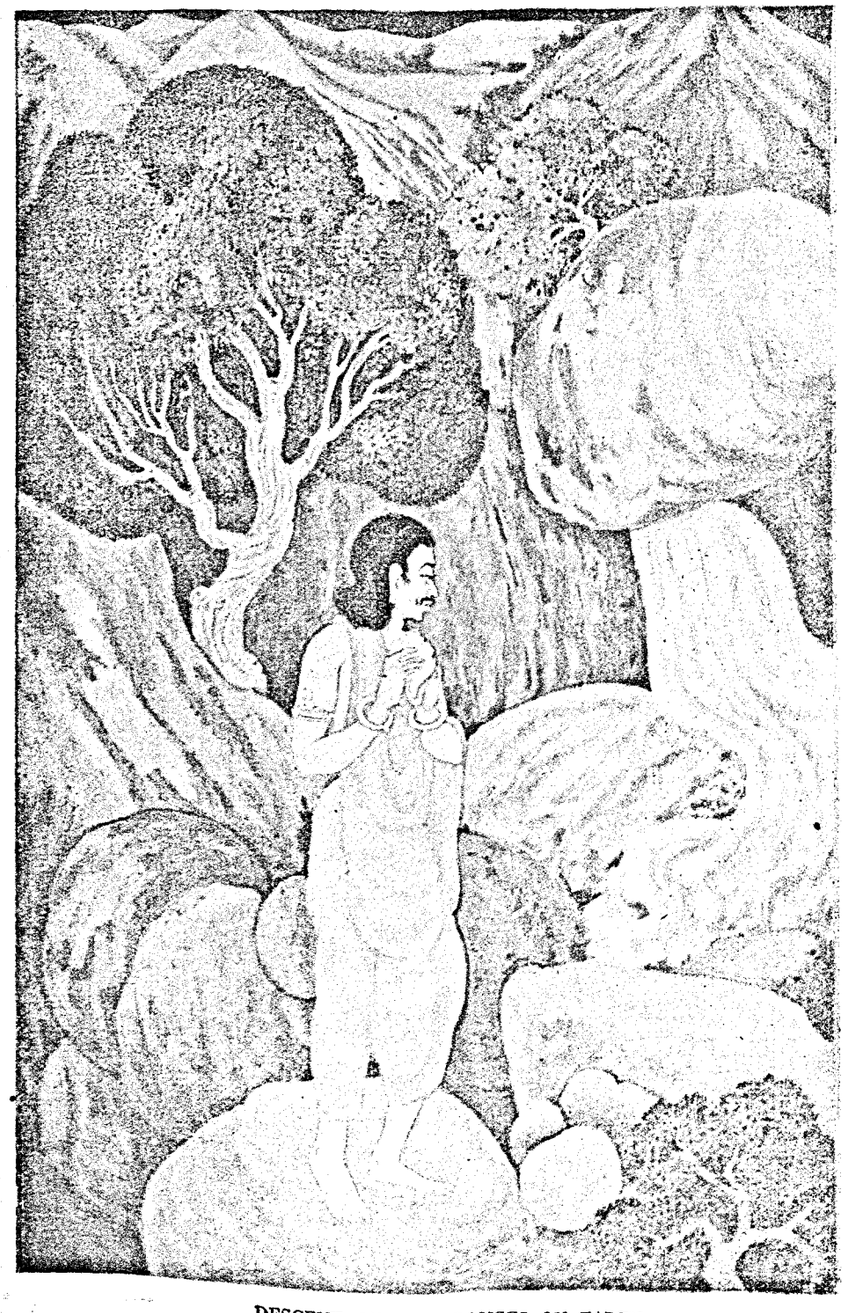


Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, who visited Rajghat, Delhi on November 7, are seen laying a floral wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, presenting the address of welcome to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev at Rajgarh in Srinagar



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DESCENT OF THE GANGES ON EARTH
By Biresh Chandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year has come to the end and we are now facing another year. He would indeed be a bold prophet who would venture to read the presages and declare the prospects of the New Year.

The world is in a calmer mood today than it was a twelve-month back, and, although the 'spirit of Geneva' proved to be evanescent, the two rival Blocs are now in a much more sober mood, ready to solve by negotiation and diplomacy the problems that were thought to be incapable of solution except by the stark process of war. But nevertheless the rivalry and jealousy are there, making the field very hard of going for the more peacefully inclined.

Colonialism is passing, but it is dying hard, causing endless misery to millions of people and blackening the records of those of the once mighty peoples of the West who still refuse to face the inevitable. In Africa, the Mediterranean, and South-East Asia, the seeds of war still remain in such areas.

It is not that the civilized world is unaware of the implications in the persistence of colonial methods and in the violent passions that rise out of racial strife and racial domination. It is only the question of material gain that clouds the issues, and it is doubtful indeed as to whether the coming year will bring us any nearer to the final solution.

At home we are still racing after the goal of material advancement regardless of the cost in moral values. Indeed, it is here that the darkest shadows obscure the future.

Indeed it is as if in "Ringing out the Old" we have progressively, every year, discarded more and more of the guiding tenets and basic principles that were enunciated during those years of trial when we were trying to attain freedom and to develop maturity as a nation. Gandhism has become a profession in the hands of the Super-Brahmins, and the Congress has veered from the path of Truth and Justice to such an extent that it no longer can lay claim to respect from any right-thinking man. Power, party-polities and corruption are the Trinity that are receiving daily worship from those who are in power, while the helmsman basks in the sunshine of world adulation!

Very recently our President seems to have become aware of this lamentable state of affairs, which led him to declare at the All-India Educational Conference that the country had come to worship Mammon in place of the gods of its fathers. We reproduce the news report below:

"New Delhi, December 28.—The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said here today, that the steps taken to change the country's system of education to suit present-day life were 'not adequate.'

"The President, who was inaugurating the 30th All-India Educational Conference, said: As far

We are all for the eradication of the evils of drink and the drug habit. But only a blind-fool would accept at its face value the statement of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee that they received a "countrywide demand for prohibition at an early date." The very few persons they interviewed and the little they saw of the main problems, certainly do not warrant this statement. We have the history of prohibition and the working of the Volstead Act in the U.S.A. before us, and we cannot blink at either. Some other way must be worked out, step by step, by a more experienced and less smug group of investigators.

Let us turn back to the outside world. We have had a whole host of visitors from foreign lands. The world reaction to the visit of those from the U.S.S.R. has been so powerful, that we feel that we must put a survey of their visits in our editorials for record.

The reaction in the U.S. has been particularly violent and vicious in certain quarters, although there are signs now, that they are willing to accept our stand for neutrality. The following editorial taken from the *New York Times* for December 28, International Edition, shows that they are re-focussing and interpreting Pandit Nehru:

"Prime Minister Nehru has launched an attack on the Indian Communists which is of special interest because it extends to the philosophy of all Communists, including that of his erstwhile Soviet guests. Mr. Nehru, who regards himself as a democratic Socialist and still sees in socialism the wave of the future, denounces the Communists as being not the 'progressives' they profess to be but rather as being reactionaries of the worst type —an epithet which the Communists themselves apply to their arch enemies.

"Mr. Nehru further accuses the Communists of clinging to outmoded and outdated theories and doctrines that have no relation to the facts of today in any free society. He even challenges the patron saint of all Communists and most Socialists, Karl Marx, and declares that Marxist teachings were based on temporary conditions in Europe arising from the Industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and without validity in the twentieth.

"Mr. Nehru has attacked—and jailed—Indian Communists as foreign-oriented, foreign-financed and foreign-mastered. But his present attack is on a far broader front that reaches beyond India. One might wish that he had based this attack not merely on doctrinal issues but also on the moral values involved.

"Whether Mr. Nehru himself, in his enthusiasm for a 'socialistic pattern of society' based on progressive nationalization of industry, is really the progressive he thinks he is, at a time when European socialism is abandoning nationalization as a panacea, is a moot point. But at least he has reaffirmed his allegiance to democracy, and if he calls for something really 'dynamic and revolutionary,' that something can only be the revolution of freedom. In such a revolution Asia and the whole free world would gladly welcome Mr. Nehru as a leader."

In another editorial, in its December 30 issue, the *New York Times* includes Goa in its retrospect of colonialism in 1955. We reproduce the first three paragraphs verbatim below:

"As one thinks of the world in the now ending year of 1955 and the great forces that swayed its major developments, colonialism—or some would say anti-colonialism—certainly played a major role. It is one of those basic themes that have to be identified and grappled with if one is to hear the new world symphony of 1956 with any true understanding.

"Vast movements of this type can, of course, only be put into the strait-jacket of a 365-day year by force. They naturally have a long background and will keep going well beyond 1956. As has often been pointed out, we are seeing the results of an emotionalism that burned deeply into the hearts of all peoples who in a material, social and political sense were retarded for some reason or other. We call this emotion nationalism. These people were awakened to their retrogression (and this is the cause of which nationalism is the result) by the impact of Western civilization and all it meant in a technical sense and in the exhilarating doctrine of liberty—especially individual liberty.

"So we have seen an extraordinary ferment that in 1955 took a variety of forms in a variety of countries—Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan, the whole of Africa south of the Sahara, Malaya and Singapore, Cyprus and Goa. These and other localities have cropped up in the news incessantly in 1955 and will do so again in 1956. These peoples are on the move—and there is only one direction to go, given the irresistible impulse to freedom behind their movement and the powerful emotion of nationalism which is yet, in this post-war era, to meet a barrier capable of damning its force for more than a brief period."

But we still have to solve that problem in our own way and with our own resources.

Let us end this with hopes for the future and good wishes for all in the coming New Year. It we remain staunch and true to our principles then however much the travail of the journey we shall reach the end with good cheer. Let us then hope that in 1956 our leaders will awaken to realities. The President has already spoken, and that is a good omen.

U.S. and the Psychological War

It is not that all Americans are blind to the deeper aspects of the situation in South-East Asia as the following message indicates:

Asheville (North Carolina), December 23—Evangelist Billy Graham said here yesterday that "India hangs in the balance between Communism and freedom. If India goes to the Left, all of Asia will go with it, and if all of Asia goes, no power in this world will stop us from soon beginning to hear the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the hungry peoples of the world on the march.'

"Mr. Graham, who leaves for a three-week tour of India on Jan. 15, added that the U.S.A. was losing the "psychological war.' He called the recent tour of India by Soviet leaders 'a mass brainwashing scheme, unprecedented in the history of the world'."

We have no doubt that Mr. Graham will see much in India during his short tour, which will convince him that it is not so easy to brain-wash 360 millions of a free people. Indeed, the Soviet leaders did not even attempt that impossible task.

Miss Martha Graham

We feel that we should put on record our deep appreciation of the visit of another guest from abroad, namely, the famous dancer from the U.S. Miss Martha Graham. There is neither space nor scope for a comprehensive critique of the exposition of the art of Miss Martha Graham and her artistes, in these editorials. But we have seldom seen, either here or in the West, such an inspiring—an intriguing—display of emotions and passion through the medium of the ballet.

Large-Scale vs. Small-Scale Industries

Of late a controversy is going on whether small-scale industries will be a panacea for solving the growing unemployment problem in this country. In the Central Cabinet difference of opinion prevails over the issue. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Commerce Minister, favours the development of large-scale industries, while Mr. Nanda, the Planning Minister, supports the development of small-scale industries even at the cost of large-scale industries. The recently published report of the Karve Committee on small scale and cottage industries has recommended crying a halt to the progress of certain large scale industries.

India is an underdeveloped country and our economic planning is being directed to make up the arrears of work in the field of industrial development which lay untapped during the British rule. Planning presupposes making rapid strides within a definite time with co-ordinated resources. Economic planning aims at achieving the best results in the shortest possible time. Further, planning is linked up with providing employment, in other words, planned employment with planned production—that is economic planning. It is not merely employment, nor merely production—it is productive employment. What is production? Of course, it is not merely engagement of labour. Those who have a craze for cottage industry in India misunderstand engagement of labour for production. Economic production involves engagement of labour, but it is not all and every kind of labour, it is socially useful labour.

The socially useful labour is to be determined not in terms of national standards, but in terms of international standards—simply because we are not living in a closed economy. The modern age is the age of technical superiority, it is the age of large scale production. Without technical development, no country in the modern world can hope to achieve economic prosperity. The USA, the USSR and India are the three countries in the world which have ample natural resources and are rich in man power. These three countries are almost self-supporting in their natural resources and as such they are destined to be great, provided their potential resources are turned into realities. The USA has achieved this in her own way, that is why she is a great power. The USSR has also done wonders in a period of nearly twenty years and now she is not merely a great power, she is a close rival to the USA in economic and scientific developments and in political power. In 1920, Russia was an agricultural and industrially backward country, but today her industrial development remains surpassed by none. Russia bears a close analogy to Indian conditions. From a backward agricultural economy, the USSR has leaped into a condition of great industrial development. India is also an agricultural and industrially backward country and she now strives to achieve industrial greatness. India must therefore follow Russian technique in the field of industrial development.

During the budget discussion at the recently held session of the Supreme Soviet, there was demand for further speeding up technical progress. It may be recalled that Five-Year Plans in the USSR are directed towards developing large scale industries. One of the main causes of Malenkov's resignation from premiership was that he favoured the development of smaller industries for the production of consumption goods. In other words, the economic planning in Soviet Russia is synonymous with large scale production and technical progress.

In India it is deplorable that the authorities have no clear-cut idea as to which object the planning should be directed at. Sometimes they call it as providing employment, sometimes as increased production, sometimes as raising national income and sometimes as spending money for spending's sake. Too many cooks spoil the broth and too many thinkers spoil the Plan. When it is everybody's idea, it is nobody's idea and when it is everybody's responsibility, it is nobody's responsibility. Moreover, economic planning should be pitted against the background of larger political outlook and international canvas. India must not only be economically developed, she must also be politically great. With that end in view economic planning should be directed and followed.

To be a great political power, a country must have the pre-requisite of large-scale industrial development based on technical progress. For the last two thousand years India was the country of cottage industry and agricultural economy, but she wallowed in poverty and dirt and ignorance. India in the past was a great and rich country inhabited by the poor, mainly because she lacked technical progress and knowledge. While the industrial development of the western world was striding on steam wheels, India was trudging on bullock cart. The result has been that notwithstanding her potential greatness, India remains a backward country. It is the technical progress, the progress of large scale industry which is essential for raising India to the height of great power. Without the development of large scale industry, India cannot desire to be economically and politically great.

We are certainly not against small scale and cottage industries. They also have a part to play in the economic development of India—but not as rivals to large scale industries. The role of the small and cottage industry in this country should be merely complementary to the growth of large industries and thereby it will supplement the productive enterprises of the country. It is reactionary, anti-national and conservative to say that henceforth only the small scale and cottage industries should be developed and the productive potentialities of large industries should be pegged at the present level. To do so will be suicidal for our national economy. The scope of these two kinds of industries is distinctly different—the large scale industry forming the base, the small scale industries forming the superstructure and filling up the gap. In the end they are complementary—not rivals.

We are, therefore, not opposed to small and cottage industries. They have a distinct role to play in India's economic development, but they will play a subsidiary role, not a substantive. We are amazed at the Karve Committee's conservative attitude which calls for severe reprimand when it goes to recommend that all the increased demand for cloth during the second Plan period should be met by expansion of handloom production. This will involve limiting production by mills and powerlooms to the level already reached, namely, 5,000 million yards (assuming an export target of 1,000 million yards) and 200 million yards respectively in order that handloom production may increase from an estimated 1,550 million yards in 1955-56 to 3,200 million yards by 1960-61.

The cotton mill industry is the largest organised industry in India with a paid up capital of Rs. 113 crores, representing 15 per cent of total paid-up capital of all joint stock enterprises. Its annual output is worth Rs. 335 crores, being 35 per cent of the total industrial output estimated at Rs. 980 crores. On an average, the industry consumes annually nearly 38 lakh bales of Indian cotton, besides some 7½ lakh bales of imported cotton. The value of all cottons, Indian and foreign, consumed by the industry per year is estimated at Rs. 200 crores, of which Indian cotton accounts for over Rs. 150 crores. The cotton textile industry is a large consumer of fuel, electricity and lubricants, valued at Rs. 11 crores.

Besides, the cotton textile industry supports a number of ancillary industries producing dyes and chemicals, mill stores, sizing and packing materials. The value of such goods consumed by it is estimated at Rs. 26 crores a year. The industry pays more than Rs. 40 crores per year by taxes and levies to the Union and State Governments. It provides employment to nearly 7½ lakhs of workers. The annual wages and salaries bill of the industry aggregates nearly Rs. 80 crores. The industry is also the mainstay of the handloom industry which gets all its yarn supplies from the mills. The cotton mill industry provides employment to the vast army of men and women engaged in cotton, yarn and cloth trades and in the transport services. In the export trade of India, the export of mill-made cotton manufactures occupies third place, coming next to the export of tea and jute manufactures. In 1954-55, the total value of exports of cotton manufactures stood at Rs. 66.40 crores.

There is immense scope for expansion of internal consumption of mill-made cotton textiles. The average per capita annual consumption of cotton textiles is only 12 yards in India as against 70 yards in western countries. That means, we are at present under-clothed in comparison with western consumption of textiles. The Indian cotton mills are restricted in their production of dhuties, there being a cut of 40 per cent in dhuti production and this step was taken by the authorities in order to give encouragement to the production of handloom-made dhuties. But ultimately it has benefited the millowners who reap a higher margin on dhuties against limited supply.

Under the First Five-Year Plan, the target for cotton mill textiles was 1,640 million lbs. of yarn and 5,000 million yards of cloth by 1955-56. The 1954 production was 1,572 million lbs of yarn and 5,025 million yards of cloth. In fixing the target for the Second Five-Year Plan,

the bias is in favour of handloom cloth, which is proposed to be raised to the production level of 3,200 million yards, while mill-made cloth is assigned a modest target of 5,500 million yards per annum, that is, an increase of only 500 million yards during the coming five years.

The Union Commerce and Industry Minister is in favour of establishing a few more cotton mills in order to maintain the export market on an increasing volume of supply and also for the purpose of supplying yarns to the handloom industry. But the protagonists of the cottage industry are very eager to put forward the claim of Ambar Charkha for the development of which a pilot scheme is going to be launched. We have no objection to the widespread use of Ambar Charkha, but it should not be directed to play a rival role against the cotton mills. The other day the Prime Minister of India pointed out the difficulty in making organisational set-up for the thousands of Ambar Charkha which will lie scattered over millions of homes. It is yet to be seen how far the standard of yarn will be maintained by so many hands and what will be the organisational set-up in collecting yarns regularly.

In our craze for cottage industry we should not foreget the strategic importance of large scale industry. It is needless to point out that the second world war, though fought physically in the European battlefields, was fought primarily in the American factories. So a modern war is a war of factories. If India has to play a leading role in Asia, undoubtedly she must be a country primarily of large scale industries with advancement in technical knowledge. It is a wonder that 17 crores of people in the USA with their technical superiority not only supply the needs of their domestic markets, but they dominate the world trade to the extent of nearly 60 per cent. That is an amazing feat of achievement no doubt. Those who talk of unemployment with the expansion of large scale industries think in terms of static conditions with an unplanned economy. More and more industries of diverse kinds are to be established to provide employment. In a planned economy, it is the duty of the State to set up new industries to provide employment in an increasing scale,—a Sindri or a Chittaranjan is not enough either to meet the country's needs nor to provide employment. Why should not the State undertake upon itself the task of setting up hundreds of new textile mills, sugar mills, machine tool factories and the like? That is the proper method of solving unemployment. The production will create its own supply both in the internal and external markets.

Sugar Production

In 1955 India had a record production of sugar amounting to 15.86 lakh tons as against 10.86 lakh tons in the preceding year. At the end of the present sugar season, there will be a carry-over of nearly 5 lakh tons. For some years past the sugar industry in India has been playing a none too creditable part. Ever since the attainment of independence, it has been reaping a rich harvest of profits taking advantage of the rising demand in the face of the constant or falling internal production. The Tarff Board in 1949 recommended withdrawal of protection from the sugar industry because of its anti-social attitude and activities. The sugar situation in the country became so precarious with persistently falling output that the Government of India was finally compelled to import sugar from abroad. This evidently had a corrective influence on the domestic production and hence we have the record production. So long the Government and the Sugar industry have been preaching statistics that the internal need of the country for sugar stands somewhere near 18 to 20 lakh tons per year. The import of sugar in 1953-54 was 7.63 lakh tons. In 1955, the import, which forms part of old commitments, is about 6 lakh tons. The internal consumption, therefore, at present is to the extent of nearly 16 lakh tons and this quantity can be had from domestic production. But the authorities should be on the guard, because if they altogether stop imports, the industry may play false to the country as was the case in 1954 when the production fell by nearly 4 lakh tons.

The target for sugar production in the second Five-Year Plan has been fixed at 22.50 lakh tons per year on the basis of anticipated increase in consumption due to increase in population and improvement in national income. The installed capacity of the mills has to be increased by another 5 lakh tons to achieve this target. In order to have increased production, the Government have increased the production capacity by 5.50 lakh tons by grant of licences for 35 new sugar factories and also for substantial expansion of 38 existing units. The new factories are expected to give an additional production of 3.30 lakh tons. Out of this newly licensed capacity, nearly 1 lakh tons will be available in 1955-56 season.

The yield of sugarcane in the current season was 554.6 lakh tons and the area under cultivation 39.32 lakh acres. Corresponding figures for the previous year were 446.4 lakh tons and 34.98 lakh acres. The target for cane production in the Second Five-Year Plan has been tentatively fixed at 770 lakh tons as against the target of 610 lakh tons fixed in the First Five-Year Plan. Construction of roads in the factory areas, minor irrigation works, supply of improved seeds, intensive manuring of crop, plant protection, training of technical personnel and compost drive are some of the measures which are contemplated for development of sugarcane production during the Second Five-Year Plan. A provision of Rs. 5 crores is being made for financial assistance to States from the Centre for implementing this scheme of intensive development of the area under sugarcane.

In 1953 there were 170 sugar factories in this country employing 92,000 workers. Under the expansion scheme, both the number of factories and the volume of employment have increased. Next to Cuba, India is the largest sugarcane producing country in the world. Yet the expansion of the industry began only after 1932 when it received protection. In 1932 there were 31 factories employing 33,900 workers. U. P. and Bihar account for 68 per cent of the factories and nearly 75 per cent of the labour force employed in the industry. The other important States are Bombay, Andhra and Madhya Bharat.

Goa Before The International Court

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Cunha told a Press Conference in Lisbon on December 22, 1955, that Portugal on that day moved law action at the Hague International Court of Justice against India for occupying the Portuguese territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in India since July 21, 1954. Legal action at the International Court is only possible now that Portugal has become a member of the United Nations, thanks of course to the intervention in the matter of "package deal" by the Indian Prime Minister. In other words, it is only through the initiative of India that Russia agreed to withdraw her veto in the Security Council and in consequence Portugal along with 15 other countries has become a member of the United Nations. Now she is repaying the debt by bringing this colonial issue before the International Court. Portugal is taking action against India for the occupation of these territories by Indian bands. She also complained of the Indian Government's alleged refusal to allow Portuguese forces or unarmed officials to cross Indian territory to reach the territories in dispute so that they could make contact with the Portuguese population and restore Portuguese sovereignty.

Portugal has asked the International Court (a) to recognise and declare that Portugal has right of access from her territory of Damoa (by the sea) to her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and from the latter to Damao and that this right includes the right of transit of people and goods without restrictions; (b) to recognise and declare that India has prevented and continues preventing the practice of Portuguese rights mentioned above, thus offending Portugal's sovereignty and violating her international obligations; (c) to determine that India cease immediately this situation, giving Portugal facilities for the practice of her right of access.

The present International Court of Justice is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice which was part of the League of Nations. The International Court consists of fifteen judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council each acting independently of the other. The jurisdiction of the Court, like that of its predecessor, comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

The jurisdiction of the Court, under Article 36, is of two kinds: general, based upon the Statute, and special, derived from treaties and conventions to which particular states are parties. This general jurisdiction is supplemented by an optional compulsory jurisdiction which covers four classes of legal disputes concerning (i) the interpretation of a treaty, (ii) questions of international law, (iii) the existence of facts involving a breach of an international obligation, and (iv) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Under the former Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, this compulsory

jurisdiction was accepted by Britain on behalf of India. The same has also been continued automatically under the present Statute. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court. Recently Portugal has accepted this compulsory jurisdiction. Now the question is whether a colonial issue can be a subject-matter of dispute before the Court and whether a State can be made a party before the Court without its consent. Thirdly, whether the Court has jurisdiction over the territorial sovereignty of a State.

This is the first time that the International Court is called upon to give its opinion on an issue of colonialism. In the present case, the issue is not so much the right of Portugal as that of a Portuguese colony of access across an independent territory, to a subsidiary colony entirely surrounded by independent territory, that is, India. The right of domination over a colony cannot be claimed as a matter of international law nor can it be a justiciable right under international law. That would be a dangerous precedent undermining the very basis on which the United Nations rests. If every big State tries to establish its right over a colony through the machinery of the International Court of Justice, that would herald the end of the United Nations. That would result in war as was the case with the first and second world wars.

Portugal invokes Article 94 of the United Nations which lays down that each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. It must, however, be remembered that the jurisdiction of the International Court rests of course on the consent of the parties, that is, of member States. The consent can be either general, referring to a certain class or category of future disputes, or special, contemplating one or more concrete existing disputes.

The Court recognises State sovereignty as the basis of international relations. According to the definition which it has approved, international law governs relations between independent States and is an emanation of their own free will. Conversely, it has held that the principle of the independence of States is a fundamental principle of international law; and it has defined this independence as the continued existence of a State, within its present frontiers, as a separate State with sole right of decision in the sense that its sovereign will is not subordinated to will of any outside Power or Powers.

The Court accepts the principle of the territoriality of State sovereignty. It has laid down that a State has jurisdiction over all persons and things, national or foreign, within its territory. So it is quite out of the question that the International Court can ask India to grant Portugal the right of passage through the Indian territories to reach her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

Soviet Leaders' Indian Tour

Shri Nikolai Alexandrovitch Bulganin, and Shri Nikita Sergievitch Khruschev, Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, came on a State visit to India on November 18 at the invitation of the Government of India. The Soviet leaders toured different parts of India from November 18 to November 30 and then went to Burma where they were the guests of the Government of Burma from December 1 to December 7. Then they resumed their Indian tour which came to an end with their departure for Afghanisthan on December 14. At the conclusion of their visit to India and Burma the Soviet leaders signed two separate joint statements with the Prime Minister of India and Burma.

Welcoming the Soviet guests on their arrival on November 18, Prime Minister Nehru expressed the hope that just as his earlier visit to the Soviet Union had helped in bringing India and the Soviet Union closer to each other the visit of the Russian leaders would also strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation. "I trust that your stay here will be pleasant and fruitful to both of our countries and help the great cause of peace and co-operation between nations," Shri Nehru added.

Greeting the people of India Shri Bulganin said in a short speech at the Palam aerodrome. "We are getting down to the ancient land of India with joyful emotion of the deepest feeling of respect and feeling which the Soviet people have towards talented and hardworking people of India, creator of great original culture.

"The heroic struggle of peace-loving Indian people for re-establishing independence of their Motherland has always been responded with understanding and warm sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The establishing of the Sovereign Indian Republic was met by the Soviet people with feelings of great satisfaction and joy.

"There is a deep belief among our people in creative strength of Indian people which are playing the growing role in the international sphere and in strengthening the universal security and peace. The Soviet Government fully understand and appreciate the efforts of the Indian Government to secure peace and to reach progress of their country's economy.

"The Soviet and Indian people have many common tasks. India and Soviet Union are putting forward huge efforts for maintenance and strengthening peace and stand for the settlement of disputable international questions by peaceful means and by negotiations, and considerable results have been already reached in this field.

"Mutual efforts of India and the USSR aimed at broadening of their friendly relations are an important contribution to the cause of lessening of the international tension.

"We would like to use our visit to India for direct acquaintance with Indian people, its customs and traditions, with the results of its efforts to develop the economy and national industry.

"We do hope that our meetings with the Indian people and the widening of the contacts with the statesmen will bring the fruitful results for the cause of the further development of the mutual understanding and friendship of our countries.

"May I express to you our sincere thanks for warm and heartfelt welcome.

"Long live the friendship of the people of India and the Soviet Union."

The Soviet leaders were accorded a civic reception by the citizens of Delhi on November 19 at a meeting presided over by Premier Nehru. The address of welcome by the citizens of Delhi said: "Your Excellencies' visit at the present juncture in world history on the invitation of our Government and the Indian people, is of deep significance. It confirms and enhances the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that this friendship is not only good for our respective countries but will help in advancing the cause of world peace and co-operation which we have so much at heart. Our friendship is not aimed against any country or people. The objective that India has sought to keep before her and to serve is to have friendly relations with every country, even though there might be differences of opinion in regard to policies. We venture to think that this policy has been of some service to the cause of peace and understanding."

"The people of India have deeply appreciated the many steps which your Excellencies' Government has taken to further the cause of peace and to relieve the tensions and fears that unfortunately envelop the world. Already, there has been an improvement in the world situation though many very difficult problems still await solution. But it is recognised by all thinking people today that war is no solution and indeed is in itself a confession of defeat, which may well bring ruin to present-day civilisation. We know that the Russian people are devoted to peace and their endeavours have been to build up their own great country so as to ensure their well-being and advancement. We have watched with great interest and high appreciation the success of these constructive efforts which have brought the Soviet Union in the forefront in science and the applications of science.

"Our two countries differ in some ways in their political and social systems. Yet, there is much in common between us and the objectives we have, and there is a great field of co-operation. We are happy that this co-operation is growing in the fields of science, technology and trade."

In reply, Shri Bulganin referred to the traditional friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union and said: "At present the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are building their relations on stable and reliable foundations—on the principles of mutual respect toward territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other on any pretext, whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and also on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

"First proclaimed by India and the Chinese People's Republic, these five principles, which you call *Panchashila*, have now received the approval of all peace-loving people and are fruitfully implemented in practice by a number of States."

Shri Bulganin thereto referred to Indo-Soviet co-operation in the international field. He said: "What is common to the people of the Soviet Union and India—is that they are both peace-loving and hardworking peoples; to both peoples the ideas of racialism and colonialism are foreign. They actively stand for preserving and strengthening peace, for friendship and co-operation between all countries, for national sovereignty and international security."

He also referred to the favourable factors for the growth of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation.

From Delhi the honourable guests went to Agra. After their visit to the Tajmahal and the Agra Fort the honoured guests were entertained to a lunch by Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, who also presented the guests with gifts. Pointing to a model of Tajmahal among the gifts Shri Khruschev said: "This wonderful present bears witness to the greatness of the country and the craftsmanship of the Indian people. It is priceless. We are your friends not only in pleasant weather when sun shines pleasantly. We are your friends in any kind of weather. And if there is ever a gale or a draught harmful to the health of the Indian people, remember us and we will never forget you."

While addressing the Indian Parliament on November 21, Shri Bulganin stressed the common objectives of Soviet and Indian foreign policies and said: "In the long run we are striving for the same objectives: to lessen international tension, to preserve and to strengthen peace, to prevent war, and to save mankind from its horrors, to guarantee the undisturbed work and joys of peaceful life for the peoples throughout the world. What could be more noble than that?"

"We also have much in common in settling the tasks put forth by the internal life of our countries. When our people won the October Revolution they set before themselves an aim to achieve economic and cultural change in our Motherland, to convert our country into an industrial and socialist State. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have successfully implemented this historic task.

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland, which has for ever overthrown colonial domination, into an advanced state with a developed national economy and high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives.

"In our opinion at present there are all the possibilities for further expanding of Soviet-Indian co-operation in the fields of economy and culture as well as in the field of scientific and technical research.

"We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience. This corresponds to the wishes and aspirations of our peoples."

Shri Khruschev also made a speech before the Parliament on the same day. He said: "India's achievement of State sovereignty and national independence is a fact of great historical significance. The Soviet people note with feelings of profound satisfaction and joy that the road of free and independent development is opened up before the peoples of India. Developing their independent state they will be able to achieve well-being and the cultural and economic progress of their country. The implementation of these great tasks is within the abilities of the Indian people.

"The Soviet people fully understand the aspirations of the Indian people to maintain stable and lasting peace for these tasks could be fulfilled only under conditions of peace.

"It is proved by the course of social development itself that in order to become really independent and to secure the well-being of the people every country must have its own developed economy which does not depend on foreign capital. The historical experience shows that colonizers' methods to suppress an underdeveloped country may have a variety of forms. They are trying to hinder by all possible means the development of national industries in these countries, fearing that the establishing of their own national industries, the creation of their own intelligentsia, raising the people's standard of living would strengthen the formerly dependent country and help it to move along the path of independent development.

"We welcome clairvoyance of the leaders of India who realize this, who see where the dangerous threat to India's independence might come from and who are waging a struggle against such threats."

Refuting the allegations of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Shri Khruschev said that the Soviet people considered the way shown by Lenin as the best one and had achieved great successes in their development marching along the chosen path of socialism. "But we have never compelled anybody and are not compelling to accept our ideas of the reconstruction of society." It was one of Lenin's teaching that the people of each country had the right to live in any way they like without interference in their affairs by the other States.

Shri Khruschev said that the reasons why such slanderous propaganda was being carried against the Soviet Union was that the reactionaries "want the peoples to know less truth of our country because the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fatal for the reactionary forces, for colonizers, for those who would like to perpetuate the suppression of one people by another to perpetuate the exploitation of one human being by another."

Shri Khruschev recounted the constructive efforts of the Soviet people and of the conspiracy of the enemies of the Soviet people to crush them by setting "upon our country a wild dog—Hitlerite fascism" and the subsequent effotrts of the Soviet people to heal the war wounds. He said: "I speak all this not because I wish to enforce upon you the Soviet way of development, but in order to give you a more complete understanding of the difficult way that our people have been following. This is a noble way, and by having taken it our peoples have attained great achievements and victories. During these years we have gained great experience. And if you would like to use in some degree our experience in any of the fields of economy or culture, we shall selflessly and willingly, as friends do, share it with you and shall give you every possible assistance."

Shri Khurschev then referred to the threat of atomic bomb meted out to the Soviet Union immediately after the conclusion of the Second World War and said that it could not, however, be effective as the Soviet scientists also were not far behind in getting to the secrets of the atom bomb.

On November 22, the two honoured guests together with the persons accompanying them visited Bhakra-Nangal, Punjab State. In reply to a reception there Shri Khruschev said: "We have different political outlooks. You have your own outlook and your own philosophy and we have ours. There is no need just now for clarification as to on what questions we differ. It is important to state that we agree on the basic question—that is on the question of war and peace. These questions cannot but agitate people. Every honest person cannot but desire peace and fight for it. We seek friends in the struggle for peace, independence, among all whether great or small States, irrespective of their political views, of race and religious faith. What is important is that we want to strengthen peace but as far as the question of what sort of State structure any one has got is concerned, that is the internal affair of each country. And as for views, that is the affair of each person. That is why we ourselves do not interfere and ask others not to interfere in each other's internal affairs."

Expressing full support for the principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by Premier Nehru and Chou, Shri Khruschev added: "As regards political structure, of course, we have very clearly defined views but we have no intention of forcing them on others. But it is different with questions of economic construction and technique. These are international questions. J. N. A. Bulganin rightly observed here that it pleased us to inspect the construction of this power station. But it was even more pleasant to see the people, their bright eyes and the enthusiasm with which they work."

During the visit to the Bhakra-Nangal Project Shri Bulganin and Shri Khruschev were presented with two ancient swords decorated with gold and silver by the Maharaja of Patiala.

They arrived at Bombay on November 23 where they were accorded a civic welcome. Replying on behalf of Shri Bulganin and himself, Shri Khruschev referred to certain people who at heart wanted war would not openly say that, and said: "Some of those who now say that they stand for peace, of course, wouldn't mind if they could achieve their ends without war, they would have liked such peace in which they would be able to subjugate one

people to another. But the people do not want this. In this lies the essence of the matter and the key to all differences."

Speaking before a meeting organised by the Bombay branch of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society on November 24 in honour of the Soviet guests, Shri Khruschev said: "There are in the world people who ask: 'Is co-existence possible?' It seems that there is no question about this since States are in practice co-existing. But this question is still raised.

"I want to tell you that it depends on Papa and Mama whether the child is to be born but it does not depend on them as to on what day, or at what hour he will appear or whether he will be as they want him to be.

"How is it possible to attempt to stop the development of history and to prevent the birth of new social forms? As the sun rises every morning, so in place of outmoded social forms, new and more progressive forms appear.

"That is how our Soviet State was born. It was the first proletarian State in the world, the State of the workers and peasants. The birth of this State was met by all other States without the ringing of bells."

The capitalist countries made various futile attempts to throttle the young socialist State. Those forces were still active in keeping up world tension. But considering all factors the Soviet Union reaffirmed its adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence of States with different ideologies and political structure. Because, said Khruschev, "in the present conditions, in peaceful co-operation between the capitalist and socialist systems we will win, socialism will win."

"The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, also declared that India also was taking this socialist path. This is good. Of course, we have a different understanding of socialism, but we welcome such a declaration and such an attitude.

"And so the socialist system exists and for this ask for no one's permission. We not only exist, but we are able also to defend our existence."

In conclusion Shri Khruschev said that co-existence was inevitable and was not something that could either be demanded or given by anybody. "We actually exist as much as capitalist States do. No one can transplant us to Mars, even scientists have not discovered the means for this. Evidently, the capitalist States too don't want to transplant themselves to Mars. That means we have to live on the same planet, and to live means to co-txist."

The Soviet leaders went to Bangalore on November 26. There also they were accorded a civic welcome. Speaking at the reception Shri Khruschev referred to the disarmament issue and said: "We tell statesmen of the Western Powers: if you are afraid to disarm, to destroy your stock of bombs, then let us give a true gentleman's word that none of us will ever use atomic weapons. They answer that they cannot give such a word, because they apparently need the hydrogen and atomic bombs for a 'balance of power'. . . ."

In such circumstances the Soviet Union could not reduce her armaments one-sidedly to the peril of her own security, he added. Though the Soviet Union had to develop atom bombs, Shri Khruschev went on to say, "We are inspired not by this. With great satisfaction we work so that we can produce more and different types of machines, tractors, ploughs and to grow more wheat, rice, cotton and that there is an abundance of meat, vegetables, fish and other products for the population. This is what we want and for which we work."

From Bangalore the guests went to Madras. From Madras they came to Calcutta. Replying to the civic reception on the Calcutta maidan on November 30, Shri Khruschev referred to the diehards in the imperialist camp who did not want to recognise the lessons of history. Such countries refused to recognise the resurgent Asia. "I have in view Portugal, which does not want to leave Goa, to free this legal territory of India from its rule. Bu sooner or later this will happen and Goa wil free itself from foreign rule and will become an integral part of the Republic of India.

"The solidarity of the peoples of Asia— this is a mortal blow to the colonial system."

He then referred to the "great understanding" showed by the public of Bengal in the struggle for the independence of India and greeted the people of West Bengal, "which suffered greater sacrifices in the struggle for the independence of India more than any other Indian State."

From Calcutta the Soviet leaders went to Burma from where they returned to India on December 7. They visited Asansol in West Bengal, Jaipur and then arrived at Srinagar in Kashmir on December 9.

Later in a speech at the luncheon given by Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir Shri Bulganin said: "We think that talented and industrious people of Kashmir together with all peoples of India will achieve new successes in the economic and cultural construction."

On December 10, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Kashmir, arranged a reception in honour of the guests. Explaining the Soviet attitude to the Kashmir question, Shri Khruschev said in a speech on that occasion: "Our position with regard to this question is absolutely clear and precise. The Soviet Union has always considered this question regarding the State of Kashmir as one which should be decided by the people of Kashmir themselves since this would be in accordance with the principles of democracy and would strengthen friendly relations among the peoples of this region . . .

"The question of Kashmir as one of the States of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir . . ."

Sudan becomes Independent

The Sudan, which had been under Anglo-Egyptian condominium since 1898, becomes independent on this New Year's Day. The independence of the country has already found recognition from the co-dominion powers, Britain and Egypt.

The Sudan Chamber of Deputies (Lower House of Parliament) unanimously passed a resolution on December 19 declaring that the Sudan was to become a "fully sovereign Republic" and requesting the Governor-General, Sir Knox Helm, "to ask the co-dominion powers to recognize it forthwith."

The Chamber of Deputies passed another resolution setting up a five-man commission to assume the powers of Head of State replacing the Governor-General until a President was elected to head the Republic. By another resolution the Chamber provided for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution for the new Republic.

The formal proclamation of independence is to be made on January 1, 1956.

Cyprus

The island of Cyprus with its 3,572 square miles of territory and 514,000 people has in the recent past attracted considerable attention both of the world press and politicians. For three centuries after its conquest by the Turks in 1570 the island had remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until in 1878 the Turkish Government was forced under a 48-hour ultimatum to place it under British "temporary administration," which lasted until after the outbreak of the First World War, when the British annexed the island to the British Empire. The annexation was confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923 and was recognised by Turkey and Greece. The British Government proclamation of Cyprus as a British colony was made on May 5, 1925.

The population of Cyprus is overwhelmingly Greek, only about 18 per cent being of Turkish origin. The Ethnarchy or the Greek Church in Cyprus had traditionally headed a movement for liberation from Moslem rule and this became identified with the idea of union with Greece ('Enosis') after the establishment of an independent Greece in the nineteenth century. The movement for Enosis has continued to gain strength even after formal British annexation in 1914 and assumed such proportions that it has now become an international question of great importance.

Internationally the future of Cyprus has become the particular concern of three States, Britain, Turkey, and Greece, with which the Cypriots want to be united. For political and strategic reasons Britain, while she was willing to concede some concession in the way of internal administrative autonomy to the people of Cyprus, is firmly committed to oppose the 'Enosis' idea. Turkey, Cyprus being by far nearer to her coast, favours the *status quo*, but in the event of British withdrawal wants the island to be given back to her. Greece, on the other hand, would like to see Cyprus independent so that its future could be decided by means of a plebiscite.

The British rule has been little better than the Turkish rule. Britain at first tried to keep up a representative government in the island but by October, 1931, the Legislative Council was abolished. The Governor now exercises all

authority subject to the overriding authority of the British Crown. An Executive Council comprising four official members and not more than three others appointed by the Governor, of whom one, in practice, has always been a Moslem, advises the Governor on new legislation and on the exercise of the powers granted to the Governor-in-Council under existing British laws. After the Second World War, the British Government set up a Constituent Assembly, but nothing came out of it.

The Cyprus issue has assumed its present complicated character because of the strategic calculations of Britain and the Western Powers. The island is well situated, strategically close to important Mediterranean Sea lanes and astride air routes linking Europe with the Middle East and North-east Africa. "The importance of Cyprus," the British Secretary of State for Colonies, Mr. Alan Lenonx-Boyd, told the House of Commons in May, 1955, "depends on the Middle East as a whole in our world-wide strategy. I do not think that this can be denied. The Middle East is the land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, the centre of the Moslem world and the keystone of our defence against Communist infiltration into Africa and an essential link in our chain of strategic and military bases . . .

"It is . . . the only place where we can provide permanently, with freedom from externally imposed restrictions on our military requirements, a peace-time location for our Middle East land and air headquarters, where we can keep troops permanently to meet sudden emergencies of any kind. Geographically it is very well placed for this purpose and airfield facilities will be of first importance . . ." He then proceeded on to add to that the maintenance of British sovereignty over Cyprus was an essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of British Government commitments under the NATO and Middle Eastern Defence Treaties.

The Greek Government's claim to Cyprus is not without historical support. At the time of the First World War, Britain promised, on October 18, 1915, to cede Cyprus to Greece if she would abandon her neutrality. Greece refused. However, two years later Greece joined the war against Germany but Britain then preferred not to raise the question again. During the Second World War, Greece was too dependent on British help to raise any such claim. After the Second World War, the movement for union with Cyprus gained great strength in Greece itself. The Greek Government tried to get the British Government enter into negotiations about Cyprus. Failing in their efforts they then brought the question of Cyprus before the Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with a suggestion that, under United Nations supervision, the principle of equality and self-determination of nations should be applied to the population of Cyprus. By vote of nine against three, with three abstention the General Committee of the General Assembly recommended on September 23, 1954, that the Cyprus question be put on the agenda of the Ninth Session. USSR and Czechoslovakia supported the motion, Britain and France opposed it while the USA abstained. Meanwhile pressure was brought to bear against Greece by the USA and other colonial powers to withdraw that resolution. Nevertheless Greece presented a draft resolution on December 14, 1954, for consideration of the General Assembly. But instead of considering the Greek resolution the political committee took up a resolution moved by the New Zealand delegate with British and U.S. and Turkish support. With minor amendments the New Zealand resolution got adopted and the General Assembly with Greek support passed a resolution on December 17, 1954, to postpone consideration of the Cyprus issue. The Greek Government tried to raise the question of Cyprus again in the Tenth Session of the General Assembly in 1955 but this time on 23rd September, the matter failed of adoption as one of the items of agenda even.

Meanwhile forced by circumstances the British Government had to modify its previous stand of complete refusal to discuss the question of Cyprus with Greece and called a conference in London for a discussion of the matter. However, the British Government also invited the Government of Turkey to send a representative ostensively in the hope that the irreconcilable differences between Greek and Turkish attitude could be utilised to further British ends. The conference was held in London from August 29 to September 17, 1955, and as expected was inconclusive.

Malayan Peace Talks

War has been raging in Malaya for the past eight years under the guise of suppression of "terrorism." According to authoritative British statements it was costing £65 million annually to maintain troops in Malaya. Since 1948, when the war started, five British Commanders-in-Chief have taken over the task of "annihilating the terrorists," but by all accounts each one of them has been equally unsuccessful in that effort. The present Director-General of operations against the insurgents, Lt.-General Sir Geoffrey Bourne, has said that to end the Emergency is a "political job."

In view of the military impasse the May 1, 1955 Declaration of the Malaya People's Liberation Army Command, on its readiness to bring hostilities to an end through negotiation, came as a welcome news. On July 4, 1955, the People's Army Command repeated the offer for a negotiated peace. The Colonial Government still remained silent. But after the popular government headed by Tengku Abdul Rahman came to office as a result of the July elections, the new Government in consultation with the British Government in UK declared an amnesty on September 8 calling upon the insurgents to surrender their arms either to the police or to the civilians. "There will be no general 'cease-fire,' but the Security Forces will be on the alert to help those who wish to accept this offer (of surrender) and for this purpose local 'cease-fire' will be arranged."

"The Government will conduct investigation on those who surrender. Those who show that they genuinely intend to be loyal to the Government of Malaya and to give up their Communist activities will be helped to regain their normal position in society and be reunited with their families. As regards the remainder, restrictions will have to be placed on their liberty; but if any of these go to China their request will be given due consideration," the amnesty offer said.

Apparently convinced of the inadequacy of the amnesty offer the Malayan Government at last agreed to discuss with the leaders of the Liberation Army. Agreement on cease-fire talks was reached in Kuala Lumpur on December 24 following which a meeting took place at Baling in North Malaya on December 28 and 29 between the Government representatives of Malaya and Singapore on the one side and the Communist leaders on the other. On the "anti-Communist" side were Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Mr. Marshall, Chief Minister of the Singapore Colony and Sir Chen Lock-tan, President of the Malayan Chinese Association. The Communist delegation consisted of Chin Peng, Leader of the outlawed Communist Party, Abdul Rashid, Bin Madin and Chan Tian.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya met in the middle of December to decide on the holding of cease-fire talks. In addition to the communique a manifesto was also issued after that meeting. The manifesto said that on the termination of the Second World War the Malayan people eagerly awaited independence but the British colonial authorities instead unleashed a reign of terror of repression. "They treated their wartime allies—the Malayan Communist Party and the Malayan people—as enemies . . . In 1948, they even enforced 'emergency regulations' and unleashed the colonial war against the people." Under such circumstances the manifesto added, the Communist Party took up the only honourable path before them of leading resolutely the people's armed resistance. Failure in their efforts to crush the Malayan people's resistance had induced the British Government to "make some concessions and reforms in the system of colonial rule."

"In view of this the Malayan Communist Party wishes to declare considerately that we are always of the opinion of stopping the war through negotiations."

The manifesto also called for Malayan independence at the earliest opportunity and negotiations to settle relations between Malaya and the Commonwealth.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Malaya, declared on December 25 that he would not bargain with the Communists or go beyond the amnesty offer of September 8 in his talks with Chin Peng.

Given such irreconcilable rigidity on both sides the prospect of the success of the talks between the Government and the Communists were not quite bright. The outcome clearly turned out that it was not so.

The talks on the first day (December 28)

[illegible] three points: (a) Recognition of the Malayan Communist Party, (b) Restoration of Movement, and (c) Investigation [illegible] Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Lovett Marshall made it quite clear that the Communist leaders and their followers could not be allowed to go free immediately after surrender and that the Communist Party of Malaya would have to be dissolved.

The Communists refused to accept investigation of their [illegible] after "surrender" or recognition of People's Republic of China.

The two Chief Ministers, Rahman and Marshall, tried to impress the Communist leaders that the former were not "stooges or running dogs" of the British. The Communist leader, Chin Peng said that the fact that they had come to meet the Chief Ministers proved that they did not surrender them to be stooges.

Mr. Rahman and Mr. Marshall drew attention of the Communist leaders to the failure of conducting the war which had brought no gain to them. The Communists also expressed their weakness and said that they had been fighting previous Governments because they had been British but now that there was a representative government, they [illegible] too wanted peace.

In the second day's meeting on December 4th, Chin Peng told the Government [illegible] that the Communists would lay down arms only if the Federal Government of Malaya [illegible] complete control of all the armed forces in the country. For this statement, [illegible] Chin Peng, the Communist Party [illegible] was not the same thing as [illegible] Government's enemy number [illegible] Communists [illegible] and [illegible] Chin Peng said [illegible] Communists would [illegible] and will [illegible] last man [illegible]

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cerning Malaya, was, reports the *Statesman*, "that the Baling Conference would not leave things just as they were and may prove to be an occasion from which more important developments will follow."

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Even if the jungle war is resumed it is not likely to be resumed in exactly the same way as before. It will become more political and less military. By military means the Government cannot hope to suppress the Communist rebellion entirely, nor can the Communist hope to seize the Government: thus each side may be forced towards some political settlement."

War, The Old Order Changeth

In view of the present liquid state of the 'cold war,' the following commentary on the urge for peace would be of interest. It appeared in the *Worldover Press* some four months back:

Berlin.—It was well over a year ago that Sir Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, said that after the Pacific H-bomb tests all our military thinking of the past, even of the previous year, was obsolete, obsolete, obsolete.

At about the same time, the U.S. Secretary of Defense said he was able to bring together a powerful army of 10 million men. Immediately he was asked where that army would be concentrated. Because, wherever it would be, it was in danger of extinction from a single H-bomb. It would have to be dispersed throughout the United States or elsewhere, in which case it would lose much of its military effectiveness.

Now the Russians, with their characteristic sense of reality save when the doctrines of Marx are concerned, have reached the conviction that the vast Red Army is no longer a real asset. Mass armies in general are obsolete, obsolete, obsolete. The generals of NATO have a green light to wage a war atomic. It is not sufficiently realized in the West that in Russia and its satellites, this development caused something like a panic. It meant that war with conventional weapons is "out"—and yet, it was precisely in that field that Russia had been superior.

The air manoeuvers over West Germany called "Carte Blanche" have proved the Soviet fear justified. Over 50 atomic bombs would have been dropped while 36 atomic cannon on German soil would have spewed out their wholesale extinction.

Any Russian concentration on German soil would have been uselessly sacrificed. Farewell, strong Red Army! It was then that the Russians became champions of disarmament. Their plan to reduce their forces by 640,000 represents a substantial cut, but it is a reduction in an army which had already become obsolete.

Two recent events, when thoughtfully analyzed, confirm the chief reason—though not necessarily the only reason—for the Russian change of policy. When the Bonn government announced that conscription was imminent, the Grotewohl regime in East Germany announced that any West German war resister or conscientious objector would be welcome in the East (which needs manpower for industry), and would be granted not only the right of asylum but full citizenship. At once, West German pacifist youth —of whom there are many—inquired whether citizenship included the duty of military service on the other side, which would be repugnant. The answer was that the query was irrelevant, for there was no intention of introducing conscription in East Germany.

Many observers thought this was insincere. But it was probably sincere in this sense: it corresponded to reality. The East German army would hereafter have its main usefulness in preserving internal "order" against attempts to overthrow the Communist-controlled government. Why force unwilling and unreliable Germans into such an army by a draft? Besides, the absence of conscription enables the East Zone to boast of itself as a liberal area without militarization.

For another tip-off on the change, it is worth while to look at the results of the World Peace Council's second big conference, this year held at Helsinki. The West has paid little attention to it, because the Vienna conference, two years ago, pulled out all the typical Communist stops for the habitual "peace line." But this year's conference was entirely different. It was held in a country considered as Western in orientation. A Finnish cabinet minister opened it. It was sponsored by such personalities as Edouard Herriot and the Brazilian de Castro, whom no one has ever remotely thought of as Communist in sympathy. And with the Communist delegations still powerful, the conference, mostly unanimous, adopted resolutions in which the West was not at all accused of bellicose intentions. Note this:

"The effective abolition of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved as an isolated action. This is now clear. It should be incorporated into the frame-work of general disarmament. The achievement of general disarmament on a large scale is not only necessary for its own sake, but also in order to diminish the tensions currently existing in the world. . . .

". . . . Necessity of an understanding amongst all European states, regardless of difference of regimes, to safeguard their economic and cultural collaboration. *The United States, having an alliance with the countries of Western Europe, should be invited to take part in this system of collective security.*"

It is remarkable that such resolutions were adopted at a gathering of 1,841 from 68 countries, with Americans comparatively absent and their influence at a minimum. Has it not always hitherto been the fierce endeavor of all Soviet politics to keep the U.S. out of any influence in Europe? Here they are urged to join all Europeans. The shift is basic.

Let us, however, not be over-idealistic in measuring the change. The new Russian attitude is not based on sentimental considerations. It comes from the stark fact, most of all, that the Red Army is no longer an asset. But exactly because it is a change based on reality, it can be regarded as reliable and politically "sincere." For that matter, what is true for the Russians is true for everybody. No wonder Germans are asking of what actual use will be the planned West German army, when 50 atomic bombs would render the country uninhabitable?

The Pope and Colonialism

The Pope's Christmas message, which we quote, displays a clear and profound understanding of the colonial issue:

Vatican City, Dec. 24.—Pope Pius XII in his seventeenth Christmas message to the world today referred to "colonialism" and the conflict between European nations and their overseas territories struggling for independence.

He called upon European colonial Powers to show "a spirit of impartial justice and even of generosity" in dealing with dependent peoples aspiring to full political independence.

The Pope warned that, if these "disputes" were allowed to run their course, "a third party" might gain advantage. Let not these peoples be denied "a fair and progressive political freedom," His Holiness said.

The Pope said: "In last year's Christmas

message we indicated the points of dispute noted in the relations between Europeans and those non-Europeans who aspire to full political independence.

"Can those disputes be allowed to run their course, so to speak, a procedure which might easily increase their gravity, sow hatred in man's souls, and create the so-called traditional enmities?

"And might not a third party come to profit from such enmities, a third party which neither of the others really wants, and cannot want?

"At any rate let not those peoples be denied a fair and progressive political freedom, and hindered in its pursuit.

"To Europe, however, they will give credit for their advancement—to that Europe without whose influence, extended to all fields, they might be drawn by a blind nationalism to plunge into chaos or slavery.

"On the other hand, Western peoples, especially those of Europe, should not in the face of such problems remain passive, in futile regret over the past or in mutual recrimination over colonialism.

"Rather they should set themselves constructively to work to extend, where it has not yet been done, those true values of Europe and the West which have produced so many good fruits in other continents.

"The more Europeans strive for this, the more help will they be to the just freedom of young nations, which in turn will be saved from the pitfalls of false nationalism. This in truth is their real enemy, which would pit them one day against each other to the advantage of third parties.

"Such a forecast, not unfounded, cannot be neglected or forgotten by those who handle their problems of peace at congress—where, unfortunately, there gleams the splendour of a unity that is external and predominantly negative.

"We think that in such considerations and in such modes of procedure there is a valuable assurance of peace, in some respects even more important than an immediate prevention of war."

India's Policy of Neutrality

Pandit Nehru reaffirmed our stand on the basis of neutrality in the context of foreign reactions to the Soviet leaders' visit, as the following news indicates:

Coimbatore, Dec. 22.—Mr. Nehru today expressed India's determination to pursue her own independent policy "internally in the domestic sphere and externally in the international sphere."

"We shall make friends with all who are friendly to us, and we shall also continue to be friendly with those who do not want to be friends with us," he said. "Our contacts will be closer with those who are friendly than with those who refuse to be friendly. But we do not want to be hostile or inimical to any country."

"Now great controversies have arisen in other countries about the consequences of the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. They ask: Is India aligning or tying herself with the Communist countries and with the Soviet Union? Is India giving up her policy of non-alignment and neutrality?" Some people in the West are very angry.

"People in many parts of the world seem to think that, if you are friendly with one person, that means you are hostile and inimical to the other as if you can only be friendly with one in order to be hostile to another. The area of friendship should not be confined by a wall of hostility. That is our national and international outlook and that is the real basis of what is called the policy of neutrality or non-alignment that India follows."

"India has an individuality and soul, not of today but of the last 2,000 years," he said. "We have a mind of our own, and we have a soul and spirit of our own. Regardless of what we are, some may have misunderstanding of what India has been and is going to be in the future. But India will pursue her own independent policy."

Psychology of the Near East

The British on their side have made a major mistake in trying to hurry Jordan into the Baghdad Pact. Prolonged rioting with considerable loss to life and property followed the visit of the British Commander-in-Chief, resulting in the collapse of the Government as the following message shows:

"Amman, Dec. 20.—King Hussein today accepted the resignation of Mr. Mahali's Government amid renewed demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact.

"But Mr. Mahali was asked to remain in office until a replacement has been installed at the head of a caretaker Government, which will supervize general elections early next year.

"King Hussein dissolved Parliament and called general elections last night in an attempt to stabilize the political situation.

"Security forces are patrolling the streets, guarding embassies and foreign establishments. Earlier today, Civil Servants, doctors and lawyers joined demonstrators in demanding the immediate resignation of the Government.

"Mr. Mahali himself said in a statement over the radio that his Government had resigned to give the nation a chance to decide the issues before them."

India and the S.E.A.T.O

Sri Menon has clearly stated our official view of the S.E.A.T.O., to which the Baghdad Pact is linked, in the following assertion:

"U. N. H. Q., Dec. 9.—India today asserted that the South-East Asia Treaty Organization constituted an 'attempt to infringe on our sovereignty.'

"Mr. Krishna Menon made the statement in the Political Committee during a blistering attack on military alliances. He branded all these as contrary to the terms of the U.N. Charter, and declared that India was being 'encircled. We are ringed in by these war pacts and highly armed nations.'

"Referring to the alliance between China and the Soviet Union, Mr. Menon said that China had a powerful war potential which India had no reason 'up to now, to think will be used against us.'

"He spoke of 'the organization which is euphemistically called, or was called, the South-East Asia Defence Organization.' He understood it was now the South-East Asian Treaty Organization. 'The question is how many teeth has it?'"

New Members of the U.N.

The package entry of 18 nations to the U.N. was wrecked in the beginning by the vetoing of Outer Mongolia by Nationalist China, despite requests by even the U.S. Russia retaliated by vetoing thte entry of the West-sponsored nations. It is now confirmed by the U.N. Assembly President, Dr. Jose Maza, that at Pandit Nehru's request M. Bulganin, who was in India at that time, intervened with the results noted below in the following messages:

"New York, Dec. 15.—Thunderous applause went up from the crowded benches of the U.N. General Assembly late last night when 16 new countries, including Ceylon, were formally declared members after five years of deadlock.

"The Assembly met to elect the 16 candidates a few hours after they had been approved by the Security Council where the Soviet Union suddenly reversed her position on the vetoes she had cast against the West-backed countries at the previous day's meeting.

"Russia decided to drop the candidature of Outer Mongolia, which Nationalist China had vetoed, and Japan 'for the present session.'

"Unanimous voting was given to many of the ney members—Albania, the Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain.

"The Soviet Union was among sponsors of the resolution. In separate voting by roll-call on each applicant, Albania was the first state to be formally elected—48 to three with five abstentions. Ceylon was elected unanimously by 57 members present.

"Dr. Jose Maza of Chile, the Assembly President, told the Assembly it had 'given life to a deep desire which has existed for several years in the General Assembly; to overcome the obstacles that have impeded the development of U.N. towards an international organization which represents all the peoples of the world and which enjoys true universality among its members.'"

The Muslim League in India

Pandit Nehru has at last clarified his view of the Muslim League as the following news indicates:

Calicut, Dec. 27.—Mr. Nehru today launched a strong attack on communal organizations, specially the Muslim League, which has recently been revived here after a lapse of years.

Addressing a public meeting here, he said: "In Malabar, I am told, there is a remnant of the old Muslim League. It is amazing that this discreditable organization—that worked against Indian freedom and brought misery to India—should raise its head in the Malabar area."

Christian Missionaries in India

Religious toleration has been an age-old tradition in India prior to the advent of the Muslims, with only a few instances of intolerance. This has been declared as a definite

policy of the present day by our President, as indicated in the news below:

"Dec. 19.—The President made a forthright declaration in New Delhi on Sunday that it was not the intention of the Government of India to curtail the freedom of Christian missionaries or to come in the way of their true mission.

"Presiding over a meeting at the Constitution Club grounds to celebrate the 1,903rd anniversary of the arrival in India of St. Thomas, Dr. Prasad declared that the missionaries were welcome to place the true teachings of Christ 'before our people.'

"Dr. Prasad said that what was demanded of Christians, as well as of other people, was loyalty to the country and not to a dogma. It was India's traditional policy, he added, to give equal respect to all.

"The President gave an assurance to Christians that it was the intention of the Prime Minister and all others in responsible administrative positions to be fair to all.

"It was not an accident, the President declared, that Mahatma Gandhi owed as much to Christianity as to Hinduism in the making of his personality. He stated: 'In India it has been our firm faith that God can be reached by innumerable paths. Each man is and ought to be free to pursue the path that suits him best and whoever does so honestly will ultimately reach God.'"

Aftermath of the S.R.C. Report

The S. R. C. Report has given rise to reactions all over the States concerned. Pandit Nehru has formulated a new proposal to alleviate the consequences. We reproduce it below without comments, as the final decisions on the report have not materialised yet:

"New Delhi, Dec. 21.—A proposal to form five Zonal Councils each of five or six States to consider mutual economic, developmental and border problems was suggested to the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nehru today and welcomed with prolonged cheers.

"To begin with, Mr. Nehru said that the proposed Councils—with which the Centre could be associated—might have an advisory status. They could develop more powers subsequently, if well received.

"He suggested setting up five such Councils, one each for the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central areas of the country. They would not be created on linguistic principles.

"He agreed with a member's suggestion that in some Zones the constituent States could share a common High Court and Governor.

"The proposal for Zonal Councils as a means to develop greater co-operation and goodwill among neighbouring States came at the end of nearly an hour's speech on the S.R.C. Report in which Mr. Nehru emphasized that he was expressing his personal views and was not speaking on behalf of the Government.

"He frankly stated his opposition to the principle of linguistic States while at the same time emphasizing the need to give each language full opportunity to develop.

"He did not see how a language could be developed by putting up walls between it and other languages. Personally, he would prefer to live in a multilingual State in order to appreciate other cultures more fully, he said.

"The most important part of the report was the chapter on safeguards. They could be increased if regarded inadequate, and even laid down in the Constitution so as to ensure a fair deal to every language everywhere.

"Even more important than a decision was the way in which it was reached and accepted. Unless the country and all sections in it adopted the democratic method of discussing issues fully and then accepting the majority view, even if it did not suit a particular group it would be encouraging violence."

Institute of Asian-African Relations

The "Institute of Asian-African Relations" recently came into being in Calcutta with the blessing of the leading statesmen and scholars of India. The object of the institute is to promote a deeper study of the cultural problems of Asia and Africa in the context of world peace and Gandhi World Fellowship.

The peoples of Asia and Africa who constitute more than half of world's total population and who possess unbounded natural resources had so long been blatantly denied, to quote Dr. Kalidas Nag, the Secretary-General of the Institute, "not only self-government but even fundamental human rights."

Of late there has been a welcome awakening on the part of the United Nations to the urgent need of asserting its authority in the interest of the colonial peoples. But the colonial spirit of domination dies hard as would appear from the recent debates in the Economic and Social Council.

RUSSIA IN ASIA

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

The name Russia is rather recent, but the vast territory stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific has yielded evidences of ancient culture from the Neolithic to the Bronze age synchronising with the archaeological remains of North Iran (Kuban area of 4/3 mill. B.C.). Between the Volga and the Drichhar rivers, Red Ochres Graves have been found and in the Ukraine Chaleolithic sites have been excavated in Tripolje A and B (2500-1500 B.C.) and in Anan (Turkestan, 4000-3000 B.C.) which offer striking parallels to our Indus Civilization (early and late) and also to the Yang-Shao Chalcolithic pottery culture of China.

Between 600-500 B.C. when the Assyrio-Baby-Ionian empires were devastated by the Medes and the Persians a new race came with a new art and culture—called Scytho-Sarinatian—from the proto-Russian zones over which the Indo-Iranian and other Indo-European races have moved and left linguistic traces in South Russia, considered (by Peter Gills, etc.) as the so-called cradle of the Aryans!

The Nordic Aryans or the Battle-Axe (Parasusain ?) culture folks, already settled in North Russia and the Baltic, also influenced the proto-Russians who—between 700-800 A.D.—came under the protectorate of the Turkish Khazar tribes ruling the lower Volga valley, over the Eastern Slavs who spoke Sanskritic Slavonic dialects. Then (800-900 A.D.) North Russia came to be penetrated by the Scandinavian king named in old Russian chronicles as the Varangians or Rus giving name to greater Russia. The founder of the Russian princely dynasty was Riurik or Roerick who ruled in Novgorod (850 A.D.) whence they raided the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. In 957 the Russian Princess Olga visited Constantinople and was converted to orthodox Christianity which thus, in 1957, completes one thousand years of Christian regime in Russia. By 1000 A.D. mass conversion to Christianity took place, under Uladimer the Saint (978-1015).

But up to 1000 A.D. the old Slav languages (studied by Meillet) retained pre-Christian Asian culture and Sanskrit forms. By 1200 we find South Russia invaded by the Nomads (Turks ?) of the East—under Sabutai from Trans-Caucasus—and ruled by them for two centuries (1250-1450). The Turco-Mongol Khans of the Golden Horde were masters of whole Russia and of China from Kiev to Peking (founded by Kublai Khan). These Asian strains in Russian ethnography and culture have been well established and in that light we should read the 14th. century Russian traveller to India, Nikitin. The disruption caused by Tartar domination was stopped by Ivan the Great (1462-1505) who in 1472 married Zoe (Sophia), niece of the last emperor of Constantinople (taken by the Turks in 1453). Ivan took up the Byzantine concept of the autocrat Caeser or Tsar ruling from the grand Ducal palace of Kremlin in Moscow. Ivan won over the Khan of Crimea and thus creating disunion among the Tartars baffled their last attack on Moscow (1480). In 1492 by invading Lithuania, Ivan resumed diplomatic relations with Western Europe.

Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) ruled for half a century and opened the way for Russian expansion in Asia by conquering Kazan and Astrakhan from the Tartars. The Russian traders (who began coming to India with Nikitin) and Cossacks under Ermak began the conquest of Siberia (1580-83). In 1589 the Russian Church declared independence of Byzantine. Christian patriarch Michael Romanov (1613-45) began the Rumanov dynasty (1613-1917) and under him the Cossacks took the fort of Azov from the Crimean Tartars and Russian Pioneers crossed the whole of Siberia reaching the Pacific Ocean (1637). Peter the Great (1689-1725) opened his career by resolving Russo-Chinese conflict over the Amur region, by a treaty (1689). He also recognised the Turkish title over Azov (1711) stopping war, as also made a treaty with Sweden (1721) and opened the Russian window on the Baltic as a European Power. Catherine II (1762-96) began again the war with the Turks (1768-72) winning victories and annexed Crimea (1783) from the weakening Turkish empire. During the French Revolutionary

wars Russia became ally of England (1798) and Turkey. Henceforth Russia would try to extend her empire in Asia, now as an ally then as rival of other "imperialist powers of Europe."

Between 1804-13 Russia fought Persia which ceded Daghestan and Shemankha and recognised the Russian annexation of Georgia (birth-place of Stalin). Persia was again defeated (1826-28) and obliged to cede part of Armenia with Erivan.

In 1844 Russia abandoned Russian settlement in California and sold to U.S.A. Alaska in 1867. In 1875 Russia ceded the Kurile Islands to Japan in exchange of South Sakhalin. The Populist movement and Land and Liberty Secret Society began threatening Tsarism with the growth of Pan-Slav movement in 1867-1879. Alexander II was murdered in 1881.

Under Alexander III (1881-94) Russia conquered the whole of Central Asia up to Afghan frontiers thus threatening British India. England began helping Japan who defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) lowering the prestige under Nicholas II (1894-1917). The last Tsar was forced to abdicate and was killed in 1918 after the outbreak of Revolution in 1917.

Asian Plans of Soviet Russia

In the Middle East: Armenia, Azarbaijan and Georgia declared independence in 1918 and war broke out also in Siberia but temporarily stopped when the Japanese removed from Vladivostok (1922) and Soviet Russia set up a buffer State—the Far Eastern Republic with its capital in Chita. After the great famine of 1921-22 Russia began the New Economic Policy leading to a series of Five-Year Plans. Lenin died in January, 1924. England and Japan recognised the Soviet and New Asian Republics were added, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakistan, etc. (1925). Stalin became the top leader and Trotsky was expelled (1929). In December, 1936 the new "Democratic" Constitution was adopted and the Soviet Federation was recast as follows: (1) Russia (Moscow), (2) Ukraine (Kiev), (3) Byelorussia (Minsk) in the West, and in the East (4) Azarbaijan (Baku), (5) Georgia (Tiflis), (6) Armenia (Erivan), (7) Turkmenistan (Ashkhabad), (8) Uzbekistan (Tashkent), (9) Tazikistan (Stalinbad), (10) Kazakistan (Alma Ata), (11) Kirghizistan (Frunze).

To these are added the following three areas in Asia:

The Far Eastern Region stretching from Vladivostok to the Behring Straits along the Pacific (Population; 1,593,400 in 1931); the country is rich in fur-bearing animals, fishery and forest products.

The Yakutsk Republic (Population: 400,544 in 1939) is rich in gold mines, also silver, lead and coal. Chukchis, Chuvans and Eskimos live here.

The Buriat Mongol Republic (Population: 542,000) maintains itself by cattle-breeding, poultry, etc.

The Tuva Autonomous Region (Population: 65,000) incorporated in 1944 is situated to the north-west of Mongolia. The people are Turki by race using good pastoral land with deposits of gold and asbestos.

The Sakhalin, taken totally from defeated Japan (1945), has an area of about 14,000 sq. miles with 340,000 population, mostly Japanese, who developed herring fishery, farming, etc. Coal, petroleum and gold also abound. When Japan came to be rebuilt into the biggest American base in the Pacific, they discovered what valuable strategic centres were given over by the Allies to Russia. Now Japan is demanding a few of the Kurile Isles. The Siberian regions are divided into Western (Population: 8,767,200) and Eastern (Pop: 2,568,400), largely unsettled forest to the north and fertile lands to the south. East Siberia yields gold and great mineral resources and thus has developed iron and engineering industries. West Siberia has coal, timber, orchards, etc.

The Arctic Soviets, remote and largely unknown 'regions' and 'areas' (like autonomous republics), are regularly governed by Executive Committees elected by the local Congress of Soviets elected by the citizens for two years. Ships tonnage are moved freely between the Baltic and the Far East via the North-East Passage opened after completing the grand canal (141 miles) between the Baltic and White Seas. Soviet Naval Air Force is under 3 principal Commanders, the Black Sea, the Baltic and the North Pacific (facing Alaska, Canada and U.S.A.). In 1941 Air lines were opened between Moscow and Anadyr (East Siberia) and in 1946 air service was opened between Moscow, Vladivostok, Chukotsk, Taskhent, Stalinbad and Alma Ata, capitals of the Central Asian Soviets, which we describe finally.

Soviet Central Asia

This vast area known as Turkestan was conquered by Russia in 1860, Tashkent in 1866, Samarkand in 1868, Khiva and Bokhara in 1870. Their feudal groupings were reformed into regular Soviets in 1924-25.

(1) Kazakistan (Capital, Alma Ata, former Verny; incorporated, 5th. December, 1936).

It is bounded on the west by Russia and the Caspian, on the East by China, on the north by Russia and on the south by Uzbeck and Kirghiz Soviets. It makes (after Russian Soviets) the second largest Republic with over 6 million people (1939). Land of Nomad Kazakhs have now been developed by the Soviet Academy of Sciences (1944) into industrial areas with coal and copper. A very big hydro-electric station and Dam has been built in Kyzl Orda (1944) irrigating 100,000 acres of rice. So sugar, rubber, etc., are grown with orchards and vineyards; also medicinal plants and grasses for sheep giving best quality wool. They are exploiting also the rich mineral resources like copper, lead, zinc, coal, tungsten and oil (along the river Emba), gold and big iron ores have been found in 1946. High grade aviation oil comes from Emba and Aktyabisk.

(2) Turkmenistan: Joined in 1924 as the Turkmen Republic occupying the former Trans-Caspian Region taken by Russia (1881). The population 1,252,000 is mostly Sunni Moslems speaking the South-West group of Turkish languages. Capital Ashkhabad has 126,580 souls. It is famous for horses and sheep and long-fibred cotton. Subterranian water is being utilised to reclaim the Kara Kum desert (with coal and minerals) where our Rajputana Desert Scientists should go and work with Russian geologists. Amu-Darya waters are also utlized and fishery practised in the Caspian. Sulphur, salt and oil are also utilized. Nabit-Dag is an oil-town and Kara Bogaz has a sulphate industry. Cotton, wool and Astrakhan furs bring money.

(3) Uzbekistan: Formed in 1925 out of ancient Turkestan, Bokhara and Khonezm (known to Alberuni and Avicenna). The old States of Khiva and Bokhara, the provinces of Samarkand and Ferghana (known to the Turco-Mongols like Chengiz, Taimur, Babar) belonged to the Uzbecks, the ruling race of Central Asia dominantly Buduhistic from the Age of Kanishka to Kublai Khan. The Uzbecks met the Afghans (to the South) who also were Buddhistic till Sunni Muslims conquered them. Pop. 6,282,450 maintain themselves by intensive farming based on artificial irrigation, etc., devised by their Academy of Sciences with 46 Research Institutes, promoting yields of cotton, silk, fruit and rice. In 1949 the Kzyl Kum desert was afforested by means of sowing from aeroplanes. From that advancing desert the Bokhara and Karakul oases are protected by afforestation. Tashkent the Capital contains the richest collection of Turco-Mongol art—specially paintings which should be studied by all those who know something of the so-called Mughal school. Timur died in 1405 (after meeting the greatest Poet of the age, Hafiz) and his fourth son was Shah Rukh (1377-1447), a peace-loving son of a savage warlord. Shah Rukh removed the capital from Samarkhand to Herat and restored ruined cities to prosperity and patronized scholars and artists, who flocked to his court. His son Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was hailed by western scholars as the illustrious personification of Tartar Astronomy, Philosophy and Sciences like Geometry, Mathematics. He as Crown Prince ruled over Khorasan, Mazandaran and Transoxiana and made Samarkand the centre of Muslim civilisation assimilating the scientific and cultural discoveries of the savants of Iran and India. Why not hold an All-Asian Cultural Conference at Tashkent with modern amenities!

(4) Tajikistan joined USSR in 1929: for centuries well known for farming, cattle-trading and horticulture, the land to sow yielding valuable minerals like oil (in the north), sulphur, zinc, lead, uranium, etc. Thus big industries are growing for food, textile, silk, chemicals and electrical items. In 1950 an Academy of Sciences was founded and its observatory at the capital city of Stalinbad has recently discovered a new Comet in the Pegasus Constellation. Population: 1,485,000 mostly Tajiks speak an Iranian dialect close to modern Persian and the Tajiks are considered to be the Christians of the original Aryans of Central Asia, where Indo-European speeches have been traced. The highest mountains are named now the Stalin Peak (about 7600 metres) and Lenin Peak (7,127 metres), they slope down to the lowest valleys of the Pamirs (3500 meteres), the "roof the world." It is the Asian Soviet closest to India and Kashmir.

(5) Kirghizistan was reconstructed into a republic in 1926 with a population of 1.1/2 million and capital city Frunze (former Pishpex).

The state is situated on the Tien Shan range and borders on China to the East, Kazak-Uzbak lands to the West and Tazikistan to the South. The Kirgiz Academy of Sciences, opened in 1943, now operates 23 research institutes which develop agriculture, livestock and over 300 industries relating to sugar, cotton, textile, wool, silk, and coal, oil and rare minerals like gold, silver, lead, antimony, arsenic, etc.

A large new canal is being built in the east Tien Shan ranges, opening new possibilities. Where Asia merges into Europe, there also we find three republics of Asian language and culture:

(6) Armenia: Capital Erivan. Area: 11,640 sq. miles. Population: 1,281,100 of whom 85% are Armenians and the rest are Jews (mostly settled in the town of Birobidzhan in the Far Eastern Region); Kurds, Persians, Turks and Georgians. Their Academy of Sciences runs 43 institutes with schools and colleges. The mineral deposits feature copper, aluminium, zinc, etc., fostering chemical industries, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, etc. Mt. Ararat is famous in Biblical history and the persecuted Armenians—like the Georgians—found asylum in the Soviet Republic repudiating racial and racial discrimination.

(7) Azerbaijan: Area 33,400 sq. miles. Population 3,209,700 mostly of the Turks group with Armenians, Georgians and Russians. It borders with Georgia and Armenia, Trans-Caucasian Soviet, washed by the Caspian in the East and South—thus bringing complications to South Caspian regions of Iran, which it resembles in productions like rice, vine, silk, tea, cotton, tobacco, horses, camels, and buffaloes. Iron, copper, zinc, lead, etc., are found, but the richest industry is that of oil in the Baku region (known to Indian Fakirs for centuries) where Soviet Russia held its first All-Asian Congress (1920). Baku Oil-field is connected by a double pipeline with Batum on the Black Sea which washes Rumanian oil-fields also Baku oil output in 1940 was 25 million tons, much enlarged in the last 15 years.

(8) Lastly Georgia, the birth-place of Stalin, originated National Council 1917-18 and became Sovietised in 1921-22 with capital at Tiflis. Area: 37,570 sq. miles and population 3.1/2 million. Iron and steel and motor works develop industries and metallurgical plants, manganese mines, sulphur springs, etc. The highest peak of the Caucasus overlooking and protecting it in the north and in the west, the Black Sea offers sub-tropical areas growing tea (tea machinery), bamboo and tobacco. No wonder Stalin called himself an 'oriental' and when he died in 1952 I found rabid American papers crying him down as an 'oriental savage'! But one should remember that what the exploiting Colonial Powers of the west could not do in four centuries (1500-1900) Soviet Republic has done in four decades (1920-50) to bring food, clothes and hygiene to millions of the neglected orientals.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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

I

In our preceding article[1] in this series we have dealt with Clause (1)(a) and Clause (2) of Article 19 of our Constitution. We shall now deal with the other Clauses of this Article. It may incidentally be pointed out here, in a slight modification of what we have stated[2] in our preceding article, that the number of these "other Clauses" is now, according to *The Constitution of India* (*As modified up to the 1st May, 1955*),[3] five and not four. This will be shown hereinafter at the appropriate place.

II

Under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of our Constitution all citizens have the right "to assemble peaceably and without arms." We may describe this right as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly. This right, however, is subject to the following qualification:

"(3) Nothing in sub-clause (b) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State (as defined in Article 12 of the Constitution) from making any law imposing, in the interest of public order, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right confirmed by the said sub-clause."

Thus any restriction on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must be reasonable and, therefore, *justiciable*. In our preceding article we have explained[4] the implication of the expression "resonable restrictions" in connexion with Clause (2) of Article 19. As that explanation will apply wherever the expression "reasonable restrictions" occur, we need not repeat it in connexion with the remaining Clauses of Article 19 except where it comes incidentally. We should only like to add here that the question of the reasonableness of any restriction imposed by a law may, as will be shown hereinafter in connexion with Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19, "arise as much from the substantive part of the law as from its procedural portion."

We may refer in this connexion to the corresponding position in the United States of America so far as the "privilege of assembly" is concerned. The First Amendment to its Constitution lays down, among other things: "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble." This provision "is, of course, only a limitation on the federal government, yet," says Professor Willis,[5] "all but four state constitutions contain" a similar guarantee. Now, what does this guarantee really mean? It does not mean, he further says, "that either the United States or the individual states are forbidden to exercise social control of assemblages of people in the interest of the common good. For this reason disorderly assemblages may be forbidden." "What constitutes an unlawful assembly is," however, "likely to elude precise definition, but," he has observed, "there are two elements which serve as a guide in the solution of particular problems. In order to be lawful the purpose of the assembly must be to do no unlawful act, and the assembly must be conducted in a manner which is not tumultuous."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here, in connexion with the question of arms, that an attempt had been made by Shri H. V. Kamath, member of our Constituent Assembly, to insert, in Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19 of our present Constitution, an additional fundamental right, namely, the right "to keep and bear arms," together with a new clause providing for "restrictions (on the exercise of this right) in the interests of public order,

1. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 25.
3. Published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955; also see *The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954*, dated 14th May, 1954.
4. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955, p. 34.
5. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 506.
6. See *ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

peace and tranquillity." The attempt failed[7] as it was feared that very often the right to keep and bear arms might be gravely abused in our country. Speaking on behalf of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said[8] by way of a reply to Shri H. V. Kamath:

"Now, with regard to the question of bearing arms about which my friend Mr. Kamath was so terribly excited, I think the position that we have taken is very clear. It is quite true and everyone knows that the Congress Party had been agitating that there should be right to bear arms. Nobody can deny that. That is history. At the same time I think the House should not forget the fact that the circumstances when such resolutions were passed by the Congress no longer exist. It is because the British Government had refused to allow Indians to bear arms,, not on the ground of peace and order, but on the ground that a subject people should not have the right to bear arms against an alien government so that they could organise themselves to overthrow the Government, and consequently the basic considerations on which these resolutions were passed in my judgment have vanished. (sic) Under the present circumstances, I personally myself cannot conceive how it would be possible for the State to carry on its administration if every individual had the right to go into the market and purchase all sorts of instruments of attack without any let or hindrance from the State."

And referring to the proposed proviso of Shri Kamath regarding restrictions on the exercise of the right to keep and bear arms, as mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar observed :[9]

"What does the proviso say? What the proviso can do is to regulate, and the term 'regulation' has been judicially interpreted as prescribing the conditions, but the conditions can never be such as to completely abrogate the right of the citizen to bear arms. Therefore regulation by itself will not prevent a citizen who wants to have the right to bear arms from having them. I question very much the policy of giving all citizens indiscriminately any such fundamental right. For instance, if Mr. Kamath's proposition was accepted, that every citizen should have the fundamental right to bear arms, it would be open for thousands and thousands of citizens who are today described as criminal tribes to bear arms. It would be open to all sorts of people who are habitual criminals to claim the right to possess them. You cannot say that under the proviso a man shall not be entitled to bear arms because he belongs to a particular class . . . . I am explaining the position that has been taken by the Drafting Committee. The point is that it is not possible to allow this indiscriminate right."[10]

Apparently, it was a case of conflict between theory and realism, or rather between an abstract right and political expediency. And the Constituent Assembly agreed with the point of view presented by Dr. Ambedkar, and rejected the motion of Shri Kamath for an additional fundamental right, namely, the right to keep and bear arms with some safeguards. The safeguards, it was apprehended, might ultimately prove to be illusive, in view of our other fundamental rights.

We may also refer in this connexion to the position in the United States of America in respect of the possession of arms. The Second Amendment to the American Constitution which was adopted in 1791 and which actually came into force on 15th December" in that year, lays down :

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

This amendment does not, according to Corwin,[12] "cover concealed weapons, the right 'to bear arms' being the right simply to bear them openly." Moreover, the arms referred to in it "are those of the soldier."[13] The amendment appears to have originated from a distrust of "a standing army"[14] and from the desirability "of a free and peaceful nation (like the United States) depending for defence chiefly or wholly upon locally organized militia drawn directly from the people."[15] But under it the American people "have a right to arm themselves for protection against both domestic disorder and foreign dangers."[16]

Early writers on American constitutional law attached a great importance to the amendment. According to Judge Cooley,[17] it is a safeguard to liberty. And Justice Story[18] has observed :

"The importance of this article (*i.e.*, the Second Amendment) will scarcely be doubted by any persons who have duly reflected upon the subject. The militia is the natural defence of a free country against sudden foreign invasions, domestic insurrections, and domestic usurpations of power by rulers. It is against sound policy for a free people to keep up large military establishments and standing armies in time of peace, both from the enormous expenses with which they are attended and the facile means which they afford to ambititous and unprincipled rulers to subvert the goverament or trample upon the rights of the people. The right of the citizens to keep and bear arms has justly been considered as the palladium of the liberties of a republic, since it offers a strong moral check against the usurpation and arbitrary power of rulers, and will generally, even if these are successful in the first instance, enable the people to resist and triumph over them."

A modern writer on American Government and Politics like Professor Harold Zink, however, is not so enthusiastic about the utility of the Second Amendment.

"The Second Amendment of the federal Constitution," he writes,[19] "specifically provides that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' For many years this was also regarded as a fundamental right by the states, but the increasing congestion of population, the rise in the crime rate, and (the) establishment of a professional army and police have served to render the keeping and bearing of arms *not only unnecessary but a public menace*.[20] Increasingly, therefore, it has become customary for the states to limit the keeping of many types of arms to those who receive a permit from the police. All others are regarded in illegal possession of such weapons and may be dealt with accordingly."

And we also find in Frederic Ogg and Orman Ray :[21]

"Under the police power, the 'bearing' of arms intended for private use may be regulated and restricted by both the federal government and the states; and, as is well-known, there are *plenty of laws forbidding the carrying of concealed weapons*[22] (pistols, revolvers, dirks, bowie-knives, sword-canes, etc.) and the sale, possession, or use of sawed-off shot-guns and other weapons not employed for military purposes but habitually used by criminals."

Professor Willis corroborates these views.

"What is the extent," he asks, "of the personal liberty guaranteed by this provision (*i.e.*, the Second Amendment)? It does not guarantee the individualism which many people think it does. Probably the purpose of this limitation was to guarantee the general security through the use of militia as against a standing army. For this reason the arms referred to are those used by the militia. The prohibition of weapons used in private affrays, or of the carrying of concealed weapons is not forbidden."[23]

It is evident from these views that, notwithstanding the Second Amendment, the right of the people to keep and bear arms is not so unrestricted in the United States as it appears from the text of the Amendment.

III

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (c) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that "all citizens shall have the right to form associations or unions." This right also is subject to the following qualification:

"(4) Nothing in Sub-clause (c) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State[24] from making any law imposing, in the interests of public order or morality, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause."

As in other cases shown before, the reasonableness or otherwise of any restriction imposed on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (c), is ultimately subject to judicial determination and is, therefore, justiciable. But the provision for the imposition of restrictions on the right of citizens to form associations or unions is not peculiar to our Constitution only. Apart from some other Constitutions, such restrictions are permissible under American constitutional law, for the common good.

"The right of assemblage," says Professor Willis,[25] "includes only the physical meeting of many in one place. The right of association presupposes organization and a relation of some permanence between many persons. For the maintenance of political liberty the right of association is fully as important as the right of assemblage. The right of assemblage and the right of free association are parts of the per-

7. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 1st and 2nd December, 1948.
8. See *ibid.*
9. See *ibid.*
10. Also see *ibid.*, for Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's speech in this connexion. Shri Ayyangar had practically taken the same view as Dr. Ambedkar.
11. See Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 1103n.
12. Corwin., *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 9th Ed., p. 160. It may also be noted here that the right "to bear arms," being a right of citizenship in the U.S.A. rather than of a person, "may be denied aliens, at least on reasonable grounds." —*Ibid.*
13. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
14. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 498-99.
15. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 163; also see Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.
17. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-99.
18. See Justice Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Sections 1896-97.
19. See Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 93.
20. The italics are ours.
21. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
22. The italics are ours.
23. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.
24. As defined in Article 12 of our *Constitution*. Also see in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954.
25. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 755.

sonal liberty of individuals, both protected by the due process clause and one[26] by a separate clause. But in the exercise of the police power where these forms of personal liberty do not tend to aid general political progress, governments may regulate them for the purpose of protecting the members of the association and of the public. Primary election laws and other laws for the regulation of political parties are exercises of this form of social control. For the protection of this social interest secret organizations, like the Ku Klux Klan, may be compelled to file lists of members."

Further, "the social interest in general economic progress has been held sufficient for the exercise of many different forms of the police power . . . . Sometimes individual freedom, if left alone, will itself take the form of monopoly, and then economic progress may require the regulation of monopolies. Anti-trust laws are illustrations of social control which aim to urther economic progress by enforcing competition."[27]

Thus, freedom of association may be controlled in the United States "for the protection of general economic progress" as well as other social interests. And we also find in the judgment[28] of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Thomas* V. *Collins* :

"That the State has power to regulate labour unions with a view to protecting the public interest is, as the Texas Court said, hardly to be doubted. They cannot claim special immunity from regulation."

Thus, as Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court has very rightly observed in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras* :[29]

"Restraints on liberty (of action) should be judged not only subjectviely as applied to a few individuals who come within their operations but also objectively as securing the liberty of a far greater number of individuals. Social interest in individual liberty may well have to be subordinated to other greater social interests. If a law ensures and protects the greater social interests then such law will be a wholesome and beneficent law although it may infringe the liberty of some individuals, for it will enure (*sic*) for the greater liberty of the rest of the members of the society."

IV

We shall now deal with Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19. These Sub-clauses lay down as shown below :

"All citizens shall have the right—

(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India ;

(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India ; and

(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property."

But these rights are not absolute. They are subject to the following qualification:

"(5) Nothing in Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing reasonable restrictions in the exercise of any of the rights conferred by the said Sub-clauses either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe."[30]

We may note here what Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated with reference to the above, in the course of his judgment[31] in *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras*.

"In construing Article 19(1) (d)," he has said, "stress is to be laid upon the expression 'throughout the territory of India,' and it is a particular and special kind of right, *viz.*, that of free movement throughout the Indian territory, that is the aim and object of the Constitution to secure.' In the next subclause, right to reside and settle 'in any part of the territory of India' is given and here again the material thing is not the right of residence or settlement but the right to reside or settle in any part of the Indian territory . . . . The meaning of sub-clause (d) of Article 19(1) will be clear if we take it along with sub-clauses (e) and (f), all of which have been lumped together in clause (5) and to all of which the same restrictions including those relating to (the) protection of the interest of any scheduled tribe have been made applicable. It will be remembered that these rights are available only to citizens. To an alien or foreigner, no guarantee of such rights has been given. Normally[32] all citizens would have the free right to move from one part of the Indian territory to another. They can shift their residence from one place to any other place of their choice and settle anywhere they like. The right of free trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India is also secured. What the Constitution emphasises upon (*sic*) by guaranteeing these rights is that the whole of (the) Indian Union in spite of its being divided into a number of States is really one unit so far as the citizens of the Union are concerned. All the citizens would have the same privileges and the same facilities for moving into any part of the territory and they can reside or carry on business anywhere they like ; and no restrictions either inter-State or otherwise would be allowed to set up in these respects between one part of India and another."

Further :[33]

"So far as free movement throughout the territory is concerned, the right is subject to the provision of clause (5), under which reasonable limitation may be imposed upon these liberties in the interests of the general public or protection of any scheduled tribe. The interests of the public which necessitates (*sic*) such restrictions may be of various kinds. They may be connected with the avoidance of pestilence or spreading of contagious diseases ; certain places again may be kept closed for military purposes and there may be prohibition of entry into areas which are actual or potential war zones or where disturbances of some kind or other prevail.[34] Whatever the reasons might be, it is necessary that these restrictions must be reasonable, that is to say, commensurate with the purpose for which they are laid down. In addition to general interest, the Constitution has specified the protection of the interests of the scheduled tribes as one of the factors which has got to be taken into consideration in the framing of these restrictions. The scheduled tribes, as is well known, are a backward and unsophisticated class of people who are liable to be imposed upon by shrewd and designing persons. Hence there are various provisions disabling them from alienating even their own properties except under special conditions. In their interest and for their benefit, laws may be made restricting the ordinary right of citizens to go or settle in particular areas or acquire property in them. The reference to the interest of scheduled tribes makes it quite clear that the free movement spoken of in the clause relates not to general rights of locomotion but to the particular right of shifting or moving from one part of the Indian territory to another, without any sort of discriminatory barriers."

This view has been practically endorsed[35] by Das J. of the Supreme Court in the course of his judgment in the same case. He has added :

"In sub-clause (d) (of Clause (1) of Article 19) the real emphasis is on the words 'throughout the territory of India.' The purpose of Article 19(1) (d) is to guarantee that there shall be no State barrier. It gives protection against provincialism. It has nothing to do with the freedom of the person as such."

It may perhaps be interesting to refer here to the (majority) judgment of our Supreme Court in *Dr. N. B. Khare* vs. *The State of Delhi*.[36] The case arose out of "an application for a writ of *certiorari* and *prohibition* under 32" of our Constitution. The application prayed for the quashing of the "externment order made by the District Magistrate of Delhi, against the petitioner Dr. N. B. Khare, on 31st March, 1950, by which the latter was directed to remove himself immediately from the Delhi District and not to return to that District so long as the order remained in force." The order was to remain "in force for three months." The grounds for the order were stated as follows:

"Your activities generally and particularly since the recent trouble in East and West Bengal have been of a communal nature tending to excite hatred between communities and whereas in the present composition of the population of Delhi and the recent communal disturbances of Delhi feelings are roused between the majority and minority communities, your presence and activities in Delhi are likely to prove prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order, it is considered necessary to order you to leave Delhi." (*Sic.*)

The order had been issued under the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949. This Act had come "into force on 29th March, 1949," and was to remain in force till the 14th of August, 1951. Its object, as stated in its Preamble, was "to provide for special measures to ensure public safety and maintenance of public order." The material provisions of the Act, so far as this case was concerned, were Sub-Section (1) (c) and Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act. They ran as follows :

"4 (1) (c). The Provincial Government or the District Magistrate, if satisfied with respect to any

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26. Namely, "the right of the people peaceably to assemble." See the First Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A.

27. Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 756-57.

28. 323 U.S.516 (1945).—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 994.

29. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 292-93.

30. The term "Scheduled Tribes" "means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution" (*i.e.*, the Constitution of India). See in this connexion Articles 342 and 366(25) of the Constitution of India.

31. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April & May, 1950, pp. 258-59.

32. See Article 370 in this connexion in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

33. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III. April & May, 1950, p. 259.

34. Or, as Das J. of our Supreme Court has observed:

"The free movement of citizens may have to be restricted in the interest of the general public. A person suffering from an infectious disease may be prevented from moving about and spreading the disease, and regulations for his segregation in the nature of quarantine may have to be introduced. Likewise, healthy people may be prevented, in the interests of the general public, from entering a plague-infected area. There may be protected places, *e.g.*, forts or other strategic places, access whereto may have to be regulated or even prohibited in the interests of the general public. The point to be noted, however, is that when free movement is thus restricted, whether in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the Scheduled Tribes, such restriction has reference generally to a certain local area which becomes the prohibited area but the right of free movement in all other areas in the Union is left unimpaired."—See *ibid.*, p. 302.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 519-36.

particular person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the maintenance of public order it is necessary so to do, may, by order in writing, give anyone or more of the following directions, namely that such person shall remove himself from, and shall not return to, any area that may be specified in the order."

"4 (3). An order under Sub-section (1) made by the District Magistrate shall not, unless the Provincial Government by special order otherwise directs, remain in force for more than three months from the making thereof."

The contention of the petitioner who was then the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, was that the particular provision of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, under which the order had been "made," become "void and ceased to be operative after the new Constitution of India" had come into force as it was inconsistent with his fundamental right guaranteed to him by Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Constitution read along with Clause (5) of the Article. He also contended that the grounds of the order served on him were "vague, insufficient and incomplete." Further, he alleged that the order was *mala fide* and illegal as it had been issued with a view to suppressing "political opposition" to the Government policy of appeasement in respect of Pakistan and as he and the Hindu Mahasabha were against that policy.

The Supreme Court by a majority[37] dismissed the petition of Dr. Khare. In doing so, it held, among other things:

(a) that there was nothing unreasonable in the provision contained in Sub-section (1)(c) of Sec. 4 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, "empowering the Provincial Government or the District Magistrate to make an externment order, and making their satisfaction as to the necessity of" issuing such an order final, or in the provisions contained in Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act that an order of a District Magistrate might remain in force for three months and that the Provincial Government might "make an order, or keep alive an order made by a District Magistrate, for a period exceeding three months without fixing any time limit;" and

(b) that the restrictions imposed by the above-mentioned provisions of the said Act of 1949 upon the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 19 (1) (d) of the Constitution were not, therefore, unreasonable restrictions within the meaning of Article 19 (5) (thereof) and the provisions of the Act were not void under Article 13 (1) (of the Constitution), and the order of externment was not illegal."

Further, Kania C. J. declared[38] that the grounds for the externment order on Dr. Khare could not be "described as vague, insufficient or incomplete."

"Apart from being vague," he continued, "I think that these grounds are specific and if honestly believed can support the order. The argument that the order was served to stifle opposition to the Government policy of appeasement has little bearing because the District Magistrate of Delhi is not concerned with the policy of the Government of appeasement or otherwise. The order is made because the activities of the petitioner are likely to prove prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order and the grounds specified have a direct bearing on that conclusion of the District Magistrate. I therefore think that this contention of the petitioner must be rejected.

"The result is that the petition fails and is dismissed."

Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. agreed with this view.

The Supreme Court also held by another majority[39] in this case:

"Whether the restrictions imposed by a legislative enactment upon the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 19 (1) (d) are reasonable within the meaning of Article 19 (5) of the Constitution would depend as much on the procedural portion of the law as (on) the substantial part of it, and in considering whether such restrictions are reasonable the Court is not therefore bound to confine itself to an examination of the reasonableness of the restrictions in the abstract with reference to their duration and territorial extent. The Court can also consider the reasonableness of the procedural part of the law and the circumstances under which, and the manner in which, the restrictions have been imposed."[40]

Thus the Court is entitled, said Kania C. J.,[41] "to consider whether the restrictions on the right to move throughout India, *i.e.*, both as regards the territory

37. Consisting of Kania C. J., Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. Mahajan and Mukherjea JJ, dissented from the decision of the majority.—See *ibid.*, p. 520.

38. See *ibid.*, pp. 527-28.

39. Consisting this time of—Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Mahajan and Mukherjea JJ. Patanjali Sastri J. "did not express any opinion on this point."—See *ibid.*, p. 521.

40. See *ibid.*, pp. 521, 524 and 532.

41. See *ibid.*, p. 524; also p. 532.

and the duration, are reasonable or not. The law providing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by Article 19 may contain substantive provisions as well as procedural provisions. While the reasonableness of the restrictions has to be considered with regard to the exercise of the right, it does not necessarily exclude from the consideration of the Court the question of the reasonableness of the procedural part of the law. It is obvious that if the law prescribes five years' externment or ten years' externment, the question whether such period of externment is reasonable, being the substantive part, is necessarily for the consideration of the Court under Clause (5). Similarly, if the law provides the procedure under which the exercise of the right may be restricted, the same is also for the consideration of the Court, as it has to determine if the exercise of the right has been reasonably restricted. I do not think by this interpretation the scope and ambit of the word 'reasonable' as applied to restrictions on the exercise of the right, is in any way unjustifiably enlarged. It seems that the narrow construction sought to be put on the expression, to restrict the Court's power to consider only the substantive law on the point, is not correct."

With regard to the importance of Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19 quoted before, namely, the right "to acquire, hold and dispose of property," it will we believe be quite enough if we only quote here what Professor Yashwant Rai[43] stated in the Constituent Assembly on 2nd. December, 1948, with reference to Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India which corresponded to the former.

"The Harijans of the Punjab," he said,[43] "are very much indebted to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee for having included Article 13 in the Constitution." At present it is the custom in the Punjab that only one particular community can purchase land and take to agriculture. But the Harijans, 90 per cent of whom are cultivators, are not permitted to purchase land to cultivate, or to build houses. When this article receives the assent of the House, they will have the facility of purchasing land for building their houses, as also land for agricultural purposes if they have the capacity to do so. I hope that the many handicaps from which the Harijans suffer in (the) Punjab, causing the clashes that are taking place in almost every village between them and the landlords, as a result of which they are kept confined to their houses in some villages, as also their other difficulties will not have to be faced by them in future. . . Therefore Clause (f) of Article 13 is very necessary because it provides the facilities we wanted. I think that the difficulties with which we are faced today will soon disappear. I therefore support this article."

We also find in the speech[45] of Shri Chaudhari Ranbir Singh in the Constituent Assembly on the same day:

"I come from East Punjab, and there is a law which is known as the Land Alienation Act, according to which certain classes are debarred from acquiring land, by law. I agree with my friends, specially Harijans who advocate that the Harijans and other persons who are actually the tillers of the soil should have the right to acquire land."

Such disabilities as these are now incompatible with Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19, subject, however, to the provisions of Clause (5) of the Article.

There is, however, one objectionable feature in Clause (5) of Article 19 as quoted before. It empowers "the State" to enact laws imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of the Article, either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. As we have seen before,[46] under Article 12 of our Constitution the term "the State" means not merely the Government and Parliament of India, but also the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India, etc. This means, further, that such matters as come within the scope of Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) are, under Clause (5), within the legislative competence of a State legislature or even of a local authority. Moreover, the expressions "in the interests of the general public" and "for the protection of the interests of any Schedule Tribe" in Clause (5) are not very definite in their connotation. There is, therefore, a danger implicit in Clause (5) that under it, and notwithstanding the judicial safeguard provided for in it, laws may be enacted, say, by State legislatures acting under the influence of narrow, parochial considerations. Thus Clause (5) may contribute to the growth of provincialism and inter-State ill-will in our country. The Parliament of India alone should

42. East Punjab: (General).

43. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948, pp. 761-62.

44. In fact, it was the work of the Drafting Committee as a whole.

45. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 2nd December, 1948, pp. 757-58.

46. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77.

have been empowered to enact laws contemplated by Clause (5). This would have also ensured uniformity of legislation in the country in regard to matters covered by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f).

V

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that

"All citizens shall have the right to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

As in the case of other rights, it is also subject to a qualification. And this qualification *now*[47] runs as follows:

"(6) Nothing in Sub-clause (g) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said Sub-clause, 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—

(*i*) the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or

(*ii*) the carrying on by the State or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise."

It should be evident from this that, subject to the requirements of the qualification contained in Clause (6) of Article 1 as quoted immediately above, Sub-clause (g), in effect, provides, positively, for freedom of business, occupation and contract, and declares, negatively, against what is generally known as the *law of status*. Thus the career of an Indian citizen is to be determined by his worth and not by his birth. Further, his position in society will be a matter of choice or voluntary arrangement by and for him. His blood will not "make his life" as under the *law of status*. This is quite in consonance with the principles of democracy. But this freedom of choice or occupation is subject to the requirements of social interest. It is true that there is a social interest in the maintenance of the freedom of choice or occupation; but this freedom may have to be restrained, as, for instance, in the United States of America,[48] for the protection of other social interests which may be considered to be more important than the former. Thus the social interest in the maintenance of freedom of choice or occupation will have "to take its chances along with other social interests." And this is what Clause (6) of Article 1 provides for. What Shri Algu Rai Shastri[49] stated in this connection on 2nd December, 1948, in our Constituent Assembly,[50] is worthy of note in this connexion. Referring to Article 13(1)(g) of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19(1)(g) of our present Constitution, he observed:[51]

"Under this article there would be no compulsion for any person to follow any particular occupation. This article as a matter of fact, instead of prescribing the compulsory pursuit of any occupation, provides for unrestricted freedom to every individual to follow any vocation he pleases. I think that the freedoms granted under Sub-clauses (f) and (g) need clarification. In Sub-clause (f) is specified the right of a person to acquire, hold and dispose of property; while in Sub-clause (g) it is stated that there is freedom of a person to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business or other means of livelihood of one's choice. It is true that the State has been authorized to restrict this freedom in Sub-clauses (Clauses?) (5) and (6). But a little reflection would show that it was necessary to limit the freedom so widely provided for in Sub-clauses (f) and (g) of Clause (1) of Article 13. Such unrestricted freedom as is provided in these two Sub-clauses could not be free from grave danger. For instance, we have in our society the practice of prostitution. Is this to continue in future also as it has done till now? It should not in any circumstances be permitted to continue. Evidently there must be some provision whereby its practice may disappear by providing for a profession worthy of being adopted. Evidently restrictions have to be imposed on it . . . . Again, begging is a common profession in our society today. Should it be permitted to continue as it is? I submit that there should be a good arrangement for bringing it to an end."

Similarly, freedom to earn one's livelihood by the sale of intoxicants may be restricted or even abolished as a result of the enforcement of Prohibition by the State. Thus social interest in individual freedom may well have to be subordinated to the requirements of other

47. *I.e.*, since the enactment of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 (Section 3).

48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 743-46.

49. United Provinces (formerly): General.

50. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948.

51. See *ibid.*, pp. 768-69.

greater social interests. But any restriction on the freedom guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must, under Clause (6) of the Article, be reasonable, and, as we have seen in the case of the other Clauses, "the question of reasonableness is a justiciable matter[52] which has to be determined by the Court" of Law. If the restriction imposed by a law is held to be reasonable there is certainly no remedy. If, on the other hand, it is held to be unreasonable, Article 13 of our Constitution imposes[53] a duty upon the Court to pronounce the law to be invalid and void to the extent it is found to be inconsistent with the fundamental right guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) read along with Clause (6), referred to above. We may refer in this connexion to the judgments of our Supreme Court in what are known as *Rashid Ahmad* vs. *The Municipal Board, Kairana*, and *Chintaman Rao* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ram Krishna* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*, dated 19th May, 1950, and 8th November, 1950, respectively.[54] Briefly speaking, the facts of these two cases and the Supreme Court's judgments thereon are as follows:

The first case, namely, *Rashid Ahmad* vs. *The Municipal Board, Kairana*, arose[55] out of "an application under Article 32 of the Constitution of India made by Rashid Ahmad" for the "enforcement of his fundamental right to carry on his business" which, it was submitted, had been guaranteed to him by Article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution, and which was "said to have been completely stopped by the respondent, the Municipal Board of Kairana" (in the District of Muzaffarnagar in the State of Uttar Pradesh). Now bye-law 2 of the bye-laws of the Municipal Board "pertaining to contract of vegetables" which had come into force only "on and from 1st January, 1950," laid down that "no person shall establish any new market or place for wholesale transaction without obtaining the previous permission of the Board and no person shall sell or expose for sale any vegetable, fruit, etc., at any place other than that fixed by the Board for the purpose." And bye-law (4) of these bye-laws "permitted the grant of a monopoly to a contractor to deal in wholesale transactions at the place fixed as a market." Under these bye-laws "the monopoly right to do wholesale business in vegetables for three years" had been auctioned[56] by the Municipal Board and granted to the highest bidder, Habib Ahmad, and a place had also been fixed as the market where such business could be carried on. The petitioner Rashid Ahmad "who had been carrying on wholesale business in vegetables at a rented shop within the Municipality for two years before the bye-laws came into force applied for a license to carry on his business at his shop, but this was rejected on the ground that there was no provision in the bye-laws authorising the grant of any such license," and "he was prosecuted for (the alleged) contravention of the bye-laws."

"The fact," we find in the judgment of the Supreme Court, "that the respondent Board had already auctioned the contract to Habib Ahmad might conceivably have had some bearing on this refusal to grant a license to the petitioner . . . The position, therefore, is that the petitioner cannot do any wholesale business either at the appointed market or at his own shop where he had admittedly been doing wholesale business for two years prior to the bye-laws coming into force. In short, the petitioner's business has been wholly stopped and he is being prosecuted for alleged breach of the bye-laws."

The Court held—(*i*) that the prohibition in bye-law 2 had in effect become absolute in the absence of any provision authorising the issue of a license;

(*ii*) that, "inasmuch as the Municipal Board had, further, put it out of its power to grant a license to the petitioner by granting a monopoly" to Habib Ahmad, the restrictions imposed on the petitioner were not *reasonable* within the meaning of Clause (6) of Article 19 of the Constitution;

(*iii*) that the bye-laws were accordingly void and the prosecution of the petitioner for carrying on his business in the alleged contravention of the bye-laws was illegal; and

(*iv*) that "the fact that the Constitution came into force only after the bye-laws had

52. Quoted from the judgment of Mukherjea J. in *Dr. N. B. Khare* vs. *The State of Delhi* (*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 530.)

53. See my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

54. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72, and Part VIII, October and November 1950, pp. 759-66.

55. For details see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72. The Union of India and the State of Uttar Pradesh were interveners in this case.

56. As a matter of fact, the auction had been held in anticipation of the bye-laws in question on 21st May, 1949. The bye-laws came into force on 1st January, 1950.

come into force did not affect the petitioner's right to carry on his business."

In conclusion, the Court declared:

"We are satisfied that in this case the petitioner's fundamental rights have been infringed and he is entitled to have his grievance redressed. The proper order in such circumstances would be to direct the respondent Board not to prohibit the petitioner from carrying on the trade of wholesale dealer and Commission agent of vegetables and fruits within the limits of the Municipal Board of Kairana, except in accordance with the bye-laws as and when framed in future according to law and further to direct the respondent Municipal Board to withdraw the pending prosecution of the petitioner and we order accordingly. The respondents to pay the costs of the petitioner."

Thus the petition of Rashid Ahmad was allowed by the Supreme Court.

The second case,[57] namely, *Chintamon Rao* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ramkrishna* vs. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*, arose out of two applications "made by a proprietor and an employee respectively of a bidi-manufacturing concern of District Sagar" in the State of Madhya Pradesh. It was "contended (in this case) that the law in force in the State authorizing it to prohibit the manufacture of bidis in certain villages including the one wherein the applicants" resided was "inconsistent with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution" and was "consequently void." The position was this. The law in question was the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act (Act LXIV) of 1948. It had been passed on the 19th October, 1948, and was in force in the State at the commencement of the Constitution. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act laid down as follows:

"3. The Deputy Commissioner may by notification fix a period to be an agricultural season with respect to such villages as may be specified therein.

"4.(1) The Deputy Commissioner may, by general order which shall extend to such villages as he may specify, prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season.

"(2) No person residing in a village specified in such order shall during the agricultural season engage himself in the manufacture of bidis, and no manufacturer shall during the said season employ any person for the manufacture of bidis."

Now on 13th June, 1950, an order had been issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Sagar under the provisions of the said Act of 1948, forbidding all persons residing in certain villages to engage in the manufacture of bidis. And on 19th June, 1950, the two applications had been presented to the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution "challenging the validity of the order as it prejudicially affected the petitioners' right of freedom of occupation and business." During the pendency of the applications the season mentioned in the order of 13th June had run out, and "a fresh order for the ensuing agricultural season—8th October to 18th November, 1950"—had been "issued on 29th September, 1950, in the same terms." This had also been challenged in a supplementary application.

In the course of its judgment the Supreme Court first quoted Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1), and also Clause (6), of Article 19 of our Constitution and then observed:

"The point for consideration in these applications is whether the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 comes within the ambit of this saving Clause[58] or is in excess of its provisions. The learned Counsel for the petitioners contends that the impugned Act does not impose reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the fundamental right in the interests of the general public but totally negatives it. In order to judge the validity of this contention it is necessary to examine the impugned Act and some of its provisions. In the preamble to the Act, it is stated that it has been enacted to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi-manufacturing areas. Sections 3 and 4 (of the Act) cited above[59] empower the Deputy Commissioner to prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. The contravention of any of these provisions is made punishable by Section 7 of the Act, the penalty being imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both. It was enacted to help in the grow more food campaign and for the purpose of bringing under the plough considerable areas of fallow land."

"The question for decision," continued the Court, "is whether the statute under the guise of protecting public interests arbitrarily interferes with private business and imposes unreasonable and unnecessarily restrictive regulations upon lawful occupation; in other words, whether the total prohibition of carrying on the business of manufacture of bidis within the agricultural season amounts to a reasonable restriction on the fundamental rights mentioned in Article

57. See, for details, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Part VIII, October & November, 1950, pp. 759-66.

58. *I.e.*, Clause (6) of Article 19.

59. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act in question have also been quoted by us in the text.

19(1)(g) of the Constitution. Unless it is shown that there is a reasonable relation of the provisions of the Act to the purpose in view, the right of freedom of occupation and business cannot be curtailed by it. 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 and unless it strikes a proper balance between the freedom guaranteed in Article 19(1)(g) and the social control permitted by Clause (6) of Article 19, it must be held to be wanting in that quality."

"The statute[60] in substance and effect," the Court further stated, "suspends altogether the right mentioned in Article 19(1)(g) during the agricultural seasons and such suspension may lead to such dislocation of the industry as to prove its ultimate ruin. The object of the statute is to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi-manufacturing areas of the Province and it could well be achieved by legislation restraining the employment of agricultural labour in the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. Even in point of time a restriction may well have been reasonable if it amounted to a regulation of the hours of work in the business. Such legislation though it would limit the field for recruiting persons for the manufacture of bidis and regulate the hours of the working of the industry, would not have amounted to a complete stoppage of the business of manufacture and might well have been within the ambit of Clause (6). The effect of the provisions of the Act, however, has no reasonable relation to the object in view but is so drastic in scope that it goes much in excess of that object. Not only are the provisions of the statute in excess of the requirements of the case but the language employed prohibits a manufacturer of bidis from employing any person in his business, no matter wherever that person may be residing. In other words, a manufacturer of bidis residing in this area cannot import labour from neighbouring places in the district or province or from outside the province. Such a prohibition on the face of it is of an arbitrary nature inasmuch as it has no relation whatsoever to the object which the legislation seeks to achieve and as such cannot be said to be a reasonable restriction on the exercise of the right. Further the statute seeks to prohibit all persons residing in the notified villages during the agricultural season from engaging themselves in the manufacture of bidis. It cannot be denied that there would be a number of infirm and disabled persons, a number of children, old women and petty shopkeepers residing in these villages who are incapable of being used for agricultural labour. All such persons are prohibited by law from engaging themselves in the manufacture of bidis; and are thus being deprived of earning their livelihood. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are certain classes of persons residing in every village who do not engage in agricultural operations. They and their womenfolk and children in their leisure hours supplement their income by engaging themselves in bidi business. There seems no reason for prohibiting them from carrying on this occupation. The statute as it stands, not only compels those who can be engaged in agricultural work from not taking to other avocations, but it also prohibits persons who have no connection or relation to agricultural operations from engaging in the business of bidi-making and thus earning their livelihood. These provisions of the statute, in our opinion, cannot be said to amount to reasonable restrictions on the right of the applicants and that being so, the statute is not in conformity with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution. The law even to the extent that it could be said to authorize the imposition of restrictions in regard to agricultural labour cannot be held valid because the language employed is wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting the right. 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 void."

Finally, the Court remarked:

"Mr. Sikri (Counsel) for the Government of Madhya Pradesh contends that the legislature of Madhya Pradesh was the proper judge of the reasonableness of the restrictions imposed by the statute, that that legislature alone knew the conditions prevailing in the State and it alone could say what kind of legislation could effectively achieve the end in view and would help in the grow more food campaign and would help for bringing in fallow land under the plough, and that this Court sitting at this great distance could not judge by its own yardstick of reason whether the restrictions imposed in the circumstances of the case were reasonable or not. This argument runs counter to the clear provisions of the Constitution. 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. 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

60. *I.e.*, the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 under consideration.

guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void. The result therefore is that the orders issued by the Deputy Commissioner on 13th June, 1950 and 26th (29th ?) September, 1950, are void, inoperative and ineffective. We therefore direct the respondents not to enforce the provisions contained in Section 4 of the Act against the petitioners in any manner whatsoever. The petitioners will have their costs of these proceedings in the two petitions."

Thus the two petitions out of which the case arose were allowed by the Supreme Court.

We have quoted above the judgment of the Supreme Court in the *Chintaman Rao* case at some length as it is a fine illustration of effective judicial interference with *unreasonable* legislation in respect of a fundamental right.

We need not say much about either Sub-clause (*i*) or Sub-clause (*ii*) of Clause (6) of Article 19 as they are more or less self-explanatory. Under Sub-clause (*i*) law may, in the interests of the general public, reasonably prescribe the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising a profession or for carrying on an occupation, trade or business. And under Sub-clause (*ii*) law may permit the creation of a monopoly, complete or partial, in favour of the State itself, or in favour of a corporation owned or controlled by the State, but not otherwise. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law) pointed out[61] in our Parliament on 18th May, 1951, the important point of this Sub-clause lies in this that it permits the State to make a classification as between private persons carrying on a trade and the State itself carrying on the same trade It was necessitated,[62] according to him, by the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*[63] and its object was to help nationalisation of industries, business, etc., and to evade the charge of any discrimination in that connexion.[64]

Before we leave the discussion of Clauses (1) to (6) of Article 19 we may note what Justice Das and Justice Mukherjea of our Supreme Court have said[65] with regard to them, in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*. Referring to "the seven rights protected by Clause (1) of Article 19" Justice Das has observed:

"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 these rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes it abundantly clear that none of the seven rights enumerated in Clause (1) 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 nett result is that the unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 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 13. Here again 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."

And Justice Mukherjea has said in connexion with those seven rights:

"There cannot be any such thing as absolute or uncontrolled liberty wholly freed from restrains, for that would lead to anarchy and disorder. The possession and enjoyment of all rights, as was observed by the Supreme Court of America in *Jacobson* vs. *Massachusetts*,[66] are subject to such reasonable conditions as may be deemed by the governing authority of the country essential to the safety, health, peace, general order and morals of the community. The question, therefore, arises in each case of adjusting the conflicting interests of the individual and of the society. In some cases, restrictions have to be placed

61. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9020-9021.

62. See *ibid*.

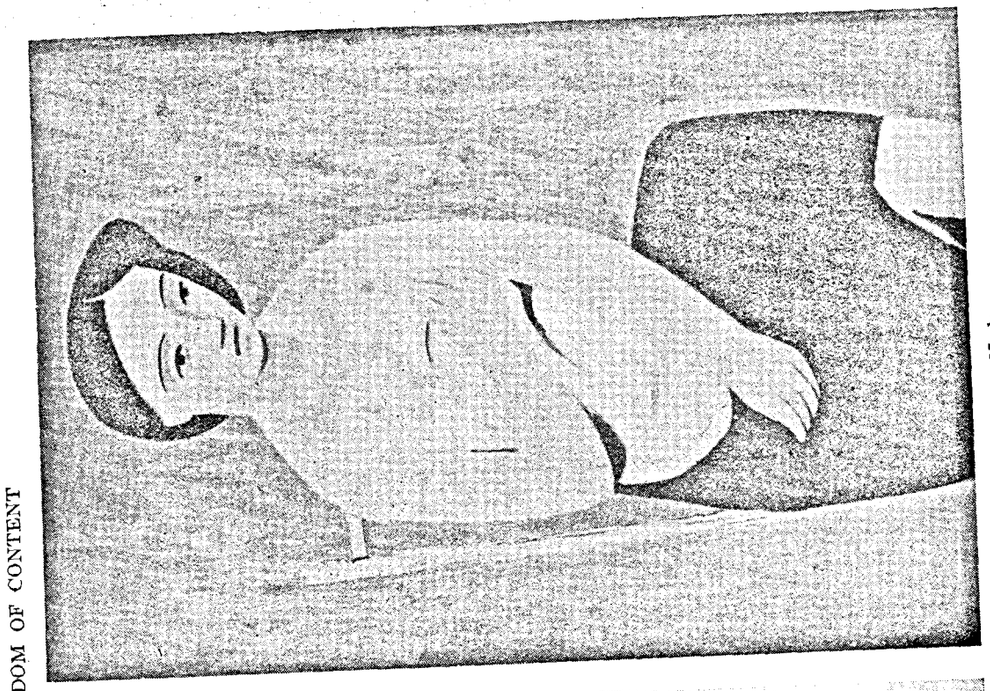
63. *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*, A.I.R. 1951 (Allahabad) 257. See *ibid*.

64. Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh), however, did not agree with the view that Dr. Ambedkar had taken of the Allahabad High Court judgment in *Motilal* vs. *Uttar Pradesh*. According to him, the essence of this Allahabad judgment was that nationalisation could not be carried out merely by an executive order, but that legislation was necessary for the purpose. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 31st May, 1951, pp. 9784-9785.

65. See the *Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April & May, 1950, pp. 294 and 253-54.

66. 197 U.S. 11 (1905).

SURREALIST FREEDOM OF CONTENT



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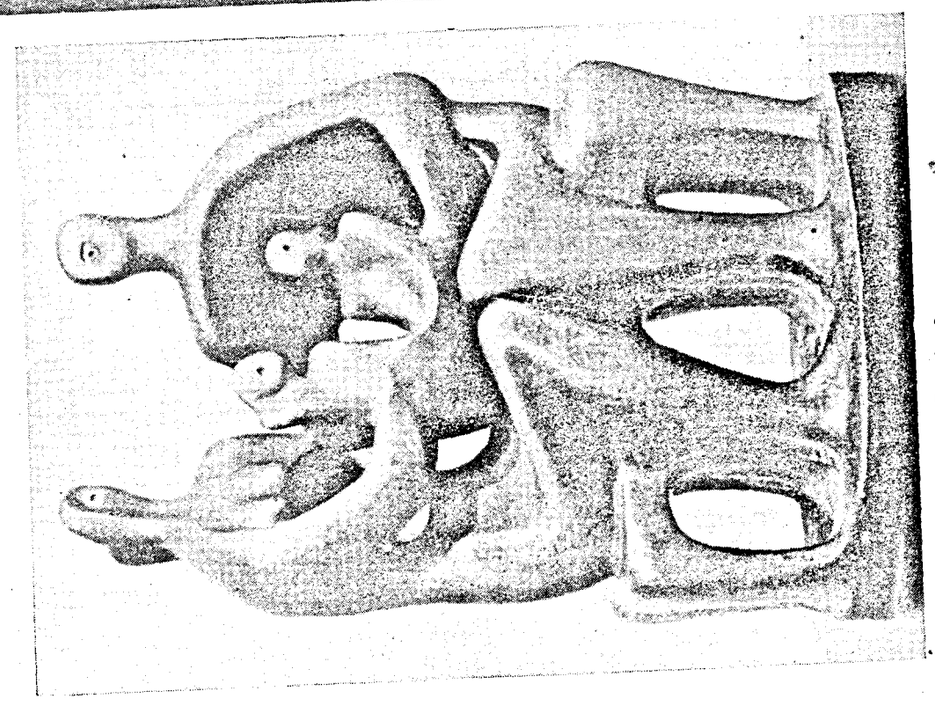

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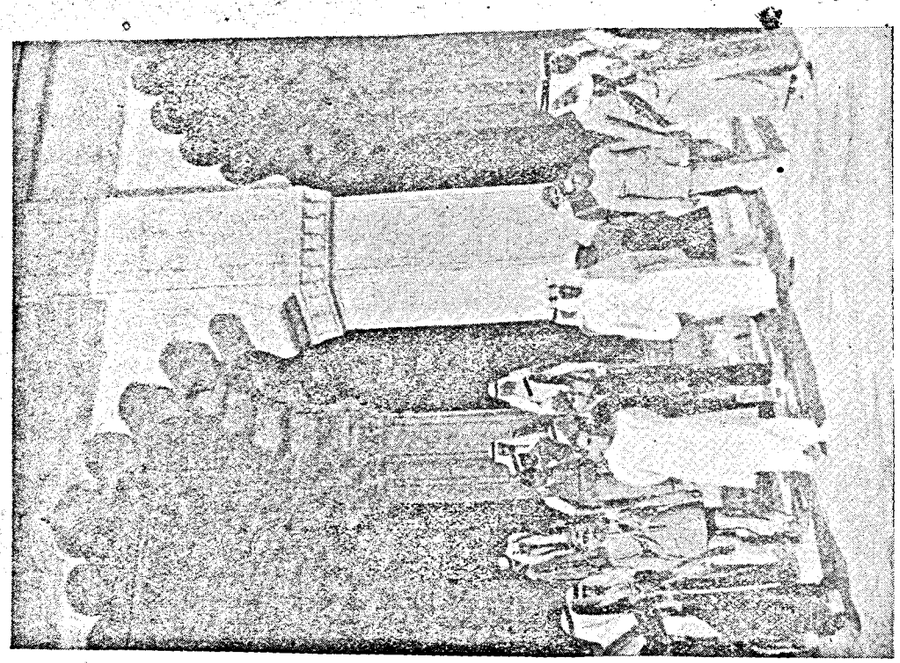
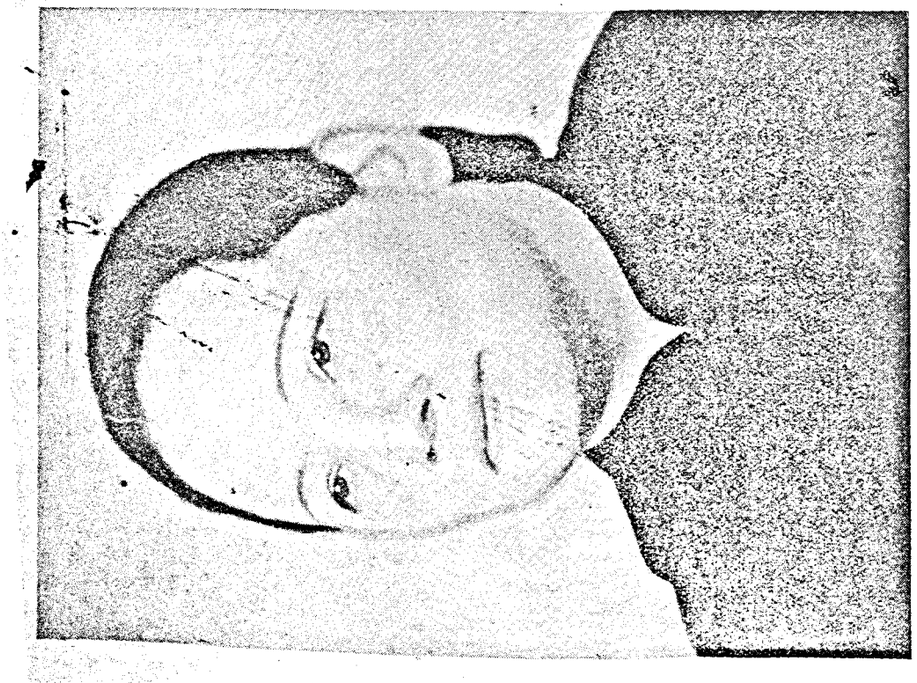


His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz al Saud of Saudi Arabia being conducted round the Moti Masjid inside the famous Agra Fort



Madame Sun Yet-sen, also known as Madame Soong Ching Ling, visited India in December, 1955

upon free exercise of individual rights to safeguard the interests of the society; on the other hand, social control which exists for public good has got to be restrained, lest it should be misused to the detriment of individual rights and liberties. Ordinarily, every man has the liberty to order his life as he pleases, to say what he will, to go where he will, to follow any trade, occupation or calling at his pleasure and to do any other thing which he can lawfully do without let or hindrance by any other person. On the other hand, for the very protection of these liberties the society must arm itself with certain powers. No man's liberty would be worth its name if it can be violated with impunity by any wrong-doer and if his property or possessions could be preyed upon by a thief or a marauder. The society, therefore, has got to exercise certain powers for the protection of these liberties and to arrest, search, imprison and punish those who break the law. If these powers are properly exercised, they themselves are the safeguards of freedom, but they can certainly be abused. The police may arrest any man and throw him into prison without assigning any reasons; they may search his belongings on the slightest pretext; he may be subjected to a sham trial and even punished for crimes unknown to law. What the Constitution (of India), therefore, attempts to do in declaring the rights of the people is to strike a balance between individual liberty and social control. To me it seems that Article 19 of the Constitution gives a list of individual liberties and prescribes in the various Clauses the retraints that may be placed upon them by law, so that they may not conflict with public welfare or general morality."

This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America observed in 1905 in the course of its judgment in *Jacobson* vs. *Massachusetts*.[67]

"The liberty secured by the Constitution of the United States to every person within its jurisdiction does not," said the Supreme Court,[68] "import an absolute right in each person to be, at all times and in all circumstances, wholly freed from restraint. There are manifold restraints to which every person is necessarily subject for the common good. On any other basis organized society could not exist with safety to its members. Society based on the rule that each one is a law unto himself would soon be confronted with disorder and anarchy. Real liberty for all could not exist under the operation of a principle which recognizes the right of each individual person to use his own, whether in respect of his person or his property, regardless of the injury that may be done to others."

67. 197 U.S. 11 (1905). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 772-79.

68. See *ibid.*, pp. 775-76.

VI

In concluding our discussion of Article 19 of our Constitution, we should like to point out that, under the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, made by the President of India on 14th May, 1954,[69] in its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Article 19 has been subject to the following modifications for a period of five years with effect from the 14th of May, 1954:

(*i*) In Clauses (3) and (4) thereof, after the words "in the interests of," the words "the security of the State or" are to be inserted;

(*ii*) In Clause (5) thereof, for the words "or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribes," the words "or in the interests of the security of the State" are to be substituted; and

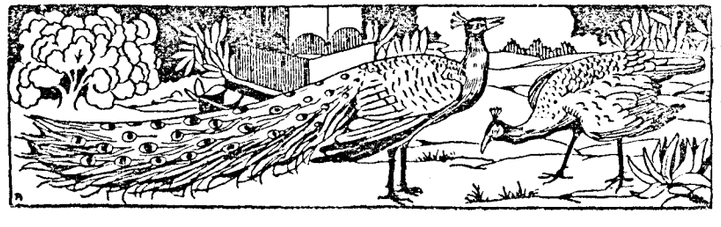
(*iii*) The following new Clause is to be added thereto, namely,

(1) The words 'reasonable restrictions' occurring in Clauses (2), (3), (4) and (5) shall be construed as meaning such restrictions as the appropriate Legislature deems reasonable."

This is obviously a transitional measure in view of the peculiarity of the present position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union. It needs no elucidation.

In our later articles in this series, we propose to deal with some other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

69. See *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, Part II, Section 3, May 14th, 1954; also *The Constitution of India As modified up to first May*, 1955), published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955, p. 10.



THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the Imperialist Conservative politician, in the beginning of the first decade of the present century the Partition of Bengal was planned on the plea of removing administrative difficulties. The province of Bengal was then composed of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and it was, according to the authorities, too big for a Lieutenant Governor to administer efficiently. The scheme of partition was officially announced in July 1905. There was strong protest through newspapers and public meetings to which the alien rulers turned a deaf ear. The scheme was so prepared that the Bengali-speaking Hindus in both the provinces of divided Bengal would be turned into minority. The leaders of Bengal had justifiable suspicion that the motive behind the conception of partition was to strike at the root of integrity of the Bengali nation which was in the forefront of all kinds of political movements in India. Lord Curzon found that it was the leaders of Bengal who had a dominating voice in the field of all-India politics and that other provinces followed their lead.

At a huge public meeting held on the 7th August of that year in the Calcutta Town Hall a resolution of boycott of British goods was passed *nem con* as a protest against the proposed partition. There was an unprecedented rally of citizens of Calcutta numbering nearly half a lac which could not be accommodated in the ground floor of the big Town Hall and three simultaneous meetings,—two in the Town Hall and one in the adjoining *maidan*, had to be arranged. The movement spread all over Bengal within a fortnight with the speed of a violent hurricane. The enthusiasm of the people, particularly of the youth and the students community, reached its climax. They organised themselves with promptitude and started picketing the shops of those traders in the *bazars* and markets who used to deal with British goods. In compliance wtih the leaders' direction in the matter of picketting they stuck to the principle of moral persuasion and refrained from using physical force. But in the cases of those dealers and customers of British goods, who used to give provocation to the young volunteers, the principle could not be strictly adhered to. In the city of Calcutta and Muffasil towns the students and youngmen paraded not infrequently public thoroughfares in procession singing national songs and shouting *Bande Mataram*. The movement, which came to be known as the Swadeshi or the Boycott movement, inundated the whole of Bengal from one end to the other like flood-water of a mountainous river during monsoon. Both in the urban and rural areas the awakening of the Bengali nation from age-long slumber was manifest through different spheres of our national life.

It was officially announced in September of that year that the partition scheme would come into operation on and from the 16th October. Following upon the announcement *Rastraguru* Surendra Nath Banerjee, who was then so popular as a leader that he was called by his countrymen "the uncrowned king of Bengal," convened an informal conference of leaders for deciding as to how to observe the day. The following are some of the leaders who participated in the proceedings of the conference: Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Sister Nivedita, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Acharya Ramendra Sundar Tribedi, Tarak Nath Palit, J. Choudhury. It was decided unanimously that the sixteenth of October (1905) would be observed throughout Bengal as a day of national mourning. A programme for that day was chalked out and the following items were included therein: (1) Cessation of all sorts of work from morn till evening, (2) closing of markets and *bazars*, (3) stoppage of vehicular traffic, (4) non-cooking, fasting and prayer, (5) *Rakhi-bandhan, i.e.*, tying of red bands on the wrist as a token of unity and fraternal feelings among the people of 'divided' Bengal and (6) holding of public meetings where people would take the vow of annulling the Partition of Bengal. Besides those the following two additional items for Calcutta were included in the programme: (1) Laying of the foundation stone of the proposed Federation Hall at the selected site adjoining the Upper Circular Road close to the Deaf and Dumb School. "It would keep alive the remembrance of our severance and thus be an ever-living stimulus to our efforts to secure our reunion"—said Surendra Nath. (2) Collection of money for the proposed National Fund at a rally of the citizens of Calcutta in the big field in front of Rai Pasupati Nath Bose's house at Baghbazar.

The sixteenth of October or thirtieth Aswin was observed as a day of national mourning throughout Bengal with due solemnity. In the city of Calcutta, which was then the capital of India, there was cessation of work in all the areas except those where Europeans, Muslims and Marwaris carried on business; daily markets and shops on the side of streets, roads and lanes were closed and all sorts of vehicular traffic was stopped. The factories, workshops and mills in the suburbs of Calcutta could not be run as the workers abstained from attending. On that memorable day in the annals of our national upheaval nowhere in the great city of Calcutta nor in the towns and villages of Bengal any disturbance or breach of the peace was committed. The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, made elaborate Police arrangements for guarding different areas of the city, but his Police force had to spend the day as silent spectators as nothing untoward happened. The function of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall was performed in the afternoon at a mammoth meeting of about half a lac people by Ananda Mohan Bose, a great popular leader and an ex-president of the Indian National Congress. Having been in sick-bed he had to be carried to the meeting in an invalid's chair attended by his physicians. Rastraguru Surendra Nath Banerjee read the presidential speech, as the president of the function was too weak to stand on his legs and read it himself. The *Rastraguru*, himself a renowned orator of All-India fame, made the following observation about the speech in his autobiography *A Nation in Making*:

"The speech that he prepared on his sick-bed, amid the daily inroads of a mortal disease, is striking evidence of the triumph of mind and spirit over matter. I regard it as the greatest of his oratorical performances, and one of the noblest orations to which it has been one's privilege to listen. Indeed, judged by what happened within a few months, it was the song of the dying swan....."

The function over, the huge crowd, all barefooted, proceeded to the house of Rai Pashupati Nath Bose at Baghbazar Street nearly two miles off. In the big grounds of his palatial mansion there gathered about a lac of people to contribute their mite to the National Fund. A sum of twenty-five thousand rupees was collected on the spot from the voluntary contribution of the poor and the middle classes. As the leaders could not anticipate such a monster rally of the citizens adequate arrangement could not be made for speedy collection, as the result of which many intending contributors had to go home frustrated. The project of the Federation Hall could not materialize in due time owing to various causes. The Federation Hall Society, entrusted with the task of fulfilling it, completed the construction in the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Swadeshi movement and the opening ceremony of the Federation Hall at 294-2-1 Upper Circular Road was performed on the 24th April, 1955 by Dr. J. C. Ghosh, an eminent scientist of international reputation and an illustrious son of Mother India.

Sister Nivedita of hallowed memory sent *rakhis* by post to Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Prabasi*, at his Allahabad address where he was then residing. The letter she wrote to him on the occasion is worthy of that patriot-saint who loved and served India, her land of adoption. The above news together with the letter was published in the famous vernacular weekly of the time, *Sanjibani*, in its issue of the 19th October, 1905 from which it is reproduced below:

"With the compliments of Sister Nivedita.

"Today, being the 30th Aswin, 16th October, 1905, Partition of the Bengali people is to be made by law.

"This day, then, designed to be the date of our division, is henceforth yearly to be set aside by us, for the deeper realisation of our national unity. Having been made, by this threat of division, overwhelmingly conscious of the essential oneness of the whole Indian Nation, the heart of Bengal goes out to all parts of our common Motherland.

"Thus to you, from us of Bengal, is sent today this thread of *Rakhi-Bandhan*, in token, not merely of the union of provinces but of bond that knits us all, as children of one Motherland together.

"*Bande Mataram.*

"To Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Prabasi*, Allahabad."

"For distribution among suitable persons."

It appears from the said report of the *Sanjibani* that on that occasion Ramananda Babu held divine service in his residence early in the morning of the sixteenth October and also in

the preceding night. Other Bengali residents of Allahabad also observed the day according to the programme. With the observance of the day of national mourning on the sixteenth October the first phase of the Swadeshi Movement came to an end.

Let us now survey the second and third phases of the movement. The alien rulers thought at the start of the Anti-Partition movement that like most of the previous political movements of the Bengali leaders it would also die a natural death in no time. But when it was found that their calculation was wrong they began to pursue a police of repression, the first target of which was the student community. In the newly-created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, where Sir. Bampfylde Fuller was the first Lieutenant Governor, a large number of students were punished either by imposition of fines or by rustication. In many cases teachers were compelled to resign or discharged from service for participating in the movement or for expressing sympathy with its object. Many Government-aided educational institutions were deprived of the aid they had been getting. In West Bengal, Government circulars through the District Magistrates were issued upon authorities of the educational institutions directing them to prohibit the students from joining any political movement.

The students of Calcutta assembled at a public meeting where strong protest was recorded against the circular and an association called Anti-Circular Society was formed in violation of and as a protest to the circular for the purpose of rendering services to the success of the national movement. Sri Nares Chandra Sen Gupta then a post-graduate research Scholar, (subsequently a reputed novelist and advocate of Calcutta High Court), the late Sachindra Prasad Bose (subsequently one of the nine deportees of Bengal), the late Phani Banerjee (subsequently a barrister of the Calcutta High Court), Sri Sukumar Mitra and the late Rama Kanta Roy, a young Engineer educated in Japan, were prominent workers of the society. *Rastraguru* Surendra Nath Banerjee, J. Choudhuri, Krishna Kumar Mitra and a few other leaders gave fillip to the students' movement by their guidance and assistance. The society turned into a strong well-disciplined organisation whose substantial contribution through selfless and fearless service were highly appreciated by their countrymen.

The leaders of Bengal boldly faced the situation created by the campaign of repression against students and founded the "National Council of Education, Bengal," for the purpose of imparting education on national lines. The munificence of such patriotic sons of Bengal as 'Raja' Subodh Chandra Mullick, Sri Brojendra Kishore Roy Chodhury, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and Tarak Nath Palit in this connection will ever be remembered with reverential gratitude by their appreciating and admiring countrymen. Aurobindo Ghose (Sri Aurobindo), then a high-salaried officer in the Education Department of Baroda State, gave up his lucrative job and joined the National College started at Calcutta by the National Council of Education, as Principal on a small monthly allowance of Rs. 150 only. The famous Jadavpur Technological Institute is the product of the "National Council of Education, Bengal."

The notable event of the period was the sitting of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal town in the district of Backharganj where the Boycott Movement under the guidance of the illustrious leader Aswini Kumar Dutta had made such unparalleled progress that the Government of Fuller had to station Gurkha soldiers at the headquarters and post Punitive police at Banaripara village. In spite of the unrelenting operation of the repressive measures the morale of the leaders and their innumerable followers did not break down. The notorious Bande Mataram Circular, whereby shouting of Bande Mataram in public highways was banned in the whole of Eastern Bengal, was not withdrawn despite universal protest. That lawless law, which encroached upon the inherent right of a man, was rendered into a dead letter by boys and youths who used to shout *Bande Mataram* in the public roads whenever any occasion arose and became accustomed to evade arrest by running away at the sight of the police.

On the first day of the Conference (April 14, 1906) in defiance of the prohibitory order a procession consisting of about five thousand people started some time after midday from *Raja Bahadur Habeli* singing national songs in chorus and shouting *Bande Mataram*. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Matilal Ghosh, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Bepin Chandra Pal, and other leaders, who headed the procession, gave definite orders to the processionists not to take with them any kind of arms not even a *lathi* and to meet firmly but peace-

fully any attack from the armed police. When the processionists were proceeding towards the Conference Pandal police constables armed with regulation *lathis* assaulted some of them causing hurt both simple and grievous. None of them in the face of such beastly attack turned back. Thus it is evident that the mighty weapon of Non-violence and Passive Resistance was first used in India by the Bengali people and politicians at Barisal with commendable success against the mighty alien Government. Abdul Rasul, a popular Muslim leader and well-known barrister of the Calcutta High Court, presided. Aswini Kumar Datta was the chairman of the Reception Committee. On the second day some time after the sitting had begun, an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code issued by the District Magistrate was personally served upon the leaders in the Pandal prohibiting further sitting of the Conference. Surendra Nath Banerjee appealed to the people present there to leave the Conference Pandal peacefully. Bhupendra Nath Bose, an eminent moderate leader, who attended the Conference, openly remarked following upon its dissolution that it was the beginning of the end. Excesses and atrocities perpetrated at Barisal in the name of law and order goaded young Bengal to have recourse to the dangerous path of secret revolutionary societies which had already taken the field. The happenings of the next two eventful years (1907 and 1908) betrayed death-defying courage and unswerving determination of the revolutionary youths of Bengal to break the shackles of political bondage.

In the campaign of persecution the following nationalist newspapers of Calcutta were the target of attack: *Jugantar*, vernacular Bengali weekly of the revolutionaries, *Sandhya*, vernacular Bengali daily of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, *Nabashakti*, vernacular Bengali daily of Monoranjan Guha Thakurta and *Bande Mataram*, English daily of Aurobindo Ghosh, Raja Subodh Chandra Mullick and some other leaders of the Nationalist party. The cases against them on charges of sedition tried in the Court of Mr. Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate, ended in conviction. Notwithstanding such repression the tone of those papers did not undergo any change whatsoever. The nationalist Press continued their crusade fearlessly against the foreign Bureaucracy. The Bureaucracy failing to cope with the situation with the help of ordinary law got the "Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act" passed hurriedly and thus stopped the publication of those papers by confiscation of their printing press, apparatus and other connected materials under the new law. Some other similar Acts were passed in quick succession for the sole purpose of crushing the movement of neo-Nationalism. Aurobindo Ghose in his Bombay speech in January 1908 highly praised the patriotic young men of Bengal for their bold stand against the relentless operation of repressive measures saying that "they were called upon to bear the crown, not of victory but of martyrdom." The high priest of neo-Nationalism speaking on the situation then created in Bengal said:

> ..."By what strength are we in Bengal able to survive? Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail. . . ."

The attempt to kill Mr. Kingsford, formerly Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, by throwing dangerous bombs at Mazaffarpur (Bihar), where he was transferred as a safety measure and posted as District and Sessions Judge, was one of the most sensational events of the period. Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki, two young members of the Jugantar revolutionary party, were responsible for doing that daring act which occurred in the night of the 30th April, 1908. The former was arrested next day with a loaded revolver near a Railway station about twenty-five miles off from Muzaffarpur; and the latter finding his arrest imminent at Mokamaghat Railway Station on the 2nd May, ended his life by firing two shots with his revolver aiming his forehead. Instead of Mr. Kingsford two European ladies were killed through mistake. Khudiram was subsequently tried and sentenced to death.

That incident led to the discovery of a miniature arsenal and a small laboratory for manufacture of bombs with a large quantity of incriminating articles, documents and literature in the garden house of Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose and brothers at Muraripukur Road (Maniktala), Calcutta. Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose, Upen Banerjee, Hem Das, Ullaskar Dutta and many others were arrested. Thirty-five young men were tried before the Sessions Court, Alipore (24-Parganas), on charges of conspiracy and attempt to wage war against the King-Emperor, commission of murder and attempt to commit

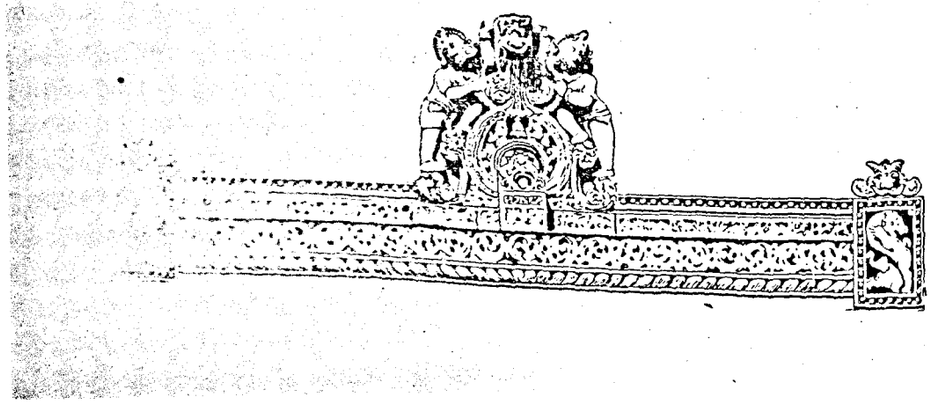
murder. As such extensive and well-organised conspiracy had never before been conceived of by any section of the Indian intelligentsia against the British rule, the Alipore Bomb case created a good deal of sensation not only in India but also in Great Britain. The case went up to the Calcutta High Court. Fourteen of the accused persons were convicted and sentenced; Barin, Upen, Hem and Ullaskar were awarded sentences of transportation for life. Aurobindo Ghose, the main accused or the hero of the drama, who was described by the prosecution as the leader of the party and the brain of the plot, was honorably acquitted by the trial court. Accused Naren Goswami, the son of a big zeminder, who turned an approver, was shot dead inside the Alipore jail by Satyen Bose and Kanai Lal Datta, two under-trial accused in the case. They were sentenced to death in a separate trial. Both the young revolutionaries mounted the gallows and braved death cheerfully and their countrymen idolized them as patriot-martyrs like their two comrades-in-arms Prafulla and Khudiram. The result of the conspiracy case had no reaction upon those who were initiated to the cult of armed revolution. In spite of unscrupulous operation of repressive laws they proceeded with their work vigorously. The accused in the State trial were not only connected with the Swadeshi Movement as active supporters but many of them were in the forefront of the movement. The political career of many a revolutionary began during the Swadeshi era.

"Absolute autonomy free from foreign control" was openly preached as the political goal by the Nationalist party through press and platform in the middle period as well as the last period of the movement. It is manifest that the political outlook of the Bengali nation thoroughly changed. The Swadeshi movement brought about revolutionary changes in different spheres of the life of the Bengalis and hence it is also regarded as a Renaissance movement of Bengal. Its duration was only for six years and four months, not at all a long period in the matter of revival of a nation in bondage. The Bengalis made headway in different fields, *viz.*, political, social, literary, economic. Prejudices of caste system, still rampant in the society, faded considerably; imitation of English customs, dress and mode of living, then prevalent among a section of the educated Bengalis, was abandoned; rendering relief service to the suffering countrymen during famine, epidemic and calamitous visitation of Nature topped the programme of work. Let me reproduce a few lines in this connection from the autobiography of Surendra Nath :

. . . "Literature felt the full impact of the rising tide of national sentiment, which bodied itself forth in prose and verse. Journalism received a stimulus such as it had not felt for a long time. The speeches made in Bengalee at *Swadeshi* meetings, under the inspiration of the new ideas, were models of eloquence and it is a pity they have not been preserved . . .

. . . . "It is, however, in the industrial line that the national activities received an unprecedented stimulus."

The Swadeshi movement successfully terminated in December 1911 with the Royal Proclamation of annulment of the Partition of Bengal. That epoch-making movement is adorable as forerunner of our fight for freedom. Its fiftieth anniversary was observed in Bengal on the 7th August, 1955. Eight years before that India had attained her independence. The remembrance of the great contribution of the movement will, no doubt, fill up the heart of every Bengali in free India with pride and glory, and inspire him with self-devotion to the cause of building up a New India of our day.



THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

III

WEST BENGAL'S Chief Minister's statements relating to Jamshedpur and to Dhanbad in the Assembly debate on 6th December, are very difficult to follow. He has described both as industrial towns, but Dhanbad has no industry outside its coalfield which, by the way, Dr. Roy wants to get for Bengal. Shorn of the coalfield, Dhanbad retained in Bihar will have no work for its Courts for its Water Board, and for its Mines Board of Health. And equally incorrect is the idea suggested by one of Dr. Roy's sentences that Bengal and Bihar have contributed more or less equally towards the development of Jamshedpur and that other States also have contributed more or less equally. As a matter of fact contribution by Bombay alone is comparable to Bengal's and aggregate of contributions by all the other States would fall far short of contributions by Bombay and Bengal. That the Tisco administration recognise this is clearly demonstrated by the bust of geologist Pramatha Nath Bose that they erected in the Jamshedpur Maidan and by the very recent grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of Bose's memory. In the earliest years of the Tisco works, the labour force consisted almost exclusively of local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes; and both Santals and Bhumijes were bi-linguals, with Bergali as the invariable subsidiary language; Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur Kalimati were still unknown names in Bihar. In 1911, when many of the buildings had been completed and machinery was being set up, there were less than 6000 persons with mother-tongue Hindi in the whole of Dhalbhum; and it was not till the later years of the First World War that men started coming in fair numbers from Hindi-speaking areas, the total for Dhalbhum up to 1921 being definitely less than 25 thousand. There are still now nearly 55 thousand Bengalees in Jamshedpur (more than 25 per cent); and it is doubtful if this is exceeded by the number of Biharees. Out of the 92 thousand Hindi-speakers, at least 18 thousand came from Madhya Pradesh, at least 12½ thousand from Uttar Pradesh, about 3 thousand from Rajasthan.

Even if the number of Biharees in Jamshedpur does exceed the Bengalee number 55 thousand, there is no gainsaying the fact that Bihar has no contiguity with Jamshedpur—this is definitely given out in para 625 of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report—and it is through the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana of Saraikela (Bengalees about 20 thousand out of total population 30 thousand) that Bihar would be allowed access to Jamshedpur. With Dhanbad town also Bihar would have no contiguity if the coal-field comes to West Bengal; but the coalfield has now a definite Hindi-speaking percentage at least 70 to 75 per cent., Biharees alone being about 40 per cent, while in Jamshedpur the total Hindi-speaking percentage, including people from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan is less than 40. Bihar can certainly make out a strong case for West Dhanbad with which it has contiguity; but it has none for Jamshedpur. If nevertheless Bihar is allowed to retain Jamshedpur, it will certainly intensify the campaign of shutting out non-Biharees from Tatas' works; and the 10 thousand from Purulia (a number larger than that from any other district in India, barring of course Singhbhum) and at least fifteen thousand from the Dhalbhum rural area that are now getting their livelihood in Jamshedpur will soon be compelled to seek fresh fields and pasture new; for Bihar, having earned the reputation of being strongly Congress-minded, seems to have earned also exemption from the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 1939 about non-intereference with nationality of employees in private concerns. West Bengal honours that directive; and Jamshedpur in West Bengal will provide employment for Bihar's people as do the collieries in the Raniganj field and industrial concerns in and round Calcutta. Separation from Jamshedpur will for Purulia and for Dhalbhum's rural area amount to positive punishment for the crime of asking for merger with West Bengal. Purulia people may of course seek revenge by stopping supply of water from the Mungo reservoir in Barabhum thana; but that would not give them food.

EAST DHANBAD

About East Dhanbad one point which I forgot to mention in the November number is that, for two of its thanas, Nirsha (including Chirkunda police-station) and Tundi, Survey and Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali. The Government had at first ordered Records to be prepared in Hindi, but opposition to this was so widespread that the order had to be cancelled and fresh order issued for Records in Bengali, for these two thanas. Similar action should have been taken also at least for Govindapur thana, part of which juts into the gap between Nirsha and Tundi thanas and which entire thana is Bengali-speaking. Equally Bengali-

speaking are police-stations Baliapur and Sindri of revenue-thana Jharia, which lie to the east of the Dhanbad-Pathardi branch railway line, which line marks the eastern boundary of the Jharia coal-field. Hindi records for Govindapur, Baliapur, Sindri, also for the western portion of thana Jharia and other police-stations farther west were later found to cause the greatest inconvenience; and the Settlement Officer, Mr. Gokhale, I.C.S., found to his regret that, in many of the villages, even in the western thanas, there was not even one man who could read and understand the Hindi records, not to speak of explaining the same to his neighbours.

Reasons were noted in detail in the November number for the estimates of linguistic distribution in East Dhanbad, 45 per cent for Bengali, 33 per cent for Hindi and 18 per cent for Santali. Plate I is a map of Dhanbad subdivision and of adjoining portion of Purulia subdivision, divided between East and West in either case, and with brief notes explaining the very great difference in estimates in linguistic distribution between East and West Dhanbad—the big and abrupt, differences being due to the fact that it is only the coalfields which have attracted immigrants who brought the Hindi language with them. The map shows also the locations of the Maithon and Panchet Hill dams of the D.V.C., which would both have Bihar at one end and West Bengal at the other, if the S. R. Commission's recommendations are implemented without any modification. East Dhanbad has an overwhelming case for transfer to West Bengal, along with the Purulia subdivision. No objection can legitimately be raised on the score of its forming part only of a subdivision, after the recommendation that Chas thana should be separated from the Purulia subdivision and tagged on to Dhanbad for retention in Bihar. If Chas thana can be separated from the rest of Purulia subdivision, why not East from West Dhanbad? Incidentally, the suggestion to attach Chas thana south of the Damodar river, to Dhanbad subdivision which is to the north of that river is irreconcilable with the S. R. Commission's observation in para 658 that "Manbhum is really composed of two different areas which are divided by the Damodar." There is no consistency, no principle, in the Commission's recommendations. Damodar is put forward as an impassable barrier when it is sought to establish that Dhanbad is a full-fledged district, (which it is not, any more than Dhalbhum with its Deputy Commissioner in Jamshedpur and only an Additional in Chaibasa is a full-fledged district); but the same Damodar is no impediment to attachment of Chas thana to Dhanbad subdivision.

West Dhanbad

On linguistic grounds alone, Bengal has not a strong case for West Dhanbad, except on the homeland theory which does not find favour with the S. R. Commission, and with many others as well. Moreover, subsequent to the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale finding that in many villages even in the western thanas of Dhanbad, there was not even one person who could read and understand the Records in Hindi, some proportion (though not a very large one) of the immigrants from Hindi-speaking areas have permanently settled down in Dhanbad.

There are, however, certain economic grounds which affecting not West Bengal alone, but the whole of the Indian Union, make it very desirable that West Dhanbad also be transferred to Bengal along with East Dhanbad. Calcutta has now grown to be the biggest industrial centre within the Indian Union, and its requirement of coal is much larger than that of any other station in the country. The Raniganj coalfield is getting exhausted —the reserve has come down to little over 2 thousand million tons, as noted by the Indian Coalfields Committee of 1946. Bihar has in Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau reserve over 10 thousand million tons, more than enough to meet all posible industrial expansion in Bihar for a hundred years or more. A few months back the Government of Bihar, in approaching the Central Government for a Steel Plant either at Sindri or at Bokaro, observed that if the plant is sanctioned for Sindri the requirement of coal would be met from the Jharia field, but that, in the event of the sanction being for Bokaro, the requirement of coal would be met entirely from the Bokaro and Karanpura fields within Hazaribagh district. It is understood that a Steel Plant at Bokaro has been practically decided upon; and Bihar will, therefore, have little need for the Jharia coalfield, except as a source of wage-earning for superfluous Bihar labour. And on this last score, transfer of the Jharia coalfield to West Bengal will make but little difference, because Bengal has never attempted to exercise control on the nationality of workers in private-owned concerns (similar to what Bihar has been doing for years, in flagrant disregard of para 8 of the Bardoli Resolution of 1939). Many lakhs of workers from Bihar and other Hindi-speaking States earn their living in the collieries of Burdwan and Birbhum and in industrial concerns in Calcutta, 24-Paraganas, Howrah and Hooghly; and Bengal will not grudge the maintenance of some 3 or 4 lakhs more in the Jharia coalfield and in Jamshedpur in the event of reconsideration of the S. R. Commission's recommendations leading to transfer of entire Dhanbad and Dhalbhum to Bengal.

Purnea and Santal Parganas

The States Reorganisation Commission's personal experience that Siripuria or Kisanganjia which has close affinities with Bengali (para 648) is the language spoken in East Purnea should have, of itself, sufficed to shake their faith in the 1951 Census figures which show, for the corridor area, possibly 1½ to 2 lakh Urdu-speakers out of total population about 3¼ lakhs, or between 46 and 62 per cent, percentage higher even than the record

figures hitherto, Rampur 40 per cent, Bijnor 30 p.c. Saharanpur and Meerut 22 p.c., Moradabad 18 p.c. The further observation in the same para that "as one proceeds westwards affinity with Hindi becomes more marked" is applicable presumably to dialects in border areas in districts other than Purnea. The cases of Singbhum and Dhanbad have been discussed already; in the former the Commissioners themselves discovered that Bengali was the biggest language group, in the eastern Subdivision of Dhalbhum; and the notes at the foot of Plate I show sufficent grounds for holding that in East Dhanbad also, Bengali is the biggest language group. The case for Santal Parganas may now be discussed in detail.

The 16 and 13 per cent respectively for Bengali in Rajmahal and Pakur, on the 1951 figures referred to in para 650, are for the entire subdivisions extending up to the Godda subdivision border in the West; and they are certainly consistent with (and even indicate, on finding of Bengali element decreasing, and Hindi influence increasing as one proceeds from east to west) much higher figures for Bengali in the eastern fringe, at least double the 16 and 13 respectively, and, for Hindi, figures not more than half of those for the entire subdivisions which are 34 and 31 respectively. This works out, on 1951 Census figures, for the eastern fringe considered by itself, Rajmahal subdivision, Bengali 32 p.c., Hindi 17 p.c., Pakur subdivision Bengali 26 p.c., Hindi 16 per cent, excess of Bengali over Hindi in either case. Jamtara, however, gives different results; the percentages (1951) for the entire subdivision are Bengali, 5.5, Hindi 37.5, and half of the latter is much more than double the former. That West Bengal nevertheless claims Jamtara subdivision is because the 1951 figures for it is absolutely unworthy of credit; and 1951 figures for Pakur* also are equally untrustworthy; the Bengali figures have been whittled down, not only by the so-called "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect," (as has been done in Manbhum, to get the Bengali figure reduced from 1 046,543 in 1931 to 805 063 in 1951), but also by methods more crude. How, otherwise, can be explained the most strange phenomenon of the Bengali percentage falling off, as compared with 1931, most remarkably in the eastern subdivisions that border on West Bengal, while Bengali percentages have increased most unexpectedly in the western subdivisions *i.e.*, those that are farthest from Bengal. This has happened, not only in the Santal Parganas but in Purnea and Singbhum as well. In Purnea, Kisanganj subdivision in the east, where the language spoken by the people was found by the S. R. Commissions to have close affinity with Bengali, the Census Tables record decreased in Bengali figure from 59,398 in 1931 to 17,083 in 1951, while Araria subdivision, far in the west, of which even the name is unknown to most people in Bengal, records increase from 1,210 in 1931 to 15 256 in 1951. In the Santal Parganas Jamtara and Pakur on the Bengal border show decreases from 73,091 to 15,377 and from 68,792 to 32,120 respectively, while Deoghar, farthest from Bengal, is credited with increase from 13,609 in 1931 to 39,217 plus possibly 4 to 6 thousand more for the municipal towns of Deoghar and Madhupur, resulting in the absurdity of Deoghar which adjoins Bihar proper being credited with a larger Bengali percentage (more than 10) than Jamtara (5.6 per cent only) on the Bengal border. In the Singhbhum district, Chaibasa subdivision, far in the west shows increase from 6.412 to 30,270. There is nothing to indicate that there was any large-scale migration of Bengalees from the Bengal border to subdivisions in the west; and the conclusion is irresistible that there has been extensive manipulation of figures—numbers have been deliberately transferred from east to west. The only safe course would, in such circumstances, be to work on the 1931 figures, which showed, both for Jamtara and for Pakur, more Bengali-speakers than Hindi-speakers. And the 1931 figures which are Jamtara: Bengali 73,091, Hindi 70 362 and Pakur, Bengali 68,792, Hindi 44 452 do show the reasonableness of West Bengal's claims. Dumka had, in 1931, Bengali percentage 9.7, Hindi 38.5, suggesting that on figures for the eastern fringe alone, the numbers of Bengali-speakers and of Hindi-speakers are more or less equal. The existence at Masanjore in Dumka of the headwaters of West Bengal's Mayurakshi project should, in the circumstances, turn the scale in West Bengal's favour.

The natural increase in Hindi percentage and decrease in Bengali percentage as one proceeds westwards from the Bengal border, referred to above, point to the necessity of confining plebiscite (if plebiscite suggested by the Provincial Congress Presidents, both of West Bengal and of Bihar, is decided upon), only to the narrow fringe which is claimed to have Bengali-speakers more numerous than Hindi-speakers. In the Santal Parganas this fringe area has a southern base about 25 miles wide, from Chittaranjan railway station to a mile or two west of Karmatar; but the northern end is narrower, only from the Ganga river to a point about 6 to 8 miles west of Sakrigali.

For Purnea, the 1951 Census shows the number of Bengali-speakers in the Sadar subdivision to be more than 5 times the number in Kisanganj subdivision. This justifies the extension of the corridor southwards, from Barsoi to Manihari Ghat. The necessity of this from a very different viewpoint, *viz.*, that of communication, was very ably put forward by Sri Rajagopalachari in the Parliamentary debate on 23rd. August 1951; and

* The member for Pakur-Rajmahal constituency Sri Brijlal Dokania reproduced in the Bihar Assembly, on 26th March, 1949, a sentence supposed to be Hindi spoken by one of his Kisan constituents; and this sentence was "*amon darogar moto officerera ashe je dekhe bhoi hoi.*" What better proof can there be that the language, really Bengali, is being wrongly recorded as Hindi?

this had the approval of a Member from Bihar Janab Husain Imam, who, by the way, did not speak about any necessity of imposing conditions about Urdu culture. If Urdu is really spoken in that area, adequate arrangements must have been made already by the Government of Birar; and presumably, all that West Bengal need do would be the continuance of these arrangements after transfer to Bengal. The Provincial Census Superintendent has, however, expressed the opinion (page 37 of Census Paper No. 1 of 1954) that in "the 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." The S. R. Commission themselves found on personal observation that Kisanganjia or Siripuria, as spoken in these regions, had close affinity to Bengali.

I cannot conclude without reference once again to the suspicion cast on West Bengal's veracity by the inconclusive observation in paras 639 and 640 of the S. R. Commission's Report that "the statement reported to have been issued by some prominent leaders of Bihar in 1912 conceding West Bengal's claim to the territory east of the Mahananda, the whole of Manbhum and the Dhalbhum portion of Singbhum district has been challenged, and counter-arguments drawn from history have been produced in order to rebut West Bengal's claim." West Bengal resents the aspersion very bitterly, and demands a full enquiry about the genuineness (or falsity) of the co-called Bihar leaders' statement, and also of the counter-arguments from history that have been put forward to rebut West Bengal's claims. The Bihar leaders' statement appeared in the form of a letter published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on the 4th January 1912, and a photographic copy of the same was submitted to the Commission by the Indian Association who have carefully preserved old files of the *Bengalee* in their library; and all that seems to be necessary is to arrive at a finding whether the letter published was genuine or had been manufactured in the *Bengalee* office. Relevant evidence on this point are the facts that (1) only 8 days earlier, on the 27th December 1911, Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-Law, a Bihari gentleman practising in the Calcutta High Court, had, in the open session of the Indian National Congress, seconded Tej Bahadur Sapru's resolution which spoke of adjustment of Bihar-Bengal boundary on linguistic basis, (2) the letter in the *Bengalee*, if genuine, was a very natural sequel to the speech in the Congress and to some observations that had appeared in the *Bengalee* of 3rd Jannuary 1912, claiming Bhagalpur as Bengali-speaking, and (3) the fact that Mr. Parmeswar Lal, supposed to be one of the signatories to the letter published on the 4th January, and who was presumably in Calcutta when the High Court re-opened after the Christmas holidays, never protested against the publication of the letter in the *Bengalee*, which was considered in those days to be one of the leading newspapers in India. Mr. Parmeswar Lal's attention would certainly have been drawn to any fake letter that may have issued over his forged signature, by Biharee young men then in Calcutta, like present-day Education Minister Acharya Badrinath Verma, who was then a student in a Calcutta college and was an inmate of the Eden Hindu Hostel. Verma had noticed the unjust claim on Bhagalpur (and other places) as Bengali-speaking in the *Bengalee* of the 3rd. January—he spoke in the Bihar Assembly on the 25th March, 1949 of "a well-known newspaper, whose name he did not like to disclose, claiming Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, etc., as parts of Bengal," The Bihar leaders' statement that appeared in the *Bengalee* on the very next day must also have been seen by him or shown to him by disgruntled "Bengalee inmates of the Hostel who had got withered मायुसी हुयी थी mayusi hui thi) by the announcement of creation of Bihar as a separate province" and to whom the concession relating to Dhalbhum, Manbhum and parts of the Santal Parganas and Purnea must have acted as a refresher. Reading the letter, if he suspected it to be a forgery, Mr. Verma would certainly have rushed to Mr. Parmeswar Lal's place to apprise him of the dirty trick that had been played by the *Bengalee* office.

Of the counter-arguments from history referred to by the Commission, presumably the most important are (1) the statement, on page 59 of the *Bihar and Orissa First Decennial Review for 1921-22* that "When, in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted by Shah Alam to the East India Company, Chota Nagpur came under British influence as an integral part of Bihar," and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's observation on page 9 of his Memorandum presented to the Constituent Assembly that "out of this Chota Nagpur, fairly large areas, Manbhum, Dhalbhum and others are now claimed by West Bengal," and that the *First Decennial Review* from which he quoted had been "issued during the term of office of the Right Honourable Lord Sinha," and (2) that a former Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, Mr. Coupland, had recorded a note that 'not even 10 per cent of the people of Manbhum spoke Bengali.' This note ascribed to Mr. Coupland is diametrically opposed to what the same Mr. Coupland had written on page 72 of the Manbhum District Gazetteer that "the prevailing language of the district is the western dialtct of Bengali, known as Rarhi boli, which is used by 72 per cent of the inhabitants." And parties speaking of the "not even 10 per cent" version have never ventured to produce the original, although challenged to do so. As for the *Decennial Review*, the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59, which "came under British influence as an integral part of Subah Bihar in 1765" was intended, not for the entire Chota Nagpur Division, but only for a part of it, *viz.*, the Chota Nagpur Raj domains, confined

to the present districts of Ranchi and Palamau; this is clear from the entry on page 60, "Chota Nagpur: the present district of Ranchi and pargana Tori," also from the sentance on page 59 itself that "Chota Nagpur was then rather in the position of a Tributary State than under the direct administration of the East India Company" (which shows, incidentally, that the addition of the word 'integral' to a very similar sentence in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* was not justified by facts). These quotations give the lie direct to the thesis that it was out of this Chota Nagpur of page 59 of the *Decennial Review* that "fairly large areas, Manbhum Singhbhum and others, are now claimed by West Bengal." No portion of either district Manbhum or district Singhbhum of the present day was ever attached to the Chota Nagpur Raj, or was ever included in Subah Behar. The real Singhbhum, consisting of present-day Chaibasa and Saraikela subdivisions, had never formed part of any Subah, Bengal or Behar, for it had never been conquered by the Moguls or by Mahrattas; it was first conquered, by the British, in 1818. Dhalbhum was in Subah Bengal, included in the zila of Medinipoor which went under British influence, not in 1765, along with Chota Nagpur Raj, but five years earlier, simultaneously with another Bengal district, Chittagong, ceded by Meer Cassim in 1760. All this is clear from the Map of Acquisitions of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces, which formed the frontispiece to the first (1862) edition of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, Sunnuds,* etc. The map shows that the south-western corner of the then zila Medinipoor extended right up to the edge of the Singhbhum that was conquered by the British in 1818, and included, therefore, within it, the parganas of Dhalbhum, Barabhum and Manbhum.

The attempt to connect Lord Sinha, who was a Bengalee, with the statement in the *Decennial Review* and with the perverted meaning sought to be given to the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59 of it, is as mean as it is incorrect. The *Decennial Review* was published in 1923; and as it related to a period which did not close till the 31st March 1922, it is pretty certain that not even one sentence of it was drafted prior to 31st March 1922. Lord Sinha had relinquished charge of his office as Governor of Bihar four months earlier, on the 29th November 1921; and even his successor Mr. Havilland LeMesurier completed his term of office on 11th April 1922, only eleven days subsequent to the 31st March 1922. Both names and both dates, are shown on page 111 of the *Decennial Review*; and the Review was certainly not his own epitaph writtes by Lord Sinha himself. If there was any Sinha connected with the sentence in the *Decennial Review*, with its incorrectly added word 'integral,' it was not the Right Hon'ble Lord Sinha, the Bengalee, but Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who continued in office as Finance Member of the Bihar Government till long after 1922.

On the non-existent peg of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, areas within the Chota Nagpur that formed a part (integral or otherwise) of Subah Bihar, Dr. Sinha did hang yet another 'historical' vignette, that of industrially-developed Dhanbad and Dhalbhum being in the nature of "Naboth's vineyards situated in Bihar," which had been reared by Biharees having their homeland in these regions, and of "avaricious neighbours," the Bengalees "casting their longing, lingering eyes towards these vineyards." For the Biharees' homeland in Dhanbad, with its Jharia coalfield, Grierson's observation on page 145 part 2, vol. V of his *Linguistic Survey of India*:

> "In Manbhum, Bengali extends on the west up to the foot of the Ranchi and Hazaribag plateaux; there are emigrants from these highlands into the Bengali-speaking area, who speak a mixed dialect, essentially Bihari in nature, but with a curious Bengali colouring; this dialect is not a local one it is the language of a strange people in a strange land; all around them, and usually in great majority, live the true people of the country who speak a Bengali of considerable purity,"

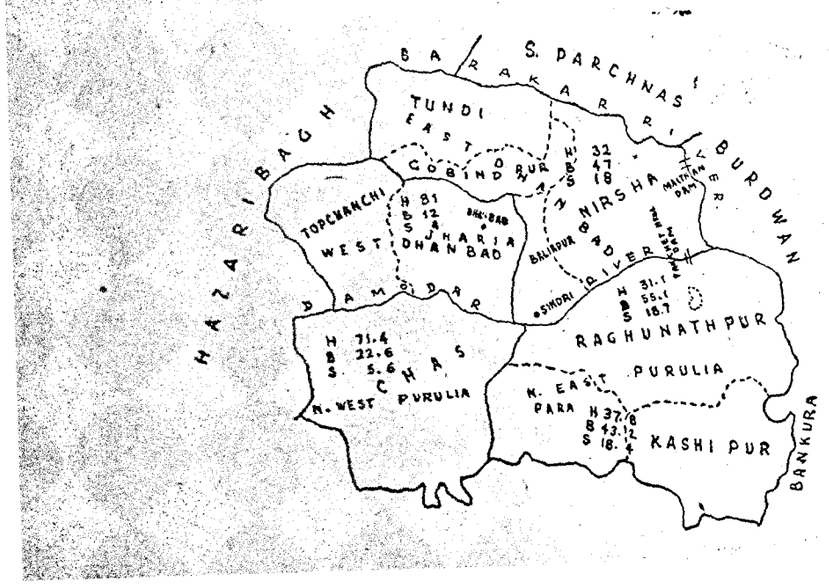
should suffice to provide a quietus. In Dhalbhum, sometime before its Hindi-speaking population reached in 1911, the insignificant number of 6 thousand only about 2.6 per cent of the total, in the midst of overwhelming population who had mothertongue Bengali, 40 per cent, Santali 32 per cent, Bhumij 12 per cent (most of the Santals and Bhumijes being bi-lingual invariably with subsidiary language Bengali), and Oriya 12 per cent, four obscure villages in the extreme north-western corner Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur and Kalimati, peopled exclusively by Bengalees, Santals, Bhumijes, had been selected on the advice of a Bengalee geologist Pramatha Nath Bose, backed by European metallurgist Mr. Weld, as the site for Tatas' contemplated Iron and Steel Works, in preference to places in Madhya Pradesh which the Tatas had till then been thinking of. And the pioneer band of unskilled labour, consisting almost exclusively of these local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes, worked under the direction of Bengalee overseers, a handful of Parsi supervisors and German engineers, from the earliest stage of construction of buildings from 1908 to December 1911, when the first cast of pig iron flowed from the runners. Seven years more and the outbreak of the First World War, were necessary to attract the attention of people of Bihar and other Hindi-speaking provinces; and the number of Hindi-speaking people in the entire district of Singhbhum (separate figures for Dhalbhum are not available) did not increase by more than 23 thousand during the decade 1911-21; and, possibly, half of the 23 thousand came from provinces other than Bihar. The Tatas have still kept geologist Bose's memory green, not only maintaining the bust that they erected in the Maidan, but have also sanctioned as late as in 1955, a grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of his memory; possibly also they

retain their gratefulness to local Bengalee, Santal and Bhumij labour that never failed them during worst years of trial.

Two other 'historical' statements deserve investigation, both of which emanated from the Hon'ble Acharya Badrinath Verma, holding the portfolio of Education in Bihar, and expected, therefore, to be the model from which lakhs of boys and girls in schools and colleges would draw their inspiration about truthfulness. On the 25th March 1949, he stated in the Bihar Legislative Assembly that "on Census figures of 1941, as many as 11,73,959, or 56 per cent of Manbhum's total population 20,25,146 are Tribals, and 6 lakhs are Kurmis; neither have Bengali as their mother-tongue." And eight months earlier, he had written to Mr. Mashruwala, editor of the *Harijan*, that, under his administration, Santali, Mundari, Oraon and Ho children, for the first time, will have the opportunity of getting their primary education through the medium of their own tongue. My cloudy eyes, however, see only 618,126, and not 1,173,959, as the number of Tribals in the 1941 Census Tables; and Kurmis, who numbered only 323,066 in 1931 (the latest Census for which Caste tables were compiled) could not possibly have grown to more than 4 lakhs during the next 18 years. Why do not the Congress High Command take note of Acharya Verma's wonderful capacity for magnifying facts and figures by 65 to 75 per cent, and nominate him for the portfolio of Publicity and Broadcasting?

As for education of tribal children in their own mother-tongue, there can be no better evidence than the direction issued by the District Inspector of Schools, Manbhum, that "the 72 aboriginal schools financed out of special Government grant are to be run on the State language basis." A Santal friend of mine, living in a village in police-station Hura, writes that he does not know of even one school in the district which has Santali as the medium of instruction.

I have nothing to add, except to urge once again for a thorough investigation of the charges and counter-charges about veracity (or otherwise) of statements made by West Bengal and by Bihar. Bengal has suffered for 44 years already, from unjust separation of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, etc., and may not altogether break down, if that injustice is not removed even now, although such injustice, involving the separation of Purulia from Dhanbad and from Dhalbhum, and the banning of Bengali as Court language, and also as language for preparation of electoral rolls, even as an alternative, to the inconvenience of one hundred and eighty-five thousand Bengalees in Dhanbad, and about the same number in Jamshedpur (including no less than 54½ thousand in Jamshedpur City) amounts to penalisation worse than that of the Curzon Partition of 1905. But West Bengal cannot tolerate an unjust aspersion (or even suspicion) on its reputation for veracity, or any equally unjust charge of poaching on neighbours' property. Removal of the extremely unjust ban on Bengali in Dhalbhum and Dranbad, and also in Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal, Purnea and Kisanganj, accompanied by declaration of Bihar being a bi-lingual State and Bengali being the regional language in Dhalbhum, east Dhanbad, east Santal Parganas and east Purnea, might have gone some way to smooth exacerbated feelings and to remove tension; but even this little thing the S. R. Commission did not suggest. They pressed only for recognition of Urdu for educational and official purposes is Kisanganj, without possibly caring to enquire about the nature of Bihar's recognition of this.



The map shows separately West Dhanbad (thana Topchanchi and thana Jharia excluding police-stations Baliapur and Sindri), East Dhanbad (Baliapur and Sindri and thanas Gobindapur, Tundi and Nirsha), North-west Purulia (thana Chas) and North-east Purulia (thanas Raghunathpur, Para and Kashipur). Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali for thanas Nirsha and Tundi; records prepared in Hindi for Gobindapur, Baliapur and Sindri proved unintelligible to people there, these areas also being definitely Bengali-speaking.

The figures show linguistic distrigution separately for each area, in percentages for Hindi (H), Bengali (B) and Santali (S). They are official figures for the Purulia subdivision; official figures were not published for different regions of Dhanbad; and estimates based on official figures for Purulia have been worked out.

Sixty-five per cent Hindi average for entire Dhanbad does not mean that it is same in every part of the subdivision. In the Purulia subdivision Hindi percentage 71.4 in the west comes down to 31.1 in the east; and Bengali 55.1 per cent in the east goes down to only 22.6 per cent in the west. Similar divergence in Dhanbad, excess of Hindi in the west and of Bengali in the east, is quite natural, the Bengali element decreasing and the Hindi element increasing as one proceeds from east to west.

Another factor affecting linguistic distribution is the large concentration of colliery labour immigrating into the Jharia coalfield (which is confined to West Dhanbad) from Hindi-speaking districts in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. This is chiefly a floating population, but it has been taken into account in all official calculations. In West Dhanbad, out of total population 437,261, as many as 209,767 or 48 per cent are under the head "Production other than agriculture" (mostly colliery labour and a small percentage of railway employees); but in East Dhanbad the percentage is 12 only, 33,518 out of total population 294,439. In these circumstances, estimates of Hindi 81 in the west, 32 only in the east, of Bengali 12 only in the east but 47 in the east are quite reasonable. Excluding floating population, the figures would possibly have been: 42 Hindi, 48 Bengali, 8 Santali in W. Dhanbad, 18 Hindi, 55 Bengali and 25 Santali in East Dhanbad.

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THE LURE OF PECHIPPARA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

A branch road from Martandam or Thoduvetti at the twenty-fifth mile-stone on the trunk road from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin, leads off to Pechippara, one of the loveliest beauty spots in Travancore. A detour of thirteen and a half miles across typical countryside of which the last stretch of three miles is through the heart of the forest, takes the visitor to the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir. The road to Pechippara cuts through several small villages around which history and folklore have gathered interesting anecdotes and stories.

Thiruvattar

Four miles from Martandam *en route* Pechippara is Thiruvattar where the Thamravarni river winds around the ancient Vishnu Temple. Dedicated to Adi Kesava Perumal (Vishnu), this temple is one of the three Vaishnavite shrines in India, where the image of the god is in a reclining posture, the other two temples being at Srirangam and Trivandrum. There are a number of picturesque waterfalls and delightful cascades in the river which winds around the shrine at Thiruvattar. The great Alwars, in their hymns ascribed to the early eighth century, have referred to the sanctity of this temple, which is remarkable for its sculpture on stone, wood and metal.

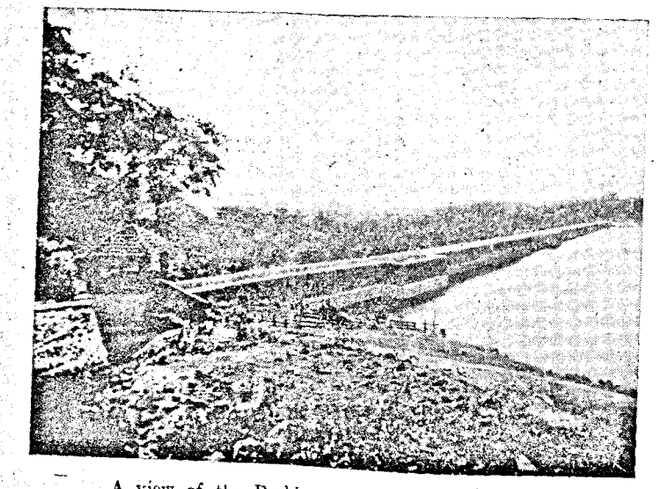
Thirunandikkara

Five miles beyond Thiruvattar is Thirunandikkara which has a thousand-year old rock-cut cave temple. The oldest relics of mural painting ascribed to the eighth-ninth century, so far discovered in South India, are to be found in this rock-cut temple. An eminent artist and critic of mural art and a well-known student, restorer and copyist of ancient oriental art, has said that 'perfection' is the only word that can be used to describe the quality of the frescoes at Thirunandikkara. Admirably excellent and faithful copies of these striking wall paintings copied on the spot by the famous Iranian artist, Sarkis Katchadourian, are exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*, State Art Gallery at Trivandrum.

Thrippara'ppu

On the way to the Pechippara reservoir is Thripparappu, famous for its Siva Temple and Water Falls. Situated amidst idyllic sylvan scenery, Thripparappu attracts a large number of pilgrims and sightseers. The river Kodayar flows close to the temple. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project has a Pick-up Weir across the Kodayar at Thripparappu and the waters of the Kodayar are diverted through two systems of channels to irrigate the Kalkulam and Vilavancode

Taluks in South Travancore. The Kodayar has an independent catchment below the Pechippara Dam and above Thripparappu, and the water from this catchment is sufficient to irrigate a large acreage of paddy fields. With this aim, a submersible concrete weir at Thripparappu and ten miles of channels, four



A view of the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir

miles on the right bank, and six miles on the left bank, have been completed. The Thripparappu system of irrigation is an achievement of agricultural engineering.

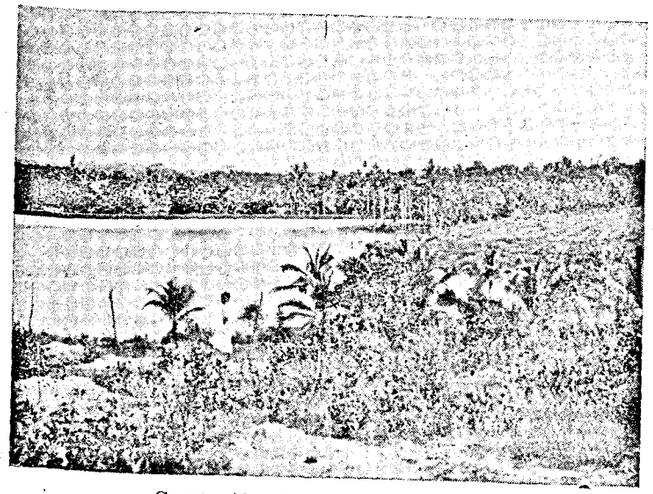
PERINCHANI

Nor far from Thripparappu is Perinchani, a beauty spot nestling among high hills. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project includes the masonry dam at Perinchani which stores the water that had flown to waste every year over the Puthen Dam during the floods. The Perinchani Reservoir Scheme irrigates and brings under the plough another sixty thousand acres of land in South Travancore. The Perinchani Dam is one hundred feet high at its deepest section and eight hundred and sixty feet long at the top and with a width of eighteen feet at the top and seventy-four feet at the base. The Perinchani Reservoir has a capacity of one thousand five hundred million cubic feet. Recently completed, this reservoir is one of the most picturesque artificial lakes in India.

PECHIPPARA DAM

The thirteen and a half-mile long road which passes through South Travancore's charming scenery ends at the brink of the Pechippara reservoir. The mghty dam thrown across the Kodayar river at Pechippara sustains a great irrigation scheme which irrigates tens of thousands of acres of paddy fields in South Travancore, and is a marvel of engineering skill. The extensive reservoir at Pechippara which is in the heart of a region of forests, covers 3,230 acres and is surrounded by forest-clad hills which rise in gentle slopes, from the banks of the lake. The Kodayar Irrigation Scheme which has almost literally converted the arid land of South Travancore into the fertile plains of Nanjinad, now famous as the Granary of the South, is essentially dependent upon the Pechippara Reservoir.

Work on the present Pechippara Dam was commenced in 1896 and was completed in 1906. It is constructed mainly of concrete in *surkhi* mortar with skin walls of rubble masonry. At the river bed are constructed two under-sluice valves with vents 4 feet by 10 feet. At present these vents remain closed



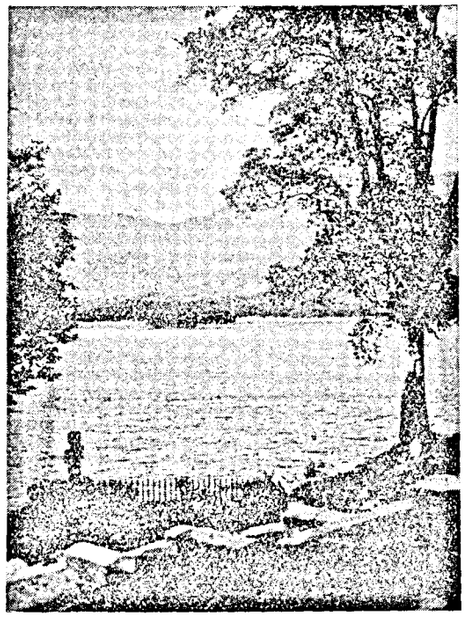
Countryside view near Pechippara

permanently with masonry. The top 15 feet of the dam is built entirely of rubble masonry. The length of the Dam is 1,936 feet, the width at the foundation is 105 feet, and the total height is 306 feet. The waterspread area of the Reservoir at full tank level is 5.47 sq. miles, and the catchment area of the lake is 80 sq. miles. The average annual rainfall at

Pechippara at the time of the construction of the Dam and Reservoir was 166 inches. Since then the rainfall has varied from 150 inches to 87.93 inches. The net expenditure on the work is 80.3 lakhs of rupees. The Reservoir gathers a bumper monsoon every year. The Dam arrests the flood and causes the artificial lake to swell.

THE OLD PANDYAN DAM AND CHANNEL

It is interesting to remember that the modern engineers who constructed the now famous Dam at Pechippara only followed as a continuation, of course with suitable modifications, the works which were already so efficiently executed by the old-time engi-



Pechippara Reservoir

neers in the past centuries. This is an eloquent tribute to the greatness of the engineers of the past whose knowledge of irrigation and engineering was admirably profound. The Old Pandyan Dam and Pandyan Kal constructed so early as 900 A.D. convince the visitor of the great foresight and effort put into the undertaking by engineers of the old Pandyan Rulers whose knowledge was only equalled by their enthusiasm and spirit of service. Nanjinad owes its present fertility to the Old Pandyan Dam thrown across the Parilayar and the Old Pandyan Channel cut across chiefly through solid rock for aout two miles.

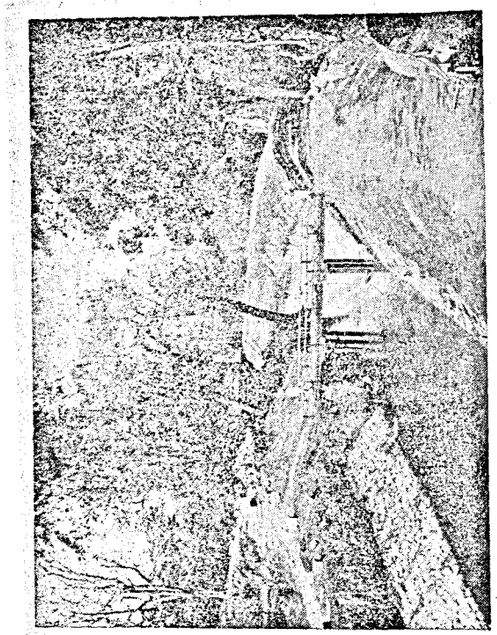
THE PUTHEN DAM AND CHANNEL

In the reign of Maharaja Martanda Varma the Great was constructed another anicut on the model of the old Pandyan Dam, a quarter of a mile below it. Another long channel was also cut. Known as the Puthen Dam and the Puthen Channel, these remark-

Relics of the eighth to ninth century Murals at Thirunandikkara

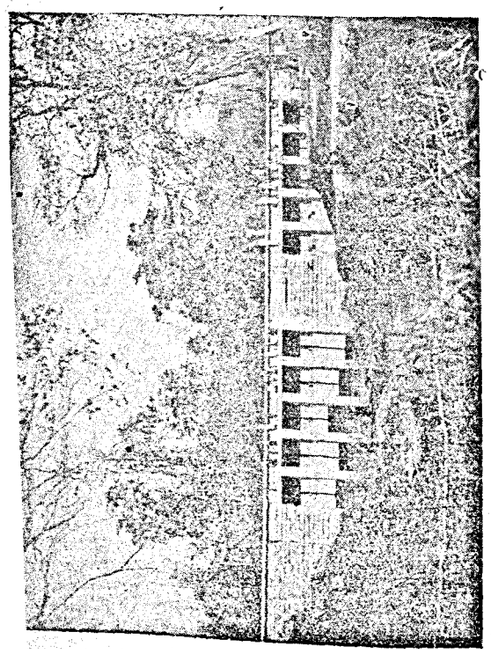
able engineering undertakings executed in A.D. 1750, succeeded in bringing the waters to Padmanabhapuram, the then capital of the State, and irrigating a vast acreage of paddy fields.

Waterfalls close to the Temple at Thriparappu



The Pithen Channel—one of the network of channels in the Kodayar Irrigation Project.

Another view of the Thipparappu Waterfalls

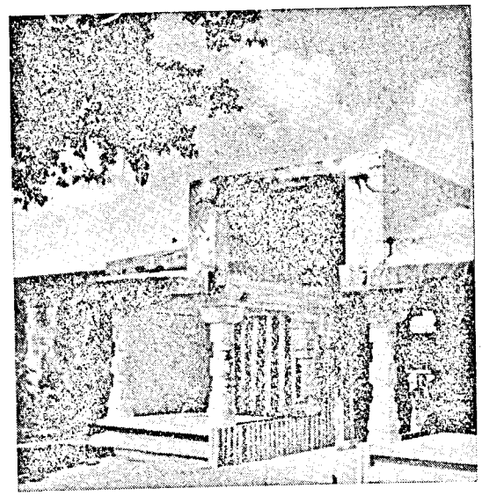


The old Pandyan Dam

The Periachani Dam

A Royal Anecdote

It is said that His Highness Maharaja Martanda Varma personally supervised the construction of the dam and channel. An interesting anecdote in this connection is on the lips of old men. The Maharaja used to go to the work spot every day early morning and remained there late in the night closely supervising the work, taking but a simple meal in the course of the day. He used to sit on a rock nearby and a servant was wont to hold a palm-leaf umbrella to protect the Royal Master from the hot sun. Realising that the labour of the cooly thus engaged was being lost in the all-out effort towards the construction of the Dam, the Maharaja ordered a stone-cutter to make a hole in the rock so that the handle of the umbrella could be fixed into it, and the services of the cooly utilised for work in connection with the Dam. People around the locality point out the hole made in the rock. An oil painting illustrating this historic incident now adorns the Padmanabhapuram Palace along with other paintings depicting the most important events in the history of Travancore.



Entrance to the Siva Temple at Thripparappu

Latter-Day Developments

Captain Horsely of the Madras service was invited in the year 1831 to suggest improvements for the irrigation of South Travancore. It was he who first suggested to throw a dam at Pechippara and cut a channel to the left bank of the river. The proposal was laid in cold storage until 1877 when Dewan Nanoo Pillai, a son of the soil and native of South Travancore who was fully alive to the local conditions, reopened the proposal. Colonel Mead of the Madras P. W. D. whose opinion was sought in 1879 suggested that the Kodayar Scheme was premature and that the Puthen Dam might be improved.

The improvements formulated by Colonel Mead were completed in 1885 during the reign of His Highness Maharaja Sri Visakhom Thirunal. His Highness performed the ceremony of opening the headworks of the Pandyan Kal and Padmanabhapuram Puthenar. On that great occasion in the history of South Travancore, His Highness said :

> "When events shall have proved that, after the waters of the Paraliyar have been economised to the utmost extent, they have fallen short of the demand of the agricultural population, it will be time to woo her twin sister the Kodayar, and to consider at what point and in what manner she might be best coaxed to yield up her treasures into the common coffers which these headworks constitute."

The State Chief Engineer who finally brought to shape the scheme for the construction of the Pechippara Dam was Mr. A. H. Jacob. The project was developed to its present proportions by his successor Mr. W. Jopp. The scheme was further revised by Mr. Cecil A. Smith who followed Mr. Jopp as Chief

Relics of the eighth to ninth century murals in the Thirunandikkara Temple

Courtesy: Sri Chitralayam (State Art Gallery of Travancore)

Engineer. Then the project was practically completed under the auspices of Mr. A. H. Basto who succeeded Mr. C. A. Smith. The imposing cross over the grave of one of the European engineers associated with the Project, who died in full harness at Pechippara, and who was buried at the entrance to the Dam, is a monument which evokes great feelings.

THE KODAYAR PROJECT

The Kodayar Project as finally adopted was to throw a dam across the Kodayar at Pechippara with two feeding channels. The right bank channel was dropped after further investigation. The left bank channel taps the Kodayar and supplements the Paraliyar over the Puthen Dam. The irrigation system starts at the Puthen Dam. At this spot the combined waters of the Kodayar and Paraliyar are distributed, one through the P. P. Channel and the other through the Pandyan Kal. The 141 miles of main channels have a number of subsidiary channels running to 184 miles with a syphon five feet in diameter, several bridges, an aqueduct and two tunnels. The paddy fields that are irrigated are brought under blocks surrounded by natural boundaries controlled by sluices at the ridge. The Pechippara Reservoir and its net-work of channels are open for purposes of irrigating the paddy fields in Nanjinad and Edanad from the 20th of May to the 15th of February every year.

PECHIPPARA RESERVOIR

The Pechippara Reservoir is a magnificent stretch of water. Thickly wooded, terraced hills rise abruptly from its shores. The Government Camp Shed perched on a pretty eminence on the shores of the Reservoir overlooks the lake of 3,230 acres. Situated in the heart of forest-clad hills, this artificial reservoir offers one of the finest sights in the world. Clusters of dead trees are seen in the lake with their withered heads raised above the water level, and their slender dried arms spread out. All round the vast reservoir of rain-water is the virgin forest-land, the home of the tiger, leopard, bison, elephant, and other wild animals, and full-blooded aboriginal tribes, especially the *Kanikkars*. Not infrequently do wild animals rove on the margin of the lake and come down to the lake to drink. A cruise over the placid waters of the reservoir is a rich experience and a splendid revelation.

A beauty spot where nature has lavished her charms and man has displayed his engineering skill, Pechippara affords a rich diversity of attractions to the carefree tourist, the keen *shikari*, the enterprising student of engineering and irrigation, the talented painter, the expert cameraman, and the painstaking anthropologist.

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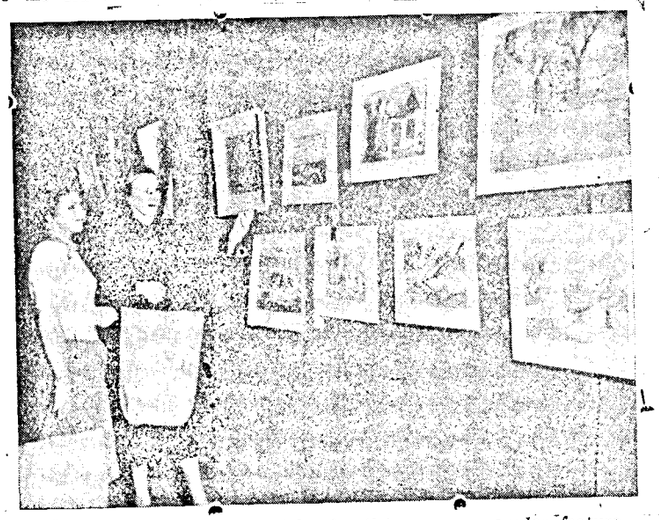
PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BECOMES A COMMUNITY PROJECT

For three days each October the town of Waterford, Virginia, holds "open house" for visitors who come by the hundreds to tour old homes, to buy rugs, lampshades and painted trays made by local craftsmen, and to enjoy the rural charm of a community which has found satisfying rewards in working co-operatively for its own self-improvement.

Visitors leaving the old Red Barn, one of the several historic buildings open each day during the annual Waterford Fair

Waterford's first "open house" and exhibit of local handicrafts was held in 1944 as a project of the Waterford Foundation, Incorporated. This non-profit organization had been established by local residents the year before for the purpose of reviving and stimulating local arts and crafts work, and, as a long-range objective, to raise funds to preserve some of the most interesting Waterford buildings.

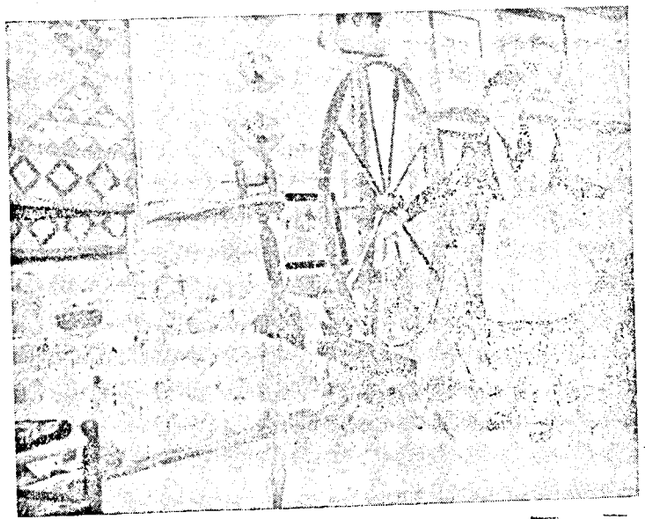
So many visitors found their way to Waterford for that first exhibit in 1944 that the Foundation decided to make the "Waterford Fair" an annual event which would climax the year's production of handicrafts by putting them up for exhibit and sale. Now the Fair has become so popular and well-publicized that it draws approximately 3,000 people to the old town each year.



An exhibit of the work of local artists, now a popular feature of the annual Waterford Fair, has attracted these visitors to the old Red Barn

Waterford is located in Loudoun County, some 40 miles north-west of Washington, D.C., in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Accessible only by private transportation—no railroad or major highway enters the town—the community has remained much the same since it was founded by a group of representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers) early in the eighteenth century.

Houses of the original Waterford settlement fan out from the old brick mill built in 1733 and used as an exhibit hall today. While all these old houses have a distinctive charm, perhaps the building of greatest historic interest is the Friends' Meeting House, now converted into a private home. This spacious stone building was erected in 1775 and used for religious services and as a civic centre until 1929.



A Waterford craftsman demonstrates the art of spinning flax into fine thread for visitors to the handicrafts exhibit in the old mill

In a Virginia newspaper of 1834 Waterford was described as "a fine flourishing little village" with 70 dwelling houses and industrial activity centered in two mills and two small cotton factories. By 1938 the mills and factories had closed down. Rich in history, local culture and civic spirit, but limited in economic resources, Waterford remained a country hamlet that during the nineteenth century turned to handicrafts as a source of income. For several years the area was famous for the quality of its hand-made items—a fact which influenced establishment of the Waterford Foundation in 1943.

Purpose of the Foundation is to revive the arts and crafts that once flourished in Loudoun County and to promote their development. It sponsors classes in handicrafts and encourages local people—many of whom need additional income but lack job opportunities in their rural community—to put their time to profitable employment by making rugs, quilts, lampshades, decorated trays and other things for sale under Foundation auspices. Ten per cent of the proceeds of each sale goes to the Foundation, for purchase and restoration of historic Waterford buildings, while the individual craftsman receive the remainder. With its proceeds from such sales the Foundation already has bought and restored the old mill for year-round use for exhibit and sale of handicrafts.

Rug-making classes were the first organized under

Foundation sponsorship. Local women who were interested and well-informed in the craft volunteered to serve as instructors to small groups, showing them how to braid and hook rugs or how to improve their technique and get better color and design into their work. The first exhibit showed such a demand for hand-made rugs of quality and originality that rug-making became a mainstay of the Waterford craft program.

Built in 1733, the old mill in Waterford has been partially restored

In 1946, the Foundation launched an experimental class in lampshade-making, exhibiting and selling lampshades at the October Fair with such success that the "Lampshaders" became a second permanent craft group. Members meet regularly for class instruction and for help in planning and designing shades. Materials are furnished at wholesale prices, and most of the actual work is done in spare time at home. Craftsmen design shades to fit a customer's special requirements and the group has also collected a variety of lamp bases, enabling it to offer complete lamps for sale.

The hand-decorating of tin trays is another handicraft revived by the Foundation. Waterford artists, following techniques employed by American and English craftsmen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, use gold bronze stenciling and oil paint to reproduce antique designs on trays, small boxes, waste-baskets, jardinieres and other metal pieces.

An Art Department, operating under auspices of the Foundation, has done much to encourage development of the arts by sponsoring classes for children and adults, arranging exhibits and providing a year-round program of activities for art-lovers.

In 1941, a group of Waterford residents revived the old custom of singing carols through the streets on Christmas Eve. Out of this grew the Waterford Choral Club organized in 1944 and later renamed the Waterford A Cappella Chorus. The Chorus still provides Christmas music but has extended its activities to offer many recitals through the year.

Square dancing was revived by Waterford children in the summer of 1948 and a demonstration of several dances was given that year at the October Fair. Youth and adult groups dance regularly through the year in the school auditorium and, during the Fair, give demonstration dances on an outdoor platform adjoining the old mill.

The October Fair culminates a year of work on the part of all Waterford residents. It is a community project in the fullest sense since the entire population co-operates in arranging exhibits and entertainment. Various women's groups serve lunch. Home-made cakes, candy and canned goods are offered for sale. Children and adults join together in serving and entertaining visitors, and owners of historic old houses throw open their doors to all visitors. The quiet village streets are filled with strollers savoring the old-world atmosphere of a town rich in history but alert and throbbing with life.

As one visitor expressed it:

"To visit Waterford during the annual fair, when it exhibits the works of local artists and craftsmen, is to be convinced that it has a present in which its citizens find real joy in creative living, and a future in which there is a promise of a continuously richer life for all. Waterford has found a way to use its fine traditions as a springboard rather than as a hitching-post."—*USIS.*

SURREALIST FREEDOM OF CONTENT AND DISCIPLINE OF SHAPE

By BRYAN ROBERTSON

The theme of violence has played an inescapable part in the iconography of British art during the past decade. Its causes and effects and its myriad disguises have created a powerful mythology and there has been a concerted attempt to analyse *the formal structure* of violence rather than its more obvious appearance. The comparatively recent discoveries of surrealism, with its liberation of the irrational, have given this analysis an added point and flavour and the acceptance of abstraction has given it an additional clarity and universality.

Henry Moore at work in his studio on *The Madonna and Child* which was commissioned from him for a church in Northampton

Given this preoccupation with violence, there has also been a widely shared attempt to synthesize the classical and romantic movements of the nineteen-thirties: to incorporate the surrealist freedom of content with the abstract or constructivist discipline of shape. The many facets of British art cannot be completely incorporated into this summarization but it is applicable to the work of the five sculptors and three painters so discerningly selected by the German authorities to represent England at the Documenta exhibition. In general, these artists have either accepted violence as a theme or have reacted against it: and surrealism—less of a dated vacuum than we once suspected—has considerably affected their imagery.

BARBARA HEPWORTH

One painter and one sculptor, however, have reacted wholeheartedly against this obsession: Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, whose work and development have been linked for many years both by marriage and by closely shared interests. The desire to entirely transcend reality and to evade tragic expression, to maintain serenity and equilibrium in terms of the purest refinement—all this can be found in Hepworth's carvings. Keen technical and intellectual discipline is here imposed upon a conception of sculptural imagery which is basically primitive and sensual.

Prevision by Barbara Hepworth

Deriving from Gabo and from Branousi, her best work contrives to equate humanism with geometrical balance and finality and she has, technically, exploited the tactile possibilities of wood and stone more than any other sculptor. Formally, Hepworth has also explored the potentiality of landscape sculpture; reclining shapes, hollowed and pierced, with rhythmic counterpointing of cavity and swelling curve. The

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION

By Prof. DEBAJYOTI BURMAN, M.A.

Industrial Finance Corporation has completed seven years of its life. In 1953 it came under fire or severe criticism in the Press as well as in the Indian Parliament. At first, it refused to disclose the names of the Loanee Companies. Specific allegations were then made in the Parliament saying that the resources of the Corporation were being utilised by a group of capitalists headed by Lala Shri Ram, Chairman of the Corporation, and concerns in which he was directly interested had been granted loans by the Corporation exceeding Rs. 166 lakhs. Particular references were made to the Bengal Potteries Ltd., Orissa Textile Mills Ltd., Jay Engineering Works Ltd., and Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. On 17 December, 1952, Shri C. D. Deshmukh made a statement in the Lok Sabha on the subject in which he said that "a very strong demand was voiced for the disclosure of the names of the Industrial concerns to which the Corporation has given financial accommodation," and agreed to appoint an Enquiry Committee. On 30 December, 1952, the Committee consisting of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalini and five other members was announced. The Committee submitted its Report on May, 1953. In its Report, the Committee said :

"We have ascertained that while Lala Shriram has substantial direct interest in the Bengal Potteries and Jay Engineering Works, his financial interest in the Orissa Textile Mills and in the Sodepur Glass Works is limited to the holding in the Share Capital of the Companies in the name of Messrs. Madan Mohan Lall Shri Ram & Co., Ltd. This company is a family concern of Lala Shri Ram and his share in the Company is worth As. 2-3 in the rupee. According to Lala Shri Ram's statement, the above firm has shareholdings in 8 concerns which have been sanctioned loans by the Executive Committee."

Shri V. R. Sonalker was the Managing Director of the Board of I.F.C. and the Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Audit Report on the Accounts of the I.F.C. for the year 1953-54 reveals a series of financial irregularities committed by the Managing Director involving the I.F.C. in huge losses.

The revelations made by the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee had led to several amendments in the I.F.C. Act. A Central Committee is to be established in place of the Executive Committee. The Chairman and the Managing Director are to be paid men. The Corporation is permitted to hold any Stock, Share, Bond or Debenture, with the permission of Central Government, for any period of time in fulfilment of its underwriting liabilities. It is also permitted now to underwrite securities of new concerns.

As a result of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee, the I.F.C. now discloses in its Annual Report the names of the Loanee Companies and the amounts granted to them but many other defects yet remain to be removed. Some such defects may be mentioned.

Rate of Interest

The rate of interest charged is high and discrimination is often made between companies. The World Bank's rate of interest is 4 per cent. The I.F.C.'s rate is 5 per cent in the minimum and sometimes going as high as 6½ per cent with a commitment charge of ¾ per cent on the unavailed amount. The cost of preparation of mortgage deeds in respect of a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs comes up to Rs. 75,000, *i.e.*, 2½ per cent of the loan amount. For smaller sums it is higher. Actual rate of interest, therefore, comes to about 7 per cent. Rs. 30 lakhs minus Rs. 75,000 comes up to Rs. 29.25 lakhs which is the actual available amount on which the rate of interest calculated at 6½ per cent, works at 7 per cent with a stipulation of compound interest from the beginning in case of default in payment of interest on due date. The audit report says: The most important term and condition of the sanction of the loan is the rate of interest to be charged. Different rates were charged in the case of loans sanctioned on the same date or about the same time; *vide* instances given below:

"Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. and the National Electrical Industries Ltd. were sanctioned loans of Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 6 lakhs respectively on the 14th October, 1948, but the rate of interest was fixed at 6 per cent with a rebate of 1 per cent in the first case and 6 per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent in the second case. . . . A loan of Rs. 20 lakhs was sanctioned to Bengal Potteries Ltd., on the 3rd November, 1948, at 6 per cent less 1 per cent rebate while in the case of Standard Batteries Ltd. a loan of 20 lakhs was sanctioned on the 26th November, 1948, at 5½ per cent less ½ per cent rebate. In the case of Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., the rate of interest charged is 6½ per cent less ½ per cent rebate if interests are paid regularly to schedule. The Audit Report says that until 20th July, 1951, the Board or the Executive Committee did not specifically lay down the rate of interest to be charged. The Board at their meeting held on 21st July, 1951, decided that in view of the prevailing conditions in the Capital Market, the rate of interest of 5½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent should continue. From February, 1952, the rate of interest was raised to 6 per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent and subsequently to 6½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent from October, 1952, but no specific resolution of the Board was available."

The Audit Report comments:

"It was pointed out in the Audit that an important matter like the fixation of the rate of interest should not have been left to the discretion of the Managing Director but should have been decided by the Executive Committee/Board of Directors."

After the Audit objections the Executive Committee, in their meeting held on 30 October, 1954, regularised the matter, by confirming the rates fixed in the past and also decided that in future important matters like change in the rate of interest should be reported to the Executive Committee and their resolution recorded in the minutes. It may be mentioned here that the Karnafuli Paper Mills of Chittagong secured a loan of Rs. 1½ crores at 3 per cent interest from World Bank. The paid up capital of the company is Rs.1½ crores.

Appointment of Directors

Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act provides for the appointment of "a Director" on the Board of Directors of the loanee concern to protect the interest of the Corporation. Instances of discrimination in the application of this provision are known. The Audit Report says, "It was noticed that in the case of Bengal Potteries Ltd., no such clause was inserted in the Mortgage Deed." The Enquiry Committee in paragraph 20 of their Report had remarked that no representative of the Corporation was appointed on the Boards of Directors of the Bengal Potteries and the Jay Engineering Works.

The Audit Report discloses that out of 26 companies, the Corporation did not exercise their right to nominate Directors on the Boards of seven companies up to the end of 1949, namely,

(1) Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd.
(2) Bengal Potteries Ltd.
(3) Surat Textiles Ltd.
(4) Mukund Iron & Steel Works Ltd.
(5) Bharat Starch & Chemicals Ltd.
(6) Calcutta Electrical Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
(7) Jay Engineering Works Ltd.

Out of 70 companies to whom loans were advanced up to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation appointed its nominees on the Boards of Directors of 24 Companies only. The Audit Report named two Companies and said, "As the financial position of the following Companies was not sound, the Corporation may consider the appointment of their representatives on the Board of Directors of these Companies."

In the case of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., however, a Company with a paid up capital exceeding Rs. 66 lakhs, and assets exceeding a crore of rupees provision for two Directors has been arbitrarily incorporated in the Mortgage Deed. It betrays an astonishing anxiety on the part of the I.F.C. to protect an interest to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. It violates Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act itself which provides that "a Director" shall be appointed. Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. was given a loan of Rs. 37 lakhs, Mukund Iron & Steel Works Rs. 33 lakhs, and Jay Engineering Works Rs. 36 lakhs, but not a single Director was appointed on their Boards.

Proportion of Security

Loans to Sodepur Glass Works came in for bitter criticism. The Enquiry Committee devoted one full chapter to this episode and concluded:

"In the ultimate analysis, the following facts emerge—

(*i*) In view of the drawbacks of the project, as pointed out by the Expert Committee the Corporation should have been more circumspect in sanctioning the original loan of Rs. 40 lakhs.

(*ii*) The Capital requirements of the project had been grossly underestimated and the Corporation seems to have made no serious attempt to properly assess, at any stage, the long-term requirements. The single factor is the major contributory cause for the present state of affairs of the Company.

The Corporation must now estimate closely the long-term capital requirements, which have been variously estimated at Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 35 lakhs. The economics of the present plate glass plant need be looked into carefully. If it cannot be run as an economic unit, the question of installing the figured glass and bottle-plants should be considered. As Bhurkunda does not provide any special advantage, the desirability of installing these plants at Sodepur may be examined.

(*iii*) The Corporation should have, in collaboration with the Managing Agents, devised ways and means for accelerating the construction of the factory which was of paramount importance both in the Company's and the Corporation's own interest.

(*iv*) The technical organisation of the factory was weak and the appointment of a non-technical General Manager on behalf of the Corporation aggravated the situation.

(*v*) Conflict of personalities and dual control seemed to have complicated matters resulting in mismanagement.

A total loan of Rs. 63 lakhs was granted to Sodepur Glass Works till June, 1954. The Corporation took over the management of the Company on 19 March, 1953, under Section 28 of the I.F.C. Act. During the period 19 March, 1953 to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation incurred an expenditure of Rs. 32,80,000 which increased to Rs. 35,08,481 up to 19 October, 1954. The total amount outstanding on 30 June, 1954, was as under:

Principal	Rs. 95,72,538- 2-9
Interest	Rs. 7,56,284-11-9"

The Audit Report reveals that a sum of Rs. 5,70,254-10-0 on account of interest for the year ended 30 March, 1954, was not included in the total outstanding, as it was stated by the Board that the said interest was not likely to be realised, the available security being insufficient for that purpose. Thus the entire advance remained without interest for the year ended 30 June, 1954.

Apart from the above, certain expenditures were incurred by the Head Office of the Corporation and were debited to their charges account instead of recovering the same from the Company. A few instances are:

(*i*) Expenditure on salaries of extra-staff employed,

(*ii*) Expenditure on travelling, etc., of the Corporation staff,

(*iii*) Several telephone calls made by the Head Office to the Calcutta office conveying instructions, etc.

These charges were debited in the discretion of the Managing Director. There was audit objection to these debits.

The pro-forma Balance Sheet of the Company as at 31, December, 1953, disclosed the following:

(*i*) The loss had gone up to Rs. 44.23 lakhs without provision for any depreciation. Thus the capital of the Company and a part of the loan amount of the Corporation was wiped out.

(*ii*) The value of raw materials, stores, goods in process and finished goods was Rs. 15 lakhs.

(*iii*) The loan was guaranteed up to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs only. The remaining amount was not guaranteed.

(*iv*) The outstandings were in excess of the securities pledged by the Company to the Corporation.

The lavishness of expenses may be understood from the fact that a technical expert was appointed on a salary of $1250, free of Indian Income-tax Act. The tax liability of the company on the salary of this Expert for the period 15 April, 1953 to 7 April, 1954, amounted to Rs. 1,26,685. The Board of Directors of the Corporation sanctioned payment of this amount.

After these revelations in the Audit Report, the I.F.C. sold the Sodepur Glass Works to a Japanese firm for Rs. 62 lakhs, and granted this Japanese concern a loan of Rs. 62-lakhs in order to enable them to take over and run the factory. The transaction may be called granting a loan against a cash memo of equal amount. In the news of this transaction published on 12 September, 1955, it was stated that the "loan is on good security." The total amount sunk on this doubtful enterprise thus comes to about Rs. 110 lakhs.

Sodepur Glass Works is not the solitary instance. The Audit Report says, "A number of companies have closed down and the possession of their assets has been taken over by the Corporation." One should be inclined to believe that deliberate negligence by the Board, the Executive Committee and the Managing Director is responsible for the loss of Corporation money.

Loans to Tax Evaders

The loan application form requires the companies to give information regarding liability for income-tax. The Enquiry Committee in their Report said: "Consistent with the present practice under which income-tax clearance certificate is required to be produced by applicants for import and export license and by tenderers for Government contracts, we suggest for Government consideration whether applicants for loans to the Corporation should not also be required to produce similar certificates when applying to the Corporation. In addition, the applicants should also certify that their names are not before the Income-tax Enquiry Tribunal." (Paragraph. 55.).

The Enquiry Committee Report was submitted on 1 May, 1953.

The Government of India in their resolution dated 23 December, 1953, had stated that the Companies who are known to be evading taxes should not be eligible for finance through the Corporation. Neither any rule nor any directive has been specifically issued by the Government to the Corporation on the subject. The resolution, therefore, remains infructuous.

The Audit Report points out that in Government of India, Ministry of Finance letter No. F2(9)-F.III/54, dated 3 April, 1954, there was no reference to the recommendation made in paragraph 55 of the Enquiry Committee Report. The Audit Report also confirms the view that "even when the Director or any partner of the Managing Agent of the applicant Company happens to be a person whose case has been referred to the Income-tax Investigation Commission, the Company's application for loan should not be sanctioned by the Corporation."

Misuse of Public Money

The I.F.C. Act was amended on 29 December, 1952, to bring the Corporation under the audit purview of the Comptroller and the Auditor-General. The resultant audit has revealed a number of defects in the working of the Corporation which involved misuse of public funds. It has been revealed that discrimination was made in respect of the following items:

(1) Grant of loan.

(2) Utilisation of the loan amount.

(3) Personal guarantee of the Managing Agents and modification of the terms of the Managing Agency agreement.

(4) Insurance arrangements.

(5) Appointments of Directors.

(6) Terms of repayment.

Wide discretionary powers were exercised by the Managing Director in respect of all these matters. The Audit Report says that in regard to items (2) to (6), "the terms and conditions were finally settled by the Managing Director and not reported to the Executive Committee before the execution of the Mortgage Deed and the disbursement of the loan amount."

Lavish expenditures were detected in respect of the following:

(1) *Law Charges*: "A sum of Rs. 2,000 was paid on 30th July, 1953, to an advocate of the Bombay High Court for drafting a reply to Chapter VIII of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee Report dealing with the loan of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. The amount of the fee was not settled in advance and the payment was made on an indication of the law officer of the Corporation that Rs. 2,000 was reasonable."

(2) *Staff Car*: A car was purchased and the Executive Committee was informed of the purchase. At no stage the Executive Committee was informed of the probable or actual amount spent. The car was purchased at a cost of Rs. 20,000 and was being used by the Managing Director. "He stated that it was primarily meant for the use of one officer only. The maintenance of the car by the Corporation for the exclusive use of the Managing Director amounted to a concession which apparently was not included in the terms and conditions of his appointment."

(3) *Travel by Air-conditioned Class by Officers of the Corporation*: Senior officers travelled by air-conditioned class and were also allowed the incidental fare at the air-conditioned class rate, *i.e.*, they drew the incidental at a higher rate, if they travelled by air-conditioned class instead of by first class." Overpayments on this account were made and detected.

(4) *Air-conditioned Travel by Members of the Board*: By the resolution of the Board dated 7th July, 1948, members were entitled to first class travel if the journey was performed by rail. They were, however, allowed railway fare and incidental half fare at air-conditioned class rate. Overpayments were detected.

(5) *Establishment Expenses*: During the six years of the existence of the Corporation the expenses on establishment have been steadily increasing. During the year ending June 1953, the increase was Rs. 60,801 and during the year ending June 1954 there was a further increase of Rs. 62,935.

On the Building Account, a large infructuous expenditure was made.

"In pursuance of a scheme for constructing its own building, the Corporation purchased a piece of land in May 1952 at a cost of Rs. 7,76,732 subject to payment of ground rent at Rs. 19,418-5-0 per year. The places for the proposed building were approved by the Executive Committee at their meeting held on 26th July, 1952. On the 14th February, 1953, tenders for the construction of the building were invited. But the Executive Committee in their meeting held on 11th July, 1953 decided that it would not be profitable for the Corporation to invest a large sum of Rs. 64 lakhs (inclusive of the cost of land and air-conditioning) on the construction of the building and the Managing Director was asked to negotiate regarding disposal of the land and hiring of suitable accommodation.

"As regards the disposal of the land the Managing Director informed the Executive Committee on 14th February, 1954, that the Corporation had already paid Rs. 22,184-12-0 as ground rent up to 14th July, 1953, and Rs. 54,366 to the architects. He estimated that the loss on the sale of the plot up to 31st December, 1954, besides the expenditure of Rs. 76,550-12-0 already incurred, would be Rs. 5,02,084."

The infructuous expenditure besides loss on sale of land was calculated in audit as follows:

Fees of the Architects		Rs. 1,56,899-4-6
Fees of the re-inforced concrete specialist	,,	25,325-0-0
Cost of inviting tender and miscellaneous other expenditures	,,	23,465-4-3
		Rs. 2,05,689-8-9

This is the Audit Comment: "It is also questionable whether in view of the financial position of the Corporation in which Government guarantee for the minimum return on capital had to be repeatedly invoked, it was prudent to have embarked on a project of this magnitude for housing the offices of the Corporation. It is also not definite that this organisation is to be permanent in character and therefore such a proposal should not have been entertained. In any event there is no justification for reconsidering the question merely because a loss is likely to be incurred."

Audit Report

The result of audit may best be summarised in the words of the Audit Report itself:

(a) The Managing Director exercised powers in excess of those delegated to him;

(b) The terms and conditions of loans more particularly the rate of interest chargeable were varied by the Managing Director, even in respect of contemporaneous transactions;

(c) Loans were granted in many cases where, *prima facie*, the issue of a share capital or deben-

tures should have been possible, having regard to the financial position and the standing of the concerns;

(d) Loans were granted in some other cases where the financial position of the concerns did not justify the risks taken;

(e) The recommendations of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry were disregarded in making loans available in certain cases;

(f) While the Corporation was running at a loss and the Government guarantee was being repeatedly invoked for payment of the minimum dividend, the Corporation had embarked on a scheme costing approximately Rs. 64 lakhs for the construction of office accommodation. Preliminary action for this purpose has involved the Corporation in a possible loss of Rs. 6 lakhs;

(g) The growth of administrative expenditure is out of proportion to the business transacted;

(h) All the irregularities and exercises of power in excess of delegation, in which the Managing Director was involved, were approved *ex-post-facto* at a meeting of the Corporation held in October 1954 after the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee and also audit had drawn pointed attention to these lapses;

(i) Rules have yet to be framed by Government in accordance with Section 42 of the I.F.C. Act, defining clearly the questions which are specifically reserved for the Government. In the absence of such rules, the Corporation had undertaken responsibilities and decisions which should have been normally submitted to Government for approval.

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CAPITAL FORMATION IN INDIA

By Prof. Miss BELA BOSE, M.A.,

Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah, West Bengal

Capital formation has become one of the most acute problems in India specially in relation to the financing of the Second Five-Year Plan. It has therefore become a subject for deep and exhaustive study.

When a society does not apply the whole of its productive capacity to the needs of current consumption, but directs a part of it to the making of capital goods, capital, in the economic sense, is said to be formed. Thus capital formation presupposes an act of saving on the part of the community which in its turn is implicit in the income level of the country. In view of our present low productivity, which in itself is due to a lack of capital, by far the greater part of the available resources is employed to produce the current consumption goods. It is very difficult to spare any resource for the production of capital goods. We are, in the words of Prof. Nurkse of Columbia University, in a vicious circle of poverty. It implies a Circular Constellation of diverse forces acting and reacting in such a way as to keep a poor country in perpetual poverty.

A small capacity to save results from the low level of real income. The low level of real income is a reflection of low productivity which in its turn is due to a lack of capital. The lack of capital is a result of the small capacity to save and so the circle is complete.

The disparities that exist in the level of real income of the different countries of the world will nevertheless help us to understand the position of under-developed countries. A report from the United Nations reveals that 67 per cent of the World's income goes to high income countries comprising 18 per cent of the world's population. This group consists of U.S.A., Canada, Western Europe and Newzealand. Secondly, 18 per cent. of the World's income goes to the middle income group consisting of 15 per cent of the population. This group includes *Argentina*, Uruguay, South Africa, Israel, and some countries of Eastern Europe, especially Russia. Lastly, the lower income group earns only 15 per cent of the World's income but consists of 67 per cent of the population. It covers most of Asia, South Eastern Europe, and Latin America, *i.e.* the whole block of under-developed countries. Out of this 15 per cent income the basic requirements of 67 per cent. are to be met. It is not difficult to imagine why saving is practically non-existent in under-developed countries.

Thus the problem of capital formation in India is inherently a problem of increasing the income of the majority. Mass of the population here have little or no margin between receipts and expenditure. Only a small minority are in regular receipt of an income which permits saving. The divergence of economic, social and political conditions of developed and under-developed countries makes inevitable the adoption of a completely separate policy for their problem. In under-developed countries capital shortage cramps all progressive aspiration while in advanced countries the problem is to secure profitable outlets for the investment of capital. The traditional process of capital formation, *i.e.*, the process with which we are nurtured under western influences, will not be effective. India requires a separate solution suitable for her own pecular economic conditions. The western theory of capital formation which depends on the theory of liquidity preference, cannot *ipso facto* be applied to under-developed countries where wide-spread liquidity of money is conspicuous by its absence.

The deficiency of appropriate financial institutions constitutes a serious handicap to capital formation in India. The banking system is inadequate. They are designed mainly to serve the commerce of the country. They prefer to lend to plantation, mining and trading activities.

Most of the banks are concentrated in cities and towns. Rural credit system is so under-developed that it is not possible to bring whatever small savings the villagers have, into banks so that such money could be profitably invested. The importance of interest rate as a regulator of investment, doubted even in industrial countries, is comparatively small here as production is more labour-intensive. Fluctuation in wage-rate influences the cost structure more than the variation in the interest rate.

The unorganised nature of the Indian money market is a great handicap against the success of the machanism of Bank Rate and Open Market Operation. More than 50 per cent. of the total money requirements of trade and industry specially in the rural sector, is still supplied by the indigenous bankers. And these bankers seldom come within the controlling power of the Reserve Bank.

Joint-stock company and the security market in India have not yet been fully capable of drawing the substantial part of the savings. Frequent company failures and wide-spread illiteracy are responsible for discouragement of investment in joint-stock companies which in its turn encourages hoarding in species and bullions. The traditional process of capital formation through voluntary savings and individual private investment would not be effective in India where the basic conditions for capital accumulation are absent. If any attempt be made along that line, it would be a faulty measure. A review of an account of capital formation estimated by the Planning Commission would explain the point.

According to an estimate prepared by the Planning Commission the volume of capital formation amounted to Rs. 719 crores in 1953-54 as compared with Rs. 589 crores in 1950-51. Thus there has been a net improvement of Rs. 130 crores in three years. Out of this Rs. 791 crores, the public sector accounts for Rs. 277 crores while the private sector records an investment of Rs. 443 crores.

Under the private sector Rs. 204 crores have been invested for the construction of buildings in towns and villages—urban construction amounting to Rs. 123 crores and village construction to Rs. 81 crores.

Construction of building as a factor in capital formation depends on the purpose for which it is built, if it is for dwelling purposes it is definitely not a capital. In the above estimate of the Planning Commission, no indication of the purpose is given and therefore it is not clear how far this investment would help capital formation. Expenditure made for the improvement of land, irrigation, agriculture and implements of small industry and for mining and manufacturing enterprises should be regarded as real investment. These involved a total outlay of Rs. 209 crores. The actual capital invested on private account thus amounts to Rs. 209 crores and not Rs. 443 crores as stated by the Planning Commission. This amount would be still more reduced if deduction is made for depreciation.

The bulk of the capital has been supplied by the Government. But the different heads under which investment is made has not been separately shown in the estimate. Construction of dams, canals, wells etc., has been included under capital formation while defence and others have been treated as consumption expenditure. To what extent these investments have induced capital formation is difficult to ascertain. Any estimate of capital formation by western method will not truly represent the Indian condition.

Capital formation through monetary policy and budget surpluses has become essential in recent years. The realisation of the inadequacy of voluntary saving has led many under-developed countries to adopt deficit financing for raising the capital for development plans. In India the Planning Commission has accepted deficit finance as an essential measure for raising finance for the plan. When the largest part of the new money is likely to be spent on inelastic consumption goods, the risk of creating an inflationary spiral becomes manifest. Prof. Shenoy has pointed out in his note of dissent to the Second Plan that the success of this policy depends on an administrative efficiency which may be found only in a totalitarian state. Deficit finance through note issue is bound to be risky and is very likely to lead to inflation in a democratic state like India.

The revenue surplus in Government budget is an important stimulant to capital formation. The First Five-Year Plan estimated to raise Rs. 569 crores from General budget surplus but realised Rs. 321 crores only during the first 3 years of the plan period. The Second Five-Year Plan estimates a surplus of Rs. 5,200

crores within the plan period. But it seems to be a very ambitious expectation. The success of the Budgetary Policy depends primarily on the reduction of expenditure and also on an increase in revenue. There is little tendency for reduction in expenditure, rather Government expenditure of an unproductive nature is on the increase. The only way to create the surplus will therefore be to increase the income either through earnings of state enterprises or through taxation.

In a welfare state, during a normal period, Government seldom imposes high and regressive tax as it reacts heavily on the income and standard of living of the people. Most of the modern states, no matter whether they believe in socialism or capitalism, try their best to create a surplus in their budget by earning through different trading activities, such as nationalisation of coal, gas, electricity foreign trade and communication. Not only Soviet Russia but capitalist countries like Great Britain, France, South America and others have nationalised some of their most prosperous undertakings and earn large profits annually. In India also the Government has invested about Rs. 60 crores on nationalised industries. The First Five-Year Plan expected to realise Rs. 132 crores from the profits of state-owned enterprises. But actually a loss of Rs. 46 crores has been incurred within the three years of the plan. In the States, however, all except West Bengal have been successful to earn profits. Failing surplus from state enterprises, the Government have now adopted a policy of increasing taxation and deficit finance.

According to Prof. Colin Clark there is a critical limit to taxation. In peacetime this amount should never be more than 25 p.c. or in some countries 20 p.c. or less of the national income. In a less developed country, however, such a limit is found long before the Clarkian limits are reached. In India the limit to taxation has been estimated in the Second Five-Year Plan as 9 to 10 P.C.

The justification of this estimate depends on the distribution of the burden of tax on different sections of people. In calculating the incidence of taxation no sectorwise calculation has been made either by the Taxation Enquiry Commission or by the Planning Commission. The imposition of tax therefore is being made without any scientific basis and any fresh taxation is therefore quickly becoming a source of public irritation. Tax evasion is also becoming wide-spread. Mobilisation of finance through this channel is rapidly tending to reach the limit.

The prospect of public debt also is not very promising in India. The First Five-Year Plan expected to raise Rs. 215 crores from the public. But in spite of strenuous effort on the part of the Government, it was not able to realise more than Rs. 34 crores.

Loan, taxation, and deficit finance are the different processes of tapping the same source of national saving. The whole problem thus boils down to the fact that unless individual income is increased all attempts at captial formation become futile.

India requires quite a different approach to her problem. We require such a plan that it would provide opportunity of earnings to the vast population. Income, instead of being concentrated in the hands of the few, needs be diffused throughout the country. Saving would then be easy and would expand spirally as the multiplier extends.*

* Address delivered at the Rotary Club, Asansol on November 7, 1955.

INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The visit of the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Bulganin and the Communist Party Secretary, Mr. Khruschev, to India only a few months after the visit of the Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union is an event of great international importance in the cause of world peace and co-operation. This is, perhaps, the first time since the Russian Revolution that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union has moved out of his country to another country on a mission of goodwill and friendship. It is, indeed, a glowing tribute to the successful policy of non-alignment followed by our great leader, Shri Nehru, that India is the first country which is being visited in this manner by the Soviet statesmen. The reception that was accorded to the Russian leaders on the first day of their arrival in India was an unprecedented one; about a million people lined the twelve-mile route from the Palam airport to Rashtrapati Bhawan. The civic reception on the following day was also unique in the annals of India's capital city. Prime Minister Bulganin declared that India and the Soviet Union are building their relations on "stable and reliable" foundations of *Pancha Shila*. He fervently hoped that the lasting friendship between the two countries would pave the way for a lasting peace in the world.

The Soviet leaders have praised India's efforts for her economic and industrial development. Referring to several big projects like the Bhakra Dam, Mr. Bulganin observed in Bombay:

> "During the few days that we have been in this country we have seen a good many magnificent things made by the ordinary people of India."

Mr. Khruschev, for his part, remarked:

> "When we visit the cities and villages of India, we see in their eyes a beam of joy at the progress Independent India is making."

Donning the white *khadi* caps, the two Soviet leaders assured:

> "People of Soviet Russia greet warmly your success."

They also paid a tribute to the Indian scientists:

> "We in Russia have many things to learn from you. Indian science is ancient and it has produced a number of eminent scientists. Your scientists have maintained peace with progress in the rest of the world."

The Soviet Prime Minister, in the course of his speeches, has been laying great stress on developing closer ties between India and Russia on the economic front. At the civic reception in Delhi, he said:

> "All the necessary conditions have been created for the development of trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and India on a basis of genuine equality and mutual benefit."

Addressing the Members of Parliament, he observed:

> "We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience."

At Nangal, Mr. Khruschev said with emotion:

> "We shall share our last piece of bread with you."

He offered all technical "know-how" and training facilities to India. Russia has already agreed, to set up a Steel Plant in Madhya Pradesh. Soviet oil experts have also arrived recently in India for helping us in prospecting oil resources in the country. We, no doubt, welcome technical help from the U.S.S.R. in building up India on sound economic foundations. In fact, we are, always prepared to welcome such help from any country in the world, provided it is free from any kind of political strings. We, on our part, do not intend exploiting any country for our economic progress. Nor can we allow any other country to exploit us economically in any manner. Further, we desire to develop our country on the basis of self-help and our own inherent strength, we do not desire to rely too much on any foreign country for our economic development. We are fully conscious of the fact that too much reliance in economic matters on other countries leads to all kinds of political complications which may threaten to endanger the very foundations of Independence. As Dr. Radhakrishnan observed in the course of his opening remarks prefacing the Soviet leaders' address to the Members of Parliament:

> "A nation's prosperity depends not so much on foreign aid or assistance or acquiring other people's technical intelligence as on its own inherent strength. Its own capacity, moral character, and capacity for creative work in a co-operative manner."

The visit of the Soviet leaders has, indeed, been very helpful in fostering closer economic and political

ties between India and Russia. There is also much in common between the two great countries. Both stand for world peace and co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles or *Pancha Shila*. Both are eager to improve the economic lot of the common man by eliminating exploitation and brining about greater economic equalities. But it must always be remembered that the means or methods employed for the achievement of these objects are fundamentally different in India and the Soviet Union. While Russia has followed the totalitarian method of class war and a highly centralised administration, India is wedded to the method of peace, democracy and maximum decentralisation.

"India," said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "was trying to bring about a socialistic pattern of society in a peaceful and non-violent way. India's path was consistent with her tradition arising out of her background through non-violent democratic process."

Welcoming the distinguished Soviet visitors, our Prime Minister said:

"We in India have been conditioned by a Master Spirit of the present age, Mahatma Gandhi, who told us to get rid of hatred and violence and to make friends with all, at the same time holding to our convictions and principles . . . That is the approach we venture to make even with those who differ from us . . . It is in this spirit that the people of India approach the great Soviet people and seek their friendship and co-operation. We are simple people and have no sense of rivalry against any country. But we are bent on rebuilding our country along *the Socialist path of our choosing* so that everyone in India may have full opportunities of progress."

We are glad to find that the Soviet guests are also fully conscious of the basic differences in our social, economic and political systems. After tracing the history of Russian Revolution and stating the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Bulganin told the M.P.s:

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland . . . into an advanced State with a developed national economy and a high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives."

At Bombay, Mr. Bulganin said:

"We, the Soviet people, had our great leader Lenin who opened a new path for the happy future of our people. You had your great leader Mahatma Gandhi. Though these great leaders belonged to different philosophies, both had many points in common. Both taught their people how to free the country and build up its independence."

Needless to mention, there is fundamental difference between the philosophies of Lenin and Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi, in accordance with the ancient traditions of India, firmly believed that the means were as important as the ends and that wrong and impure means polluted the nobility and purity of the end itself. It is thus Gandhiji insisted on Truth and Non-violence during our struggle for political freedom. He always advised us to follow the same moral principles for the achievement of social and economic freedom. Marx and Lenin followed a very different path. There can be no compromise between the ideologies of Lenin and Gandhi. We have, however, not the slightest intention of interfering with the ideologies of other countries. Nor can we afford to allow any other country to interfere with our way of life. We sincerely believe in the philosophy of "Live and Let Live" or of "Co-existence."

In the joint Declaration signed at Moscow at the time of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, it was made very clear that there would be no interference with each other's internal matters, even in the *ideological* sphere. Speaking to the Indian M.P.s, Mr. Khruschev observed:

"We are not rarely accused of trying to export the ideas of Communism to other countries . . . Marching along the chosen path of socialism, the Soviet people have achieved great success in their development. But we have never compelled anybody and are not compelling to accept our ideas of the reconstruction of society."

We do not know how far this is true of the past. But we do believe that the U.S.S.R. has now given up the policy of "exporting" Communism to other countries. So far as India is concerned, we firmly believe that the Gandhian or the Sarvodaya way is the best way for us. As the Father of the Nation himself remarked:

"It is my implicit faith that India will not be able to imbibe Communism and that Lenin's cult will not take root in this soil."

A NOBLE LIFE

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S., Eng.

A life filled with work of amazing variety and sterling worth, accomplished in silence and self-effacement, ended when Pramatha Nath Bose passed into the eternal silence on 27th April, 1934, only a fortnight before he could complete his 79th year. And it is only today that a full biography* of him has been written, thanks to the collaboration between Jogesh Chandra Bagal (the established authority on the Renaissance in Bengal, its men and institutions) and the family of the deceased, who have supplied their reminiscences.

Born in 1855, Pramatha Nath came just one generation after the first heroes of New Bengal, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Bhudev Mukherji, and only fifteen years after Bankim and his group, while Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray followed him by five years. Each of them belonged to the "new aristocracy of academic distinction" which has dominated Indian thought and through our thought the national life of New India ever since. But to P. N. Bose belongs the unique honour of having been the progenitor of the greatest industrial undertaking in India,—the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur. His own share in the origin of this great national institution was long forgotten, and it was only in 1928, when Pramatha Nath had been dead for four years, that his marble bust was set up at the Indian Essen, to proclaim to the world that a Bengali Baboo could be something other than a *Graeculus esuriens* in other provinces of India.

Born to a respectable middle-class family of Gaipur (Gobardanga, then in the Nadia district), Pramatha Nath passed the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations, standing 2nd and 5th respectively in order of merit in the whole University (1871 and 1873). Then after securing the top place at the Gilchrist Scholarship competition early in 1874, he went to England on a scholarship of £100 a year tenable for five years. His six years' stay in England was most fruitful. After taking the B.Sc. degree at the London University (1878) with a place near the top and a First Class First at the Royal School of Mines (Biology, July 1879), he carried on research work on Indian Geology among the specimens in the British Museum, and had the honour of seeing his papers printed in the learned journals of Geology (1880). In May 1880, the Secretary of State for India appointed him to the covenanted rank of the Indian Geological Survey, the first Indian so chosen.

In his 23 years under the British Government he carried out very valuable geological explorations in virgin jungles and desolate hills,—the Vindya range, Gondwana, Darjeeling, Chota Nagpur, Rewah, Assam, and even Burma, amidst indescribable hardship and danger. A long list of published papers records the fruits of his labour. But in 1903 he retired prematurely from Government service as a protest against his being superseded by a European junior for the post of the head of his department.

But, happily for us, such precious talent was not lost to the country. He was soon afterwards engaged by various Indian Princes to explore the geology of their States,—Mayurbhanj, Patiala, Rajpipla, Kashmir and Tippera (1903—1911). What he achieved here is best illustrated by the location of the Tata Iron Works in the Mayurbhanj State.

Thereafter he settled at Ranchi, where he had built a house (1908), and here he spent most part of his remaining life (1912-1934), in many-sided beneficence to the townspeople and by his writings to the world at large. He lived (along with his friend Satyendra Nath Tagore) as the patriarch of the upper society and his home there was the centre and rendezvous of the men of light and cultured visitors in the evenings. (I heard S. N. Tagore, I.C.S., recite or rather act, Kipling's poem *Ganga Deen* there!)

The many-sided and fruitful activity of his life in retirement baffles description. It was equalled only by his puritan simplicity, purity and strength of character. Sorrow and loss came too thick and too early to him and his life's partner Kamala (the eldest daughter of R. C. Dutt, I.C.S.), whom he had married young in July 1882. But their patriotic and benevolent work did not cease, even after they had passed the span of life assigned to man by the Psalmist of Israel. Two things stand out prominent among Pramatha Nath's labours in office and out of it, namely his efforts to improve the education of our people by directing them towards science and modernism, while retaining their ancient spiritual heritage, and

* *Pramatha Nath Bose* : By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Foreword by Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S. The Elm Press, 63, Beadon Street, Calcutta-6. Illustrated. Pp. xxxiv + 256. Price Rupees Six.

his sermons and practical experiments to make us take to industry and production rather than conventional literary pursuits or "white collar labour." In this he was the yoke-fellow of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. The reader can easily believe that Pramatha Nath never smoked nor visited a cinema! So also did our chemist-saint.

Pramatha Nath's greatest achievement, though unrecognised in his lifetime, was the exact location of the Tata Iron Works. The geographical factor alone saved the infant, absolutely novel, pure Indian but extremely modern and mechanised industry from dying at its birth. It was founded before World War No. I (1914—1918). It had then to fight in the competitive world market without any State help in the form of subsidy, protective duty, control of imports, concession rates of transport and other aids familiar to the modern socialistic State. And therefore it could stand only because the site was so chosen that the production cost was reduced to a minimum, and the best and richest iron ore and coal deposits were found close to each other, and a vast cheap labour population was within call. If Sheffield's success was due to coal and iron ore being close together in the "Black country," the same was true in a still greater degree of Jamshedpur. And the selection of this area in Mayurbhanj-Chota Nagpur for the Tata factory was due entirely to Pramatha Nath's persistent advocacy, which overbore the Tata Company's earlier and less profitable choice of the Sambalpur district for the location of their Works. This fact is hardly known to the general public, and the story must be told here:

"The Tatas selected Padampur near Sambalpur, as a possible site for their steel-works. It was at a considerable distance from the coalfields of Jharia and Raniganj . . . One morning a letter came from P. N. Bose, drawing their attention to the iron-deposits of Mayurbhanj . . . Then Tata's experts visited the iron districts of the Mayurbhanj State.

"In the lofty Guru-Mahisani Hill they found enormous deposits of iron ore. They further found hundreds of acres of rich 'Ore-float'—ore lying loose on the surface, which simply had to be picked up by unskilled labour. The explorers were in the presence of a treasure-house far more potentially valuable than most gold mines." This inspection left no doubt that Mayurbhanj offered advantages superior to those of the Sambalpur area. It was far nearer the sea and nearer the coal-fields. Its economic advantages were enormous. The Sambalpur Scheme was abandoned, and the terms of mining rights were soon settled with the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj,—for whom Pramatha Nath acted as negotiator, on terms favourable to both parties.

We must thank Sri J. C. Bagal for crowning his pile of valuable and highly accurate books on the history of the men and movements of New India and the noble colleges of this province, with a biography of such a patriot written in so clear and readable a style. The world can now see his stature.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE GOSPEL OF ISRAEL: *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Volume XI. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1955. Pp. cxliv + 377. Price Rs. 7.*

The plan of this monograph follows that of other works in the above valuable series, some of which like *The Gospel of the Guru-Granth Sahib* and *The Gospel of the Pyramids* have been reviewed by us in previous issues of *The Modern Review*. Its main portion (308 pp.) consists of extracts from the Jewish scriptures (claimed by the author to be translated mostly for the first time from the original works written in Hebrew, Greek and other languages) which are accompanied with an excellent synopsis and a running commentary as well as short footnotes. This is prefaced by a Historical Introduction and explanatory notes as well as the usual brief catechism (100 pp. nearly) throwing light upon the fundamental doctrines of the faith. An Appendix (60 pp.) consists of extracts from the Apocrypha and Rabbinic literature with easy cross references for tracing the development of the ideas in the early centuries of the faith. The author's approach to his subject is expressed in the Preface in words which deserve to be quoted here. "The two religions," he says (p. xiv), "which sprang from the Israelite mother, Christianity and Islam, have by material force and effective propaganda drowned their parent's message to the world, changing it to fit their own ideas. The prejudice of centuries, diligently stirred up against the Jews from time to time, has dubbed this glorious religion a tribal cult, blaspheming its noble portrait of the Universal Father with vile caricatures, slandering His people as jingoes because they know themselves called to be His servants, to work and suffer for the universal brotherhood of righteousness on earth." Altogether this is a learned, accurate and comprehensive account of what has rightly been called "The Gospel of Suffering" "because running through the Jewish Bible, as through the long history of its people, we can trace the scarlet thread of pain" (p. xv) and it fully sustains the noble ideal of this series which is based on the conviction "that all the great Religions and their Scriptures come from one Divine Source, in varying degrees of purity of transmission." A good index and a valuable bibliography bring this volume to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. IV, 1818-40: *By Dr. Harnarayan Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. Published by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. 1954. Pp. 24 + 592.*

Thanks to the liberality of the Madhya Pradesh Government, the fourth volume of the Nagpur Residency Records covering the period from 1818 to 1830 has been brought to light. The bulk of these letters relate to 1818-19 A.D., with, of course, a sprinkling of letters from 1821-1830 in the different sections. The letters of 1831-39 would not exceed more than half a dozen. A separate section entitled *Confidential Newsletters of 1840* covers the last hundred pages (459-560) but they deal with the External Affairs and have hardly any connexion with the Nagpur Government. Their incorporation into this volume is a matter which the reviewer fails to understand.

The first three sections deal exclusively with Nagpur affairs: (*i*) State of Bhonsla dominion after the third Maratha war, (*ii*) State of Bhonsla dominion under the British administration, (*iii*) Appa Saheb's doings after 1818. Most of the correspondence in Sections 2 and 3 deal with a resistance movement led principally by the Gond chiefs against the British power, the romantic escape of Appa Saheb, his wanderings across the country to Bikaner and then to Lahore and the account of two Bengalis, one named Ramratan Babu of Vrindaban, arrested on suspicion of his secret dealings with Rao Ganga Singh, agent of the Bhonsla Raja, Appa Saheb (pp. 339-340) and their being set at liberty. A very interesting letter in Section II. refers to Captain Fell's attempt to copy and decipher the ancient epigraphs in the Chhatisgarh district, 217-19. Section III throws new light on British attempts at pacification of the conquered territories. An *arzi* (statement) made by Raghunath Ingle, Subahdar of Jubbulpore, about certain taxes current under the defunct Hindu Raj merits attention. The taxes are as follows:

1. "All persons of the caste Koormi and Lodhi wishing to marry a second time, to pay a sum proportionate to their circumstances and means, to the State for its sanction to their second marriage."

2. "All persons betrothing, but not performing their contract to pay a fine to the State proportioned to their means of payment."

3. "All persons intriguing with the wives of others or quarrelling or exciting quarrels on account of women, to be fined."

4. "The effects, etc., of all persons, dying without issue or heirs, belong to the State."

5. "The fourth of the purchase money of all houses sold, to be paid into the treasury."

6. "All lands not held by any individual or to which no rights or title can be substantiated by any person belong to the State."

7. "All widows to be sold and the purchase money to be paid into the treasury."

8. "All persons selling their daughters to pay one-fourth of the purchase-money to the State." (*Vide* p. 27 of this volume.)

Four other Sections deal respectively with the Pindaris, Peshwa's affairs, Sindhia's affairs and Confidential News-letters already referred to.

As regards the standard of editing, the attention of the reader is drawn to certain features from which he will form his own conclusions.

(a) *The lacunae in many letters are so numerous,* from pp. 305 to 335 that whole *passages remain obscure in meaning.* The editor writes in the summary to letter No. 32, p. 316, and again on page 320, as follows: "Many passages of the letter and proclamation are blurred and cannot be read and hence blanks have been left to indicate these." The reader might well ask, "Why print blank letters?"

(b) *The printed summaries cover sometimes a complete page,* pp. 70-71, 377, 400.

(c) (*i*) *There are sentences in the body of letters which are very difficult to follow*: For instance, p. 283, "I also detached a party of infantry to Ramgarh with orders to move upon *any point they might ruin of him,*"

(*ii*) "This affords a faint hope that he may be apprehended on that intelligence, may be obtained of the fugitives by a detachment, etc." (p. 285).

(*iii*) "*Dillern Raja,* the only Gond entitled to that appellation, was on the cession of the valley the first to come *into* me, etc." (p. 291).

(*iv*) "I have desired Lt.-Col. Popham to reinforce Capt. Cruickshank to *kive him* a disposable force to act against the Gonds." (p. 313).

(*v*) "That in five trips he brought into the hills not less than five or six hundred *atturs* to flock to Appa Saheb's standard." (p. 315).

(*vi*) "The Hirkara were (should be 'was') proceeding . . . and met at Lartnic by Gondee." See also p. 310. "with a view to *receive* the apprehension and suspicion," pp. 291-2, "in the *valley and joining* (adjoining) the hills."

(d) Proper names are spelt variously, throwing the reader into confusion. For instance,

Rajaji on page 316, Rajojee (p. 312), Ragojee (p. 306).

Seetoo on page 318, Cheetoo (p. 312), Seeto (p. 306).

Likietoolie on page 314, Lokur Tullaie on the same page.

(e) Such sentences as the following in the editorial notes perplex the reader:

(*i*) "Capt. Jones has a skirmish *within party* of Hindusthanees and Arabs, following the Raja." (p. 313).

(*ii*) "What policies and methods should be adopted for running the administration of the districts and province . . . the management of Raja's household . . . and many other similar matters of Government are suggested." (p. 142).

This is stiff and ponderous English.

(*iii*) "He had been negotiating with Jaswant Rao to give up Appa Saheb and failing that *had* proclaimed him a traitor and public enemy." (p. 320).

(*iv*) What is meant by "Wars has an claims"? (summary on page 237). In the editorial note on page 217, Captain Fell is described as Secretary to the Hindu College, Benares, and of the General Committee of Public Instruction. But in the annexure to the letter, p. 218, H. H. Wilson is mentioned as Secretary to the General Education Committee, Calcutta.

(f) No uniformity in spelling is maintained even in the editorial notes, *e.g.,* on page 189, Kamptee is written in the second line; and on the same page 'Komptah.' Punctuation marks are not adhered to; and sometimes wrongly put, *e.g.,* "Capt. Fell, Secretary, to the Hindu College." Place-names are not identified. This could easily have been done, *e.g.,*

Page 20 Bhautkoli—Bhatkuli, 10 miles from Amraoti.
Page 150 Puteera (summary to L. No. 79)—probably Pitihra, Sagar district.
Page 153 Bordehi (summary to L. No. 81)—Bordihi, Betul district.
Page 15 Babye—Babai, Narsinghpur district.
Batkurgarh—Batkagarh, Chhindwara dt.

Misprints:

Page 292 Vengence, *should be* Vengeance.
Page 298 designs impute *should be* designs imputed to.
Page 305 ordered him to put to death *should be* ordered him to be put to death.
Page 323 on outlaw *should be* an outlaw.

"SUFI"

INDIA: NEW PATTERN: *By Lady Mabel Hartog. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d.*

The authoress, the late Mabel Hartog, lived in India from 1921 to 1930 when her husband was first, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and then, a member of the Public Service Commission, Delhi. She revisited India in 1953 on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the All-India Women's Conference. The book under review is among the results of this second visit.

Lady Hartog writes with sympathy. She has a good word or two for everything praiseworthy in India today. Indian life, according to her, is as rich and varied, the Indian scene, as bright and colourful and the Indian people, as warm and generous as before. New India, in her opinion, "which has deliberately chosen the British pattern of democracy, this new India of adult suffrage, high income-tax and estate duty, National Savings Weeks and flag days, is closer in spirit and in sympathy with the Britain of today than ever was the India of the past."

The twelve chapters of Lady Hartog's book describe, among others, what Free India is like and the efforts made by her to develop her resources through the Five-Year Plans, to improve the condition of the masses in general and of the backward classes in particular. The attempts to solve the vital problems of food, population and the refugees are referred to sympathetically. The changing pattern of social life does not escape the notice of the authoress. She is not unaware of the valuable contribution made by women to the building up of new India.

The authoress is full of admiration for India's foreign policy which has been defined as "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject-peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population." Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of this policy, and the infant Indian Diplomatic Service too have their shares of praise. The former has been rightly described as "one of the great figures on the world stage, respected by all for his integrity and high-mindedness, the champion of a renascent Asia."

Lady Hartog, sympathetic as she is, does not, however, mince matters and tells quite a few home-truths, which might not be relished by our neo-patriots. She notes, for example, the deterioration in the standards of administration and the corruption prevailing in many of the Government departments. She, however, believes that "India's greatest safeguard lies in the quality and integrity of her leaders and the mounting force of public opinion." The authoress does not see eye to eye with the zealots who are eager to see English replaced overnight by Hindi and regrets that "while educationists favour a policy of gradualness, politicians wax impatient."

The volume at places reveals how shrewd an observer the late authoress was. She thus points out to the "*undenying* cleavage in the Congress Party itself between those who wish India to develop strictly in accordance with Gandhian principles, and those who, like Nehru, see India's future in large-scale modernisation and scientific progress." She further points out, and rightly at that, that the lower middle class is the new poor class of the Indian society and that the faults for the progressive deterioration in the Indian Universities "are not all on the students' side." Instances may be multiplied.

An admirable volume so rich in information and observation unfortunately makes a few mistakes here and there. Pandit T. N. Kunzru (p. 38) *should be* Pandit H. N. Kunzru. Sindri is not in Bengal as stated by the authoress (p. 50). It is in Bihar. These and similar other mistakes should be corrected in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

THE DOGMA OF REINCARNATION (A critical inquiry): *By Sri J. E. Sanjana. Published by New Book Company Ltd., 188-189, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4.*

This book contains a lengthy monograph and an interesting paper on the ancient doctrine of rebirth. The paper is given as an appendix and named the rationale of the dogma of rebirth. It was read before the Philosophical Society of Bombay in September, 1953. The monograph, which covers the bulk of the book, is a masterly study of this very difficult subject. The erudite author had been seriously thinking about it for about fifty years and before writing this book read nearly a hundred outstanding works on this subject. As many as 83 volumes have been referred to or consulted for this purpose. In 1905 he formulated the doubts about the dogma of reincarnation that had arisen in his mind in the shape of some fifteen questions to believers and got it published in a Gujarati paper. In 1907 he wrote in English a carefully documented essay entitled the Belief in Transmigration and brought it out in the *Zartosti.* In 1912, he wrote miscellaneous paragraphs in Gujarati in the *Journal of the Iranian Association.* At last he undertook the task of writing this monograph which is the outcome of his life-time research.

The author seems to be very hard upon the Theosophists and exposes their shallowness and silliness about this doctrine. He has quoted many original scriptures to show that reincarnation is a very ancient doctrine. He has tackled the problem from various angles in the pure light of reason and logic. He believes that this doctrine was quite unknown in the Vedic Sanhitas and Brahmanas but makes its first appearance in the Upanishads. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Rishi Yajnavalkya treats it as a secret doctrine not to be given out in a mixed assembly; but only to the fit few. So far so good. But when the author observes that the doctrine is a primitive one and originated among the aborigines we beg to differ from him, since philosophical enquiry did not begin in the primitive society. Whatever that may be, this book bears marks of extensive study and profound thinking and amply repays a perusal. The monograph not being chapterised proves monotonous reading. There should have been at least marginal sub-headings to enhance readability.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CO-OPERATIVE MANAGEMENT: *By S. T. Mong and Rewi Alley. Published by the Industrial Co-operatives Organising Committee, 9, Bake House Lane, Fort Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2.*

Unfortunately co-operative movement has not taken its root much deep in Indian soil as it should. But not so in countries which have forged ahead in struggle for freedom. The examples of Ireland and China are instances to prove that co-operative movement must precede all successful movements for national independence. This book relates to co-operative movement of China and phases of the movement have been described in a thrilling manner. Co-operation—organisation, membership, education and training, planning, production, technical improvement, finance, marketing and supply, rules and regulations, federation, managership, promotional agency and local relationship, all the possible aspects of co-operation—is being successfully experimented in China which is passing through disturbance and unrest for three decades. The present-day China of so-called Communism can only be understood in the light of her co-operative progress in social, economic and political life. The book will be an illuminating study to all co-operators of our country.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MONEY: *By Kasturchand Lalwani, M.A. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co., 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author who had already written several books in Bengali and English, does not claim any originality for the subject-matter or treatment of this book. His attempt is to clarify some aspects of the study of this complicated subject which bewilders a beginner. As a student and also as a teacher of Economics he knows the difficulties of students and teachers alike and the present attempt is to solve these difficulties. Besides the introduction, the book has six chapters, *viz.,* Value

of Money, Monetary Standard (I & II), Foreign Exchange, Trade Cycle, Future of Monetary Policy; and in each chapter the author has explained the subject-matter in a manner that will be of considerable help to young undergraduate learners. No public man can do any useful service to his country without a clear knowledge of economic problems; and of these problems, the problems of money are the most important because of recent post-war price movements. Besides being useful to students, the book will be of use to general readers.

INSURANCE: Principles and Practice: *By Prof. R. S. Sharma, M.Com. Published by Messrs. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Insurance is a subject in which besides the members of the public, the students and the men in the profession are interested equally. In spite of the progress and growth of Insurance in the country the knowledge on the subject is possessed only by a few who have made a special study and it is really astonishing that even professional men, such as agents and organisers, often betray such lack of knowledge as are detrimental to their calling. The author's is an attempt not only to help the students but the would-be insured and the men of the profession of insurance.

The book is divided into six parts—Part I deals with the subject-matter of the book in a general and introductory way, Part II which is divided into nine chapters, deals with various aspects of Life Assurance business, its technicalities, Law and Practice, Part III which is divided into eight chapters, gives not only the history but various types of Marine Insurance including the Phraseology used, Part IV which contains six chapters, gives origin, nature, conditions, rating and re-insurance, etc., of Fire Insurance, and lastly, Part V which again is divided into four chapters gives particulars in short about Motor Insurance, Workmen's Compensation Insurance, Personal Insurance and Miscellaneous Insurance, such as war risk, third party, guarantee, burglary, crop, livestock, rain, baggage and other kinds of social insurances. Part VI gives a short history of Insurance in India and some important sections of the Insurance Act, 1938.

The author has covered a wide area in a small compass and has avoided intricacies and technicalities which might frighten an ordinary reader, but has not sacrificed the essentials he desires to present. We would call this a successful attempt on the part of Prof. Sharma and recommend the volume to all interested in the subject. A good index, a bibliography and short appendices have made the book more useful.

A. B. DUTTA

POEMS OF CHANGE: *By Irene Coates. The Fortune Press, 15 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.*

Some of the poems included herein were published in English periodicals and were well received. 'Let not one man' won the English laurel, Pan-European poetry prize, 1950.

There are twenty-four lyrics in all. In certain expressions here and there they remind us of 'changed times' but in their spirit and sentiment they do not revolt against the traditionally accepted standard of poetry. Poems like 'Persephone' and 'Harappa Incident' are likely to be appreciated by all, poetically minded.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

SHELLEY: *By Yatendra Kumar. Published by Bharat Prakashan Mandir, Aligarh. Pp. 67 + 95. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A highly commendable achievement, indeed. The young translator has rendered skilfully into Hindi thirty-seven of the well-known shorter poems of Shelley—the great romantic English poet—including his "Ode to Intellectual Beauty," "Liberty," and "To the Skylark," as well as selections from his longer poems like "Revolt of Islam," "Prometheus Unbound," "Alastor" and "Adonais." In addition, there is a biographical sketch of the poet together with an insightful essay on his devoted service to the muse and on the magic of the spirit and style of his poetry. Shri Yatendra Kumar deserves sincere congratulations on opening a window into the wisdom and wonder of one of the immortals of world literature for the Hindi-knowing public.

SANJH: *By Narayan Sinha Bhato. Published by Pithal Prakashan, Jodhpur. Pp. 93. Price Rs. 2.*

The publishers' present undertaking is praiseworthy. They have planned to bring out, under the competent editorship of Shri Komal Kothari and Shri Vijaydan Detha, a series of books on modern Rajasthani literature of which the one under review is the first. The poet has given, in the true Wordsworthian style, in one hundred and fifteen quatrains, a vivid and many-sided description of evening that mysterious and magical hour of twilight in a village in Rajasthan, in the colourful language of the people and in the idiom of their tradition and culture. The varied inter-action of Man and Nature, both vibrant with the pathos, poignancy and poetry of life, is particularly striking. The spirit of the original is clearly and gracefully expressed in the running Hindi translation. *Sanjh* is a poetical work of the first water.

DESH-BHAKT NARTAKI: *By Sayyad Kasim Ali, Sahityalankar. Available from Sushama Sahitya Mandir, Jawaharganj. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a historical play, woven round the event of Nadir Shah's invasion of India. It is full of passion for the liberty of the land one lives in and loves,—a passion which cannot and should not be dimmed by one's loyalty to a particular church or creed. For, "breathes there a man," as Scott says, "who never to himself said this is my own native land?" *Desh-Bhakta Nartaki* is a sincere and stageworthy play.

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: *By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.*

A penetrating survey and study of the overall objectives of life, individual as well as collective, as represented by the patterns of conviction and conduct, respectively, called Gandhism and Communism. The difference between the two is as great as is the difference between the sword and the spirit as sole and substantive basis for the creation and consolidation of human society and civilization. The ultimate victory of the spirit, however delayed it might be by man's cultivated impervious insensitivity to the vision and ways of the spirit, however, is sure. Shri Vinobaji's introduction to the book is, as is usual with whatever he writes or says, illuminating.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) PUNARJANMA: *By Sane Guruji. Translated by Jayant Parmar. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3.*

(2) ASTIK: *By Sane Guruji. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 199. Price Rs. 3.*

Both are Sane Guruji's books written while in jail at Nasik in 1933. They are of superior order and have been very well translated by Shri Jayant Parmar, who has, so to speak, entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it in his own works. The first depicts a domestic tragedy, a meek wife and libertine husband, reconciled through a common friend, whose intentions did not go without suspicion. The second novel is taken up with personalities on the higher spheres, where Brahma and other divinities figure, and the triangle of Astik Bhagavan, Janmejaya and Vatsala concludes a tragedy which but for Astik Bhagwan would have enveloped the whole world, as Janmejaya had started on a *jajna* where the whole of the serpent world Nagloke was to be sacrificed. That legend has been taken as a background to this story.

PRATYUSH: *By Jashbhai K. Patel. Published by the Charutar Prakashan, Anand. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This collection of about eighty pieces of poetry is conceived on a high poetical level. Some of them are inspired by what the poet read, some by what he saw, and observed and some purely by the spirit of *Bhakti* (Devotion). In them lies a promise of something higher and more poetic coming out in future.

PRAVASH DARSHAN: *By Tarachandra P. Adalja, Baroda. Published by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-baord. Pp. 218. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Shri Adalja is a known writer. He happened to visit Kashmir, North India, Abu, Rishikesh, Delhi, etc., and has set down his own observations and impressions of those places. As a rule such observations are always interesting and informative, as they partake of personal narratives.

ARYA-ADITYA CHAKRABARTI BAPPA RAVAL: *By the late Narayan Vasanji Thakkur. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1951. Thin paper cover. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 4.*

As usual, the old well-known weekly *Gujarati* has presented this book to its readers as the 68th Annual Gift. Bappa Raval of Mewad needs no introduction to students of Indian history. He was on the throne of the Sisodias and upheld their name and fame in every respect. A great protagonist of Hindu religion, he found the famous Shiva Temple of Eklingji in Rajasthan and in that capacity defeated Muslim invaders of his time. The novel is written in the usual racy style of the late writer and bound to become popular.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vedantic Cultivation in 'The Waste Land'

V. A. Thiagarajan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

The poetry of T. S. Eliot is of vital significance to our troubled times. In his own personality, Eliot represents a veritable league of Nations. Thomas Stearns Eliot, born of New England protestants, many of whom had held the office of the elders of the church, had received as his intellectual heritage that faith that removes mountains. But he was born in a questioning age and no one can escape the spirit of his age. This spirit of enquiry took him as an adventurer through time and space, through the Universities of America, France, Germany and England and made him the heir to the wisdom of all the ages.

That is why, as one Indian writer puts it, Eliot is among the Arjunas of the Age, valiantly fighting with the conflicting tendencies of an acquisitive or of a materialistic civilization, battling for the sublimation and the ennoblement of life. Perhaps we cannot do better than follow the line of his thought, as suggested in his femliar poem, 'THE WASTE LAND.'

The title of the poem is suggested from a book by Miss Jessie Weston, entitled 'From Ritual to Romance.' The book is of anthropological significance, and points out how romance arises out of rituals which represent man's sympathetic magic. There is a parallel instance found in one of the Hindu epics.

In the Ramayana we are told that when once the land suffered from drouth, the king was told that the fertilizing showers would descend on the land if the king's daughter were to be given in marriage to the sage Rishyasringa. This fertility rite thus represents man's sympathetic magic of fertilizing barren soil, water being in the language of Psychology, the symbol of life itself. The waste land that Eliot represents is the arid desert, the mind of the modern man. The waste land is therefore no particular spot on earth, it is rather like Butler's Erewhon, not a no-where, but everywhere. The waste land is the mind of the modern man in any modern city. It lives waste, so long as he does not go in quest of his own soul.

Excitement, dissipation, the rush and turmoil of life, may overload life, like the litter of broken bits of paper or like the refuse which the dustman carts away. It may make us drown uneasy questionings, but in itself it is no subsitute for life. It is as though one should read the columns of a newspaper from one column to another in a straight line, without going deeper into the significance of any particular column.

If modern life is to be redeemed from the chaos of our impulses, where shall we seek that wisdom which brings us unutterable peace? Wherefrom shall the fertilizing stream descend to redeem life from decay? The poet finds in the fire sermon of the Lord Buddha an apt symbol of life wasting away like a forest on fire consumed by the passions, objects of sense-enjoyment. The Buddha said that his doctrine would quench that fire which consumed life, like rain quenching a forest fire. While Eliot accepts the simile, he seeks for light in the wisdom of the Upanishads, in that part of his poem, WHAT THE THUNDER SAID. When the Lord speaks with the voice of thunder, as in the Book of Job all doubt is at an end. But the thunder speaks here, not to convince man of his error, but to illumine his soul. It is said in the Brihadaranyaka Upanished that gods, men and the demons, all decendants of *Prajapati*, lived with him for a time as students. Prajapati taught them only the syllable 'Da'; then he asked them to explain what they had understood. The gods, who lead a life of unrestrained enjoyment, completed the sound they heard by saying that it meant '*Damayata*' or 'Be self-controlled.' The men, on the other hand, said that it meant '*Datta*' or 'Be charitable,' for the simple reason that men are the victims of an aggressive acquisitive instinct, and are lacking most conspicuously in the sense of charity. The demons of the nether world, violent and aggressive by nature, felt in turn that they were asked to cultivate that which they most lacked. So the imperative must have been, '*Dayadhwam*,' 'Be compassionate.'

To all of them Prajapati said, 'You have understood.'

The storm-cloud thunders: 'Da! Da! Da!—Be self-controlled! Be charitable! Be compassionate!'

Eliot wants to point out that just as the peal of thunder is the precursor of the coming rain, so also if what the thunder said should become ingrained in human nature, and if man, who is the meeting ground of the gods and the demons alike, should cultivate in himself the triune virtues of self-restraint, charity, and compassion, he can redeem life from becoming a sterile place where the hollow men go round and round the prickly pear at five o'clock in the morning. The poem is at once an exhortation and a challenge. The New England puritan preachers must have preached Hell at their congregation, as the simplest way of driving them towards Heavens; Eliot, who is their descendant, points out to us the Inferno in which we live, and desires that we should work against this Inferno, so that we may rebuild the Paradise of our shattered hopes and ideals. His poetry is a clarion call to mankind. It is not altogether written in despair, for the tragic view of life which it takes is only an interim evaluation of life. He shares our hopes and fears and makes us participants in the quest of the ages. May the poet's vision always shine before us.

Shakespearean Plays in Indian Languages

Professor C. R. Shah writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare twenty-five have been either translated or adapted into Indian languages. The plays which have been adapted into a large number of Indian languages are: *The Merchant of Venice, Cymbeline, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Othello* and *Macbeth*. A tragedy has a greater appeal to the Indian audience than a comedy. And yet two early comedies of Shakespeare—*The Comedy of Errors* and *The Taming of the Shrew*—have been adapted in various languages. There are some six stage versions of *The Comedy of Errors*: *Jodiya Bhaiyo* (Twin Brothers), in Parsi Cujarati written and produced by N. R. Ranina in Bombay (1865); *Bhul-Bhulaiya*, in Urdu, by Feroz Shah Khan (1896); *Rama Ratan*, in Gujarati, by N. K. Vaidya (1903); *Gorakh-Dhandha*, in Hindi, by Narayan Betab (1912) and one or two prose versions in Marathi, not written for the stage.

The Taming of the Shrew achieved great success on the Marathi stage. Its theme, the beating up of a shrewish wife to teach her good manners, seems to have had a general appeal in India, where such a practice is not uncommon. There are three popular versions of this play in Marathi: *Tratika* by V. B. Kelkar of Poona (1892); *Chaudaven Ratna* (with several songs interspersed in the text) and *Karkasha Damana*.

There are some prose versions of Shakespeare's plays in Marathi which make good reading but are not quite suitable for the theatre: *Venice Nagarcha Vyapari* (The Merchant of Venice), by K. B. Bulsara (1910); *Chaturgadchya Vinodi Striya* (The Merry Wives of Windsor); *Premagumpha* (As You Like It), by V. S. Patwardhan; *Sumati Vijaya* (Measure for Measure) by H. N. Apte (1911); *Pranaya-Mudra* (The Merchant of Venice) by V. S. Gurjar (1914); *Tuphan* (The Tempest) by K. B. Bulsara (1903); *Premacha Kalasa* (Romeo and Juliet) by K. B. Bulsara (1908); *Vikara Vilasita* (Hamlet) by G. G. Agarkar (1883); *Ajit Sinh* (Othello) by Kolhatkar; *Manaji Rao* (Macbeth) by S. M. Paranjpe (1896); and *Saudagar* (The Merchant of Venice) by M. Agashe.

Urdu adaptations of Shakespeare's plays appeared on the Indian stage and achieved remarkable success between the years 1890 and 1910. These Urdu versions were very free and at times crude renderings of Shakespeare's text. At the performances of these Urdu plays, the programmes which were sold in the theatre for two or three annas were printed in Gujarati script and gave the cast, the synopsis of the action of the play, scene by scene, and the full text of the songs with the names of the persons who sang them. Some of the popular Urdu versions are: *Dil-Farosha* (The Merchant of Venice) and *Shahid-e-naz* (Measure for Measure), by Aga Hashra Kashmiri (1900); *Mitha-Zahar* (Cymbeline) by Munshi Mustafa Saidalli (1900); *Murid-e-Shak* (The Winter's Tale) by Munshi Hassan (1898); *Bazm-e-fani* (Romeo and Juliet) by Meher Hassan; *Zahari Samp* (Hamlet), *Shahid-e-vafa* (Othello) by Munshi Meher Hassan (1898); *Har-Jit* (King Lear) by Munshi Muradalli (1905); *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) by Munshi Mhradalli (1905); *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) and Cleopatra), 1906.

Shakespearean plays in Gujarati appeared somewhat later on the Bombay stage. The box-office draw of the Urdu versions was probably their main inspiration. Not unlike the Urdu plays, the Gujarati versions, too, are very free and at times travesties of the original plays: *Rama-Ratan* (The Comedy of Errors) by N. K. Vaidya (1903); *Jagat-Sinh* (1904) and *Vibudh-Vijaya* (The Merchant of Venice); *Chandrahas* (The Winter's Tale) by V. A. Oza (1894) and *Champraj Hando* (Cymbeline) by V. A. Oza (1900); *Saubhag-Sundari* (Othello), *Vasundhara* or *Bedhari Talwar* (Macbeth) by N. V. Thakkur (1910).

There are very few literal translations of Shakespeare's plays into Gujarati. A few years ago Mrs. Hansa Mehta wrote a good prose version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

This craze for Shakespearean drama on the Bombay stage was not, however, due to any special regard for Shakespeare's poetry or his dramatic genius. The Indian dramatist chose these plays because they provided a good story with a few romantic and thrilling situations. There seems to have been much in common between the taste of the Elizabethan groundlings, who flocked to the public theatres in London in Shakespeare's time, and the taste of the cosmopolitan crowd who patronized the Bombay stage about the beginning of the present century. Shakespeare's plays provided plenty of spectacles, swift-moving action, noise, scenes of bloodshed, music and song, and dialogue in artificial and rhythmic language. All that and much more was given to the Indian playgoers in these vernacular versions.

The Indian playwrights who were induced to take liberties with Shakespeare's text were, sometimes, perturbed and apologetic for having tampered with the orginal. Indian people love music and song on the stage, and so each of the versions of Shakespeare's plays had introduced into it a large number of songs, sometimes as many as forty. The dramatic tradition of ancient India did not encourage pure tragedy in the theatre; consequently the tragedies of Shakespeare had to be changed considerably in order to give them happy endings. Each one of these plays was also given a sub-plot usually of cheap comedy quite detached from the main theme. The action of the sub-plot was mostly modern in atmosphere and local in its setting; it dealt with a situation which enabled the dramatist to satirize the new-fangled ideas of fashion and social behaviour in the rich and educated classes.

There are a few good prose versions of Shakespeare's plays in Bengali but they were not produced on the stage : *Hamlet* (with the same title) by Hari Raj; *Macbeth* (with the same title) by Girish Chandra Ghosh; *Romeo and Juliet* (a true version) by Hemchandra Banerjee; *Bhranti* (The Comedy of Errors), *Nalini-Basanta* (The Tempest).

In the preface to his version of *Romeo and Juliet* Hemchandra Banerjee, with his characteristic modesty, writes that his work is but a shadow of Shakespeare's great play, and not a literal translation, because the literal translation of an English poetic play into Bengali would sound harsh to Bengali ears. These earlier Bengali writers, brought up in the Victorian tradition, show an unbounded respect for Shakespeare. Hemchandra Banerjee in his preface further writes : "Kalidasa is for India, but thou art for the world."

Of Hindi versions and translations there is little to be said of special interest. Shri Lala Sitaram wrote several Hindi translations of Shakesparere's plays in simple prose and obviously they were not meant for stage presentation. In 1915 in the prefece to one of these plays he wrote : "I propose to publish Hindi versions of all thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare." But only ten of these Hindi versions have appeared so far.

Two versions of Shakespearean plays, already mentioned, one in Urdu and the other in Gujarati, which were extremely popular on the Bombay stage are : *Zahari Samp* (Hamlet) and *Vasundhara* or *Bedhari Talwar* (Macbeth).

The hero of the first play, Naharsinh (Prince Hamlet), in voluntary exile, is the leader of a gang of reckless, dashing outlaws discontented with the regime of the usurping Nawab Bakar (Claudius). Bakar has treacherously killed his master, the real Nawab (Naharsinh's father) and has possessed himself of the kingdom. Naharsinh knows about Bakar's crime and he is brooding on revenge. In the Indian version Naharsinh has a younger brother, Salim, who is ignorant of Bakar's crime and serves as a faithful treasurer to the murderer of his father. He is married to the daughter (a poor substitute for Ophelia) of Shariff, one of Bakar's accomplices in the murder. Naharsinh finds in Akbar (Horatio) an old faithful servant of the old Nawab, a friend and counsellor in his plan for revenge. There are several characters added and each young man is paired off with a young lady. The ghost of Hamlet's father has no place in the Indian version. Ophelia has a small romantic part in the play and sings a few songs. Gertrude, too, has lost her queenly dignity and her maternal concern over her mad son. There is neither Polonius with his tedious rigmarole nor the grave-diggers in the churchyard with their witty dialogue. Even Hamlet's madness (real or feigned) is left out in the Urdu play. The play opens with a scene in the cemetery with Naharsinh holding a skull in his hand (evidently that of his dead father) and brooding on revenge in a long monologue full of sound and fury. The scenes of the main plot are, as usual, alternated with scenes of the comic interlude, which has nothing to do with the main theme. Here, we have a typical adaptation of a Shakespearean play, an almost unrecognizable version of Shakespeare's great tragedy.

The other specimen mentioned one can justifiably describe as a good version of *Macbeth*. This Guiarati play is named *Vasundhara* (Lady Macbeth) and its subtitle (The Double-edged Sword) is obviously meant to point a moral. The writer of this play was a literary artist who had written several historical novels in Gujarati. The play opens with a magnificent scene —the camp of Minketu (Macbeth), who has achieved a great victory over the neighbouring chief Jayadhwaja. The defeated enemy, heavily chained, is dragged into Minketu's presence. Minketu boasts loudly of his achievements and humiliates his victim with a string of insults, hurled at him in an arrogant manner. The captive chief, like a defiant, caged tiger, still bares his teeth at the conqueror and taunts him by saying that, in spite of his boasted valour, he is only a dependent, a mere slave of the old king, Agnimitra (King Duncan); that Minketu is no ruler, like himself, for all his splendour and arrogance. Stirred to his depths by these stinging words, Minketu kills the captive chief in a fit of wild rage. But the taunt sets him thinking and he broods in anguish over the means to achieve the crown. Vasundhara (Lady Macbeth), too, has heard the chief's words and she reminds him of them again and again till he is driven to action.

This is a remarkably good dramatic opening to the story of Minketu's murder and usurpation, much more convincing than the opening scenes of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The crude supernatural does not normally appeal to the Indian people and hence the whole business of the three witches is dropped. A new character, Yakoob Minketu's accomplice in the murder, is added, who, later on, becomes converted to virtue. This innovation provides a skilful dramatic situation which is reminiscent of Hubert in *King John*. Yakoob becomes, later in the play, an avenging spirit, a plausible substitute for the element of fatality in Shakespeare's weird sisters. Banquo and Macduff are rolled into one character, Vasantsinh. Macbeth has a daughter, Meenakshi, a spirited young woman, who is in love with Virkant (Malcolm), and she helps her young lover to escape from the clutches of his formidable enemy, her own father. Here we have the conflict, so typical of the English Restoration tragedies, between love, on the one hand, and filial duty, on the other. The sleepwalking scene is given great prominence in the Indian play, which probably accounts for its title. The men in the play are provided with ladies to achieve plenty of love interest, quite necessary on the Indian stage. Here, too, we have the comic sub-plot which is entriely detached from the main theme. The scenes of comedy are sandwiched in from time to time with an utter disregard for dramatic consideration, to satisfy the popular demand for comic relief. The comic interlude deals with the matrimonial adventures of a middle-aged, briefless barrister, his young mischievous cousin, an elderly rich spinster who desires a young and fashionable husband, and a pretty young widow, aged seventeen. The characters belong to the fashionable world of modern Bombay and move in an atmosphere of pure farce. Their foolish activities give rise to shrewd and biting satire, from the orthodox point of view, on late marriage on widow remarriage and also on the follies of gentlemen returned from England with their pipes, their poverty and their hankering after English ways of living. And we have, here, as is usual in an Indian play, songs and dances which serve no dramatic purpose.

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The Church and Foreign Personnel

Rev. R. M. Bennett writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :

I would like to see where we are going as 'foreign missionaries' at least in general direction, and what is our place in the set-up of the Church in India. That is my primary concern. 'Where there is no vision the people perish' is just as applicable to the foreign missionary as to any other category of the human race. Indeed it is even more applicable, since the missionary, more than anyone else, must be an enthusiast.

Foreigners and Nationalism

To begin with I ask myself whether the missionary from abroad has indeed a place in the new India. We live in a new age, and with the outgoing of the old age went many fine things as well as many of doubtful value. But long before Independence came to India, say some thirty years before the old time, 'pioneer type' of missionary left these shores, or passed on the Glory. In the main, over the last twenty-five years the missionary forces in India from abroad have been more ready to hand over what little authority they have possessed than the Indian Church has been willing to receive. There is a great difference between being in a place of leadership and possessing authority (whatever that greatly over-used word may mean). It was often true of the missionary from abroad that he was more expectant of national independence than was his national collegue. There were, of course, splendid exceptions within the Indian Church and many less admirable within the missionary group.

But for all this, do we fit into the New India? Personally I am an enthusiastic 'nationalist' both as a Canadian in Canada and for India while I am here. Being a Canadian and living in a country that is dominated by a giant of a neighbour, I appreciate what it is to have the best intentioned visitors come and then forget to go home. We have too many examples of that in our own Canadian business world of nice people who come, and do not become citizens, but by virtue of their position, dominate their immediate situation. We try to be polite, and usually we are, but most of us very much disapprove and resent the situation which allows foreign capital to maintain its hirelings in situations which Canadians could handle just as well. Could it be that as a non-Indian missionary I myself am in the same position of being the target of the resentment (although politely veiled) of the people amongst whom I came to work? I can be genuinely sympathetic with that stoutly nationalist view that wants to see the Indian Church truly Indian, and if my presence here is an obstruction to true nationalization of the Church, then it were better that I went home. Were my Indian colleagues as a people able to conceive of us as colleagues and our position one purely of spiritual partnership, whatever our particular branch of service, perhaps I could see my place better. As it is, as long as I have to administer money, or be in a place where my 'authority' is the deciding point, then I begin to wonder whether my presence here in India is more of a hindrance than a blessing.

Government Policy

Nor can we expect that the Government of India will continue to be happy about the presence of a large number of foreign missionaries. Religious freedom, religious tolerance and the right to propagate our religion to others has been guaranteed in the Constitution of India. We are proud of that clause. It means that the Christian sadhu who is holding a meeting a hundred yards away from where I am writing will have the law of the land behind him when he preaches—at least the law will say he has the right to preach in the way he is doing. But the Government of India may quite rightly insist that that clause is primarily applicable as a right to Indians, and as a privilege to non-Indians. One official not long ago in talking about this matter said, 'If Christians in India want to evangelise this country, that is their right under the Constitution, but let this be done by Indians, not by foreigners'.

There is quite a mass of evidence to show that the Government does not intend to go on for ever admitting non-Indian missionaries, *e.g.*, the new regulations being framed in regard to Commonwealth missionaries, the difficulties of non-Commonwealth missionary societies to secure *visas* for their missionaries, the continued cutting down of missionary numbers in places like Assam, Kashmir and Agency or Hill Tribe Areas, regardless of national origins. Where sections of the country are disturbed, or the area is of strategic military importance, as in Kashmir, this is understandable. In some other areas, however, where some missionaries from abroad have been refused re-admission or permission to enter, the reasons, if ever given, are particularly unconvincing except to anyone who is anxious to attribute doubtful motives to the Christian cause. In some other places, particularly in 'tribal areas' one cannot help but wonder if effectiveness is one's mission is not the criterion in determining that the bar be lowered.

The evidence adds up to the fact that as a group of missionaries from abroad our days in India are numbered. We may wish to think otherwise, but in this writer's opinion the sooner we face up to it the better for us all whether in the sending countries or in India.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Peace Atom Has Bright Future

Geneva.—The United Nations International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has ended on a note of gratification with what has already been achieved. It has been called the greatest scientific conference in history and is regarded by observers as the most successful ever held.

In his final address at the two-week Atoms-for-Peace Conference, the President, Dr. Homi J. Bhabha of India, said the meeting had succeeded beyond all hopes and expectations.

Paying a tribute to President Eisenhower for proposing the conference in an address before the United Nations two and a half years ago, Dr. Bhabha also noted the President expressed the hope during the conference that another such meeting will be held at a later date to discuss interim progress.

The final session also was marked by a discussion on general aspects of world co-operation in the field of atoms for peace in which the United States and the Soviet Union were principal speakers. For America, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) member Dr. Willard F. Libby reported on the wide-ranging programme for international co-operation in atoms-for-peace that the United States has undertaken and on plans for expanding it.

Soviet Plans

Prof. A. N. Lavrishchev spoke on Soviet plans for aid to seven Soviet bloc countries in the nuclear field. He added that Moscow is prepared to consider expanding this assistance to non-Soviet bloc nations.

While the conference did not produce specific resolutions, declarations, or formal recommendations, there were during the past two weeks some general results that have been stated—without significant challenge—so often that they can safely be said to be conclusions. Among them are:

1. Fusion power is the next major frontier for atomic scientists. While spokesmen for three major atomic powers, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States, declined to commit themselves on when atomic fusion would become practicable as a source of energy for power, they acknowledged that their countries were working on the problem. Meanwhile others guardedly estimated that it might come within 20 years. Scientists here generally agreed that the problem of harnessing the H-bomb principle for peaceful purposes was largely an engineering challenge. They expressed faith that the engineers will solve the problem just as they did the problems of converting atomic fission into power for peace. In fact, the 20-year estimate to which many responsible scientists subscribe is based on the time it took nuclear physicists and engineers to put the atom bomb principle to work in reactors—about 13 years.

2. The major immediate benefits of the atomic era for mankind will be found in the extensive and ever-increasing use of radioactive isotopes in fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. It is generally agreed that plant mutations which can be induced by radiation with inexpensive isotopes—and, possibly, with radioactive wastes from reactors—might well provide the answer to man's need for larger food supplies to keep up with the world's growing population.

3. The conference made available to all world's scientists an impressive proportion of new information in the field of atomic science. These findings, hitherto not made public were included in the more than 1000 papers presented to the conference. This, combined with the opportunity the conference gave to scientists to exchange ideas and compare data, and to chart new paths of nuclear research prompted the French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, M. Francis Perrin, to comment that this conference marks the end of secrecy in the field of atomic energy. He predicted that the veil of secrecy can never be reimposed on atomic scientists.

4. There was general agreement among scientists engaged in atomic research that they have all achieved roughly the same results, though they sometimes used different methods. The conference, by giving scientists an opportunity to compare results based on varying methods of research, enabled them to reduce substantially the degree of error in some findings.

5. While the world is on the threshold of the atomic power era, nuclear power plants are not going to sprout all over the world immediately. The period of further experimentation to settle upon the most efficient reactor system and to fully master technology of materials and reactors is generally estimated at about five years.

The United Kingdom, the United States and France told the conference that widespread export of power reactors to industrially less developed areas will not come for at least five years, partly because of the need for further experimentation and partly because more technicians and scientists must be trained in the operation and control of the intricate machines. The three Western nations and the Soviet Union announced, however, that they have large-scale domestic power development plans.

There is ample fuel in the earth to mount a world-wide power development programme when reactor techniques have been completely mastered. Scientists learned here of vast new discoveries of uranium deposits and were told that the cheaper and more abundant thorium might replace uranium ultimately as reactor fuel.

7. Dangerous reactor radiation is veing effectively controlled and hazards should not be great if power development programmes are well managed. However, a note of caution was offered by geneticists at the conference who pointed out that little is yet known about the genetic effects of even minute doses of radiation on humans. The geneticists called for a concentrated effort to fully examine this problem.

Other conference highlights were:

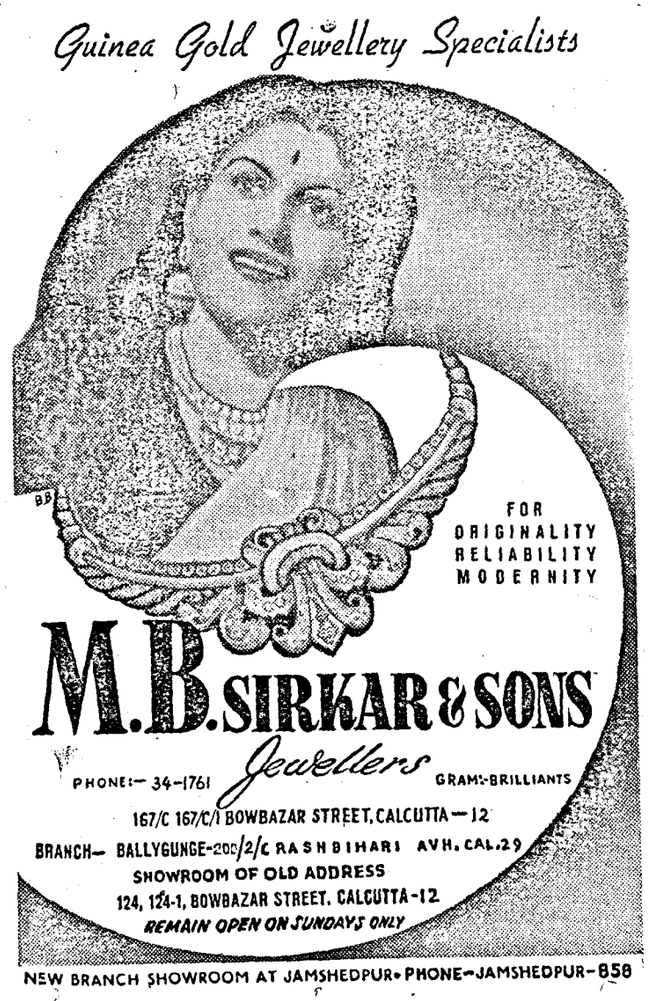
(a) Establishment by the Ford Motor Company, of a $1,000 000 fund from which ten annual awards will be made to groups or individuals making the greatest contribution to harnessing the atom for peaceful uses.

(b) The United States announcement that it would sell normal uranium and heavy water at cost prices and that it would lease enriched uranium. U.S. Delegation Chairman Lewis L. Strauss made it clear to the conference that fuel would be made available to countries with practical atomic research programmes.

(c) The seven technical exhibits—offered by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. The most popular of these exhibits was the full-scale "swimming pool" research reactor installed by the United States in a special building on the grounds of the Palais des Nations and transferred at the end of the conference, to the Swiss Government. The reactor, part of the U.S. technical exhibit, attracted 65,232 visitors in the two weeks the conference lasted. The main U.S. technical exhibit was seen by 32,000 visitors.

The conference heard 451 scientific papers, out of more than 1000 accepted for publication in the official record of the conference.

The 73 nations which participated in this largest of all scientific conferences sent 1,400 official delegates and 800 observers.—*American Reporter*, August 31, 1955.



1955 : Big Year of Decision for TV

Henry Cassirer writes in *The Unesco Courier*, No. 6, 1955 :

The spread of television throughout the world has been phenomenal. Today there are some 60 "television countries." Of these no fewer than 38 are operating regular or experimental television services, and another 20 are planning to introduce them, or taking proctical steps toward that end.

Television can carry a visual image across the North American continent and can bring programmes from London to Rome or from Copenhagen to Paris. The viewer can be "on the spot" for an event taking place hundreds of miles away. In Morocco and the Philippines, in Japan and the Soviet Union, on the American continent from Alaska in the far north to Argentina in the south, television is opening up new fields.

In what directions is this enormous expansion of television leading? A survey made by Unesco in February 1955 (1) shows that the power of attraction intrinsic in TV is so great that sooner or later every modern State contemplates its introduction. Although obstacles may exist such as lack of economic resources, industrial under-development, mountain ranges, vast distances and dispersed populations, nevertheless the slogan "we must have television !,' can be heard from the Chilean Andes to the deserts of Iraq and from the mountains of Yugoslavia to the plains of India. If in Costa Rica or Egypt, or in Portugal or Australia, television may not yet be here today present plans indicate that it will certainly come tomorrow.

Television is part and parcel of the modern world and those who still believe that can close their eyes to it are liable to find themselves overtaken by developments. They may ignore television but it is sure that television will not ignore their countries. This is not to say that television must necessarily be welcomed. Its influence can be benefical and it can be the reverse. The pertinent question in most countries today is not whether to have television but to what purpose and to what extent. The issue is therefore : on what lines will television develop and what will be its impact.

Closer examination of today's world television picture suggests that 1955 will be the "year of television," for many countries hitherto on the fringe of its development. To use a military term for a medium which can vitally contribute to peace, the "infra-structure," that is the network of transmitters and relay systems, has made great strides during 1954.

In Europe, the number of stations increased from 25 in 1953 to 75 in January 1955 while for the first time eight European countries (2) were joined by temporary relay facilities which are now gradually being turned into permanent links. The German Federal Republic is covered by a network from Hamburg to Munich; Italy's television extends from the northern frontier to south of Rome at present, and it will cover the entire country, including Sardinia and Sicily, by the end of 1956; France, which for years had been marking time with transmitters at Paris and Lille, now has its entire eastern region covered, from Metz through Strasbourg and Lyons right down to Marseilles in the south. Many smaller countries are similarly caught up in the race to expand the scope of television by building new transmitters and relay links.

The result of this expansion is reflected in the sale and production of television receivers. Monthly production in Germany was four times as large at the end of 1954 as at the beginning; in Italy, the advance of television is no longer marked in tens but in hundreds of thousands of receivers. This development, of course, falls far short of the United States or the United Kingdom, with their 35 million and 4 million receivers respectively. But the important point is that in many countries, where in 1954 it was still regarded as a questionable novelty, television has "caught on" in 1955, and is now ready to go forward in "snowballing dimensions" within the limitations of national powers of production and consumption.

In 1954 receivers in Canada exceeded the million mark, and it thus became the third country to reach this figure after the United States and Great Britain. In 1955 a fourth country—the Soviet Union—will be added to this list according to present plans for receiver output.

This year will also be singnificant in another way as it will bring to an end the monopoly of non-commercial television in Eurone, and of commercial television in the United States. The first commercial Europen television station went on the air in 1955 in the Sarr quickly followed by statioss in Monte Carlo and Luxembourg. This commercial development will reach its apex in September 1955 with the inauguratin of telecasting by the Independent Television Authority in England. In the United States educational television has to struggle against great financial, political and organizational odds. Nevertheless there are today already 14 educational stations on the air serving a potential audience of 20 million people and many more are construction.

The stakes in the future of television are so high that questions of ownership and organization have given rise to bitter controversy. Television was the subject of some of the most animated sessions in the British and French porliaments. It has led to rivalry between Swiss cities and in Belgium between regions. Educational television is a political factor in Washington and in every state of the Urion. Practically every other country touched by television has had its share of conflict.

Why all this heat? Because the pattern which is adopted today will undoubtedly shape the future. Far-sighted men are aware that a control on stations today may mean a hold on the eve of the public tomorrow, and that the purposes of television programmes which are now better developed will determine the character of telecasting for a long time to come. A race is on.

and it is open to question how the supporters of educational and cultural television will fare.

If television programming is examined, the first impression gained is that television can accomplish everything—from spectacular variety shows in the United States, priced at over $100,000 to simple but effective telecasts for school children in Japan; from full length drama in the United Kingdom to instructional broadcasts to French farmers; from classical ballet in the Soviet Union to songs and folklore in Venezuela.

UNCANNY POWER OF PERSUASION

There can be no doubt that the social anl cultural conditions in each nation impress themselves upon its television system. In the United States a competitive economic system and the federal state structure have contributed to the rise of hundreds of television stations, with different patterns of programmes and of ownership which give viewers in many cities a choice between more than seven different stations.

In the Soviet Union, where not only television but all entertainment media are functions of the state, it can bring to the viewer the latest films, theatre and opera performances, or any public sports event, without regard to legal or contractual restrictions. In Germany, television faithfully reflects the federal structure of the Federal Republic. Here programmes are originated from a greater number of places than in any other country in the world.

In France and Britain, on the other hand television expresses the centralization of much of the cultural life in the capitals, though the provinces constantly seek to assert themselves. While television is mass education in Colombia, it's mainly middle class entertainment in Mexico. There is no rigid and immutable structure and it can and must be adapted to national needs and traditions.

With due regard to national differences and the efforts made to enhance educational programming, it remains true to say that television is being developed primarily as a source of mass entertainment. There is no doubt that this will always remain a fruitful field as much of this entertainment can make a cultural contribution and bring joy and relaxation to working people caught in the monotony of modern life. But there is more to television than mere entertainment. Its use for education of children and of adults alike, its power to make knowledge of science or geography, history or economics visually accessible to the many. Here is a field for fruitful exploitation and development.

Television is taking root today in countries where illiteracy and utter poverty, ignorance of healthy living and of modern methods of production, are widespread among large sections of the people. Advertisers have long realized television's uncanny power of persuasion and demonstration. Cannot these same powers serve fundamental education and change our entire approach to the problem of informing people in less developed countries on ways to improve their conditions of life? This is a subject, rich in promise, to which Unesco is now giving particular attention. Here is a challenge for constructive forces to bring their influence to bear upon the future shape of television.

Another trend which has shown significant advance in 1954, is the use of television as a link between all nations. International co-operation between stations by relay, film, or adaptation of programmes, is gradually becoming normal practice. In Europe, individual countries frequently find themselves unable to cope with the vast demand for programmes, because television devours money, talent and facilities. Through international exchange by direct relay, these countries increase their resources and enrich their programmes. Film telecasts flow out from the United States or reach viewers there from foreign countries.

DANGER OF STANDARDIZEND IDEAS

Herein lies both danger and opportunity. The danger is that this most centralized and costly of all communication media will further subject national and regional cultures to the standardization of ideas and tastes of a few world production centres. The opportunity lies in the possibility of hearing and seeing on television the people of another nation and another culture. Here television may serve peace by narrowing the gap between man's public life whose fate is in the hands of world-wide forces, and the circle of his personal experience, which is confined to the narrow range of the individual. World Television in 1955 stands at the threshold.

John R. Mott (1865-1955)

It is with deep regret that we record the death, on January 31st., 1955, of Dr. John R. Mott at the age of eighty-nine, at this home in Orlando, Florida.

At the time of his death Dr. Mott was Chairman Emeritus of the International Missionary Council, an office to which he was appointed in 1942, when he retired from the chairmanship of the Council. Since Dr. Mott was the first chairman of the International Missionary Council, upon its formation in 1921, the whole history of the I.M.C. has been, right down to the present day, under his guidance and inspiration. The depth of the I.M.C.'s obligation to him is therefore something which is almost impossible to put into words.

From his early manhood Dr. Mott accustomed himself to think and act in world terms, in the cause of Christ. To use his own words : 'From 1886, when I had a vision of the world as Christ sees it, I have made every decision in the light of the whole world.' From the very outset he was a passionate advocate of world evangelization, seeking to devise the means by which 'the Christians of this generation are to give every person of this age an opportunity to accept Jesus Christ,' to use his gloss on the slogan : 'The evangelization of the world in this generation.' It began with his decision made while a student at Cornell University, during a mission conducted by the late Sir Kynaston Studd ; it received a fitting recognition in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

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Passionate evangelism and a sense of world-need were combined in Dr. Mott, in a degree almost unequalled in any other person of his lifetime, with a feeling for strategy, a gift for organization (with a capacity to use the organizing abilities of others) and an ability to co-operate with and adapt himself to people of other races and communions. He concentrated from his early days on the strategic group of the student class in many countries, through such organizations as the Student Volunteer movement, the Y.M.C.A. and the World's Student Christian Federation, and it is noteworthy how much of his later oecumenical activity, both in regard to personal leadership and to forms of organization, stems from these earlier groups.

In the world missionary conference held at Edinburgh in 1910, of which Mott was the progenitor and chairman, there was realized an idea which had originated in the mind of William Carey and which was to prove, as is now commonly acknowledged, the main source of many of the oecumenical developments of our time. Here, again, was a vision, a sense of timing, a gift for organization combined with a sensitiveness to the movement of the Spirit, which were to prove creative. Out of the Edinburgh conference came not only a world-wide call, but also the continuation committee, the formation of national Christian Councils, a variety of interdenominational missionary projects and finally the formation of the International Missionary Council. Dr. Mott, not only by innovation, but by ceaseless travel, largely in collaboration with Dr. J. H. Oldham, took the most active part in creating these new bodies.

Dr. Mott presided at the great world meetings at Edinburgh in 1910, Jerusalem in 1928 and Tambaram in 1938, each of these meetings recorded fresh developments in missionary thought, action and outreach. At Amsterdam in 1948 his position was justly recognized in his election as Honorary President of the newly formed World Council of Churches. He lived to see the World Council of Churches firmly established in its second Assembly at Evanston in 1954.

We may epitomize Dr. Mott's efforts in words which he used when he received the Nobel Peace Prize: "My life might be summed up as earnest and undiscouragable effort to weave together all nations, all nations' communions in friendliness, in fellowship and in co-operation."—*International Review of Missions.*

"Great Books" Play Unique Role in Adult Education

H. B. Garland writes in the *News Feature of USIS*:

A Reporter for the Boston daily newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor, recently came across a [illegible] as he was driving through the farm region of the State of New Hampshire. It was not unusual to see a farmer driving a tractor which cut long furrows in the ground. But the man—while guiding the tractor—was also reading a book.

The figure of the farmer reading a book as he [illegible] the field fascinated the reporter from Boston. [illegible] and spoke to the man. [illegible] that he belonged to a group in his area which was interested in the "Great Books" programme. The book he was reading was Plato's "Republic."

The "Great Books" programme, which occupies a unique place in adult education in the United States, includes those books in which much of the world's thought, religion and philosophy have their roots. In the first year of the course one reads works by Plato, Sophocles, Plutarch, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Milton, Thoreau, Tolstoy and others—altogether 16 books. Readings for the advanced courses include works by Homer, Lao-tse, St. Augustine, Spinoza, Darwin, Dante, Montaigne, Confucius, Kant, Rousseau, Goethe, Melville, Kierkegaard, Nietzche, Freud, Dostoevski and the Bhagavad Gita and the Old and New Testament.

The "Great Books" programme began in France, where an American university professor, John Erskine, headed an American study centre at Dijon during the first World War. For young soldiers whose education had been interrupted by the war, for others whom participation in war had made thoughtful, and for still others whose interest in the origins of their culture had increased—Prof. Erskine drew up his list of the "Great Books." When he returned to Columbia University in New York after the war, he persuaded the faculty to establish a two-year course for exceptional students who would participate in informal seminar discussions of the selected books on his list.

This course, which went contrary to the main stream of American college education of the day, both in its unspecialised content and its informal method of teaching, proved successful for limited groups.

The idea and its methods spread to two other colleges—a very large one, the University of Chicago, and a very small one, St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, where the "Great Books" course was transformed into an entire curriculum.

St. John's devoted itself to the few who wished to pursue this type of study exclusively. The University of Chicago gave courses for those who wished to supplement their regular studies with intensive reading and discussion of selected volumes from among the world's masterpieces of thought and literature. It was through this type of adult extension service in many universities that the "Great Books" courses began to be presented to man and women of all ages, professions and abilities, throughout the United States.

Inevitably, the next step was the formation of groups of adult laymen who met in one another's homes or in neighbourhood public schools to discuss the great books. A conservative estimate is that no fewer than 25,000 adults will this winter participate in such discussions. Others will read the books at colleges and universities or will be stimulated to read the "Great Books" on their own.

Typical groups who participate in the "Great Books" programme are about 75 per cent college-trained, but include members who never went to college at all. The participants come from various occupations, including housewives, doctors, factory workers, farmers, secretaries and engineers. They all find stimulation and refreshment in the study of the great minds and the great books which have moulded their culture. They feel it helps them to become better human beings.

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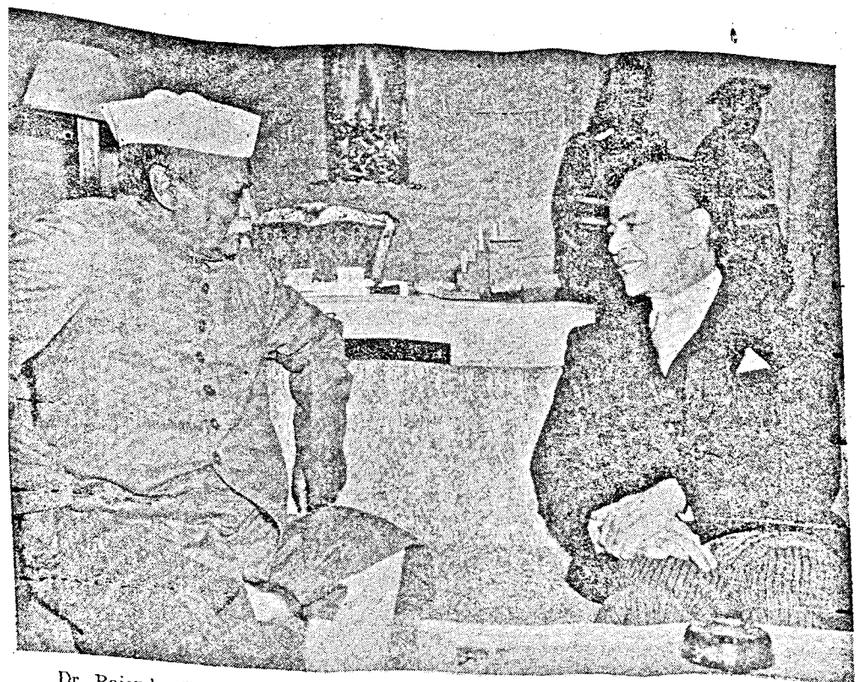
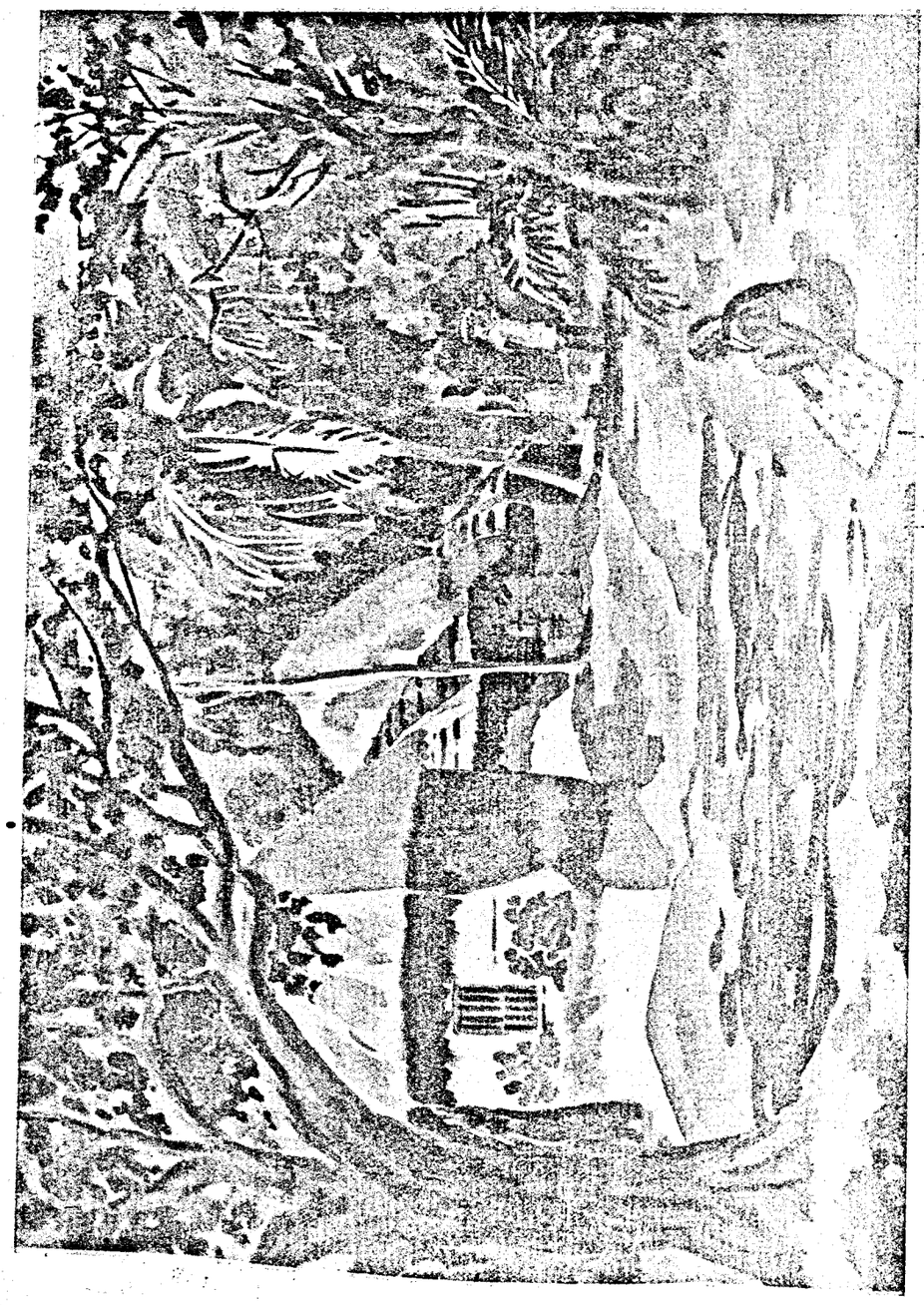


Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prof. Gaetano Martino, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at the inauguration of the 43rd annual session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Agra



BENGAL VILLAGE
By Asitranjan Bose

Modern Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The Aftermath

For a considerable period now, we have been repeatedly writing in these columns about the degeneration that has set in the public mind regarding moral values. Our leaders at the top have confined themselves, like so many silk-worms, in cocoons spun out of stuff of which dreams are, completely oblivious to the plunge into the boiling-pan of disruption, which is inevitable if this moral degradation of the nationals of the Union continues at the present frightful rate.

The total disregard of the social and national responsibilities of the individual and the group, to the safety, well-being and progress of other individuals and groups in the same or different strata of life within the Union, that we see today, is an outcome of the distorted view of rights of the individual or the group. This distortion justifies the victimisation of the weak by the strong, the poor customer by the rapacious seller, the helpless unorganised man-in-the-street by organised labour, the general public by the men-in-power and so on and so forth, in accordance with the Law of the Jungle. Corruption has become rife as a result, and the average man has begun to take a cynical view of all that used to be held as the highest attributes of human mental and moral processes.

Parochialism has been condemned time and often, by all of our leaders, and quite rightly so. But in actual practice we find that the man who prates the loudest in condemnation of the besetting sins of parochialism and nepotism in public, practises both of them in the most vicious form in his private capacity as an individual. Furthermore, party-politics has brought into play corrupt practices and illicit methods of gaining power and wealth, on a scale never known in the history of India. The unprincipled rogues and totally debased knaves that formed the "Nabobs" of the "Honourable" East India Company, coined a new term, namely, the "Shaking of the Pagoda Tree" for obtaining sizable loot from their unfortunate and helpless victims, the Indians, by methods most foul. We wonder what new terms will be coined by our own "Nabobs" for parochialism, nepotism and illicit gain. The same age-old process is in practice at the Centre and in the States, although Pandit Nehru and the very, very few honest politicians like him that are still with us, seem to be completely unaware of the fact.

The common national, therefore, cannot be blamed if he takes the exhortations of his leaders, about self-sacrifice, honesty, truth, etc., with a large pinch of salt. He sees majorities crucifying minorities without let or hindrance, he observes that honest folk are being slowly pushed out of existence by the corrupt with impunity, and that the powerful are openly defying all the moral laws of society for private and parochial gain. Can he be blamed if he then takes a distorted and cynical view of all moral precepts?

Indeed, he has very considerable justi-

fication in considering Truth and *Ahimsa*, the twin guiding beacons of Mahatma Gandhi's life, as shadowy material, marked "For Export only."

The recent events, in Bombay and Orissa, have high-lighted all the above. It is easy to be wise after the event, but even so we must say we were not surprised. We really have not the heart to go into the details of the mad orgies of violence and destruction that took place in Bombay and Orissa, though through the grace of Almighty things have quitened down at the time of writing. The loss of property is beyond measure and the loss of life grievous, though in Orissa it was limited down to the rioters and the keepers of law and order. It is enough to say that the rioters in both of these areas, particularly in Bombay, have effectively blackened the fair name of India, as can be seen from the following extract taken from the *Time* news-magazine for January 30, 1956 :

"*Smash, Burn, Kill.* It was a moment the Communists had been preparing for, a fact well known to Chief Minister Morarji Desai of Bombay State, who is often spoken of as Nehru's heir apparent. Before dawn, on Desai's orders, police arrested 435 Communist, Socialist and United Maharashtra Party leaders. The Communists had prepared for this eventuality, too. Secretly trained alternates swiftly swung into action. At their direction, hundreds of thousands of Maharashtrian workers dropped their work and swarmed out of dockyards, textile mills and railroad shops into the streets, shouting "Death to Nehru!" The rioters blocked streets with boulders and gasoline drums. tore up lamposts, ripped down fences. They smashed statues of Mahatma Gandhi (a Gujarati himself), burned Desai in effigy, flourished pictures of Nehru hung with old shoes as a gesture of despisal. Mobs, sometimes 10,000 strong, stormed police stations, looted Gujarati shops, flung electric light bulbs filled with nitric acid in the faces of police and passers-by. Saboteurs derailed trains, hurled stones at buses, set fire to cars.

Waving black flags of protest and flourishing improvised spears, mobs roamed Bombay's streets. One grey-bearded Gujarati shopkeeper hastily tried to bar his shop door. He was too late. One rioter knocked the old man down, beat his head in with a large rock. The shopkeeper's little daughter ran screaming to her father's side. The rioter smashed the rock into the child's face, and she collapsed in a small heap over her father's body.

On major corners, embattled police drew up their trucks in a tight circle, like so many covered wagons in a western movie, and fought pitched battles with stone-throwing rioters. From the circle's protection, they launched quick sorties into nearby alleys and houses, scooped up scores of rioters, and retreated with their prisoners to the corrals.

At the end of six days' rioting, 56 were dead by official admission; unofficial estimates were nearer 250. Thousands were injured, other thousands in prison."

Murder, arson, loot and insane destruction of public and private property ! Does Pandit Nehru see the shadow of the moving finger on the wall, or does he have to wait till all that our forbears dreamt of turns into a nightmare and the fruits of all their endeavours—and ours—become as Dead Sea Apples? Is it not time that all the energies that he and the few other true men round him, powers are devoted to the re-adjustment of our own destinies?

The Universities are all running down to waste. Santiniketan can be cited as an example. Where the noblest ideals of one of the noblest sons of India were to have flowered, today we have a stinking morass of low intrigue, debased ideals and the poorest of academic instructions!

The Congress? Do we have to tell the world how tarnished and shoddy looks the Shining Mantle, that the Father of the Nation left to his inheritor? Indeed, we are like a circus show, where loud blows the trumpet and bravely rolls the drum, to attract the outsider to the cavalacade dressed in glittering tinsel, and behind the tent are hidden the noisome cages of the wild beasts.

There is still time, if honesty and integrity and real self-sacrifice is accorded the same honour as was given in the days before party consciousness clouded the political horizon.

West Bengal and Bihar

Some light has penetrated the smoke and dust thrown up by the controversies over the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Committee and a possible way-out has been indicated by the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar. The proposal is for a merger, the details of which are given later on in these columns.

But when we say possible, we mean that there are conditions precedent, the details of which have to be worked out with sincerity and good faith. There is a great deal of mutual distrust and there are too many axes to be ground by unscrupulous persons in both the areas. Therefore, the question of safeguards and the machinery to implement them have to be determined in detail without leaving anything to chance or on pure good faith. The nation has degenerated so far that mere enunciation of noble ideals and principles would be as nought. In truth, good faith alone will mean that the more corrupt will overwhelm the less corrupt—to say nothing of the honest.

These safeguards will mean that the *status quo* in the administration, the allocations in the budget, the awards in jobs and contracts will be maintained. That no unfair advantage will accrue to any individual or group, and would prevent unhealthy political jockeying for power.

If these can be worked out, and there is no reason why they could not be, then undoubtedly such a union will be greatly to the advantage of both the States.

The advantages are manifold. First of all, with the removal of artificial barriers, there can be a far more efficient exploitation of natural resources, such as land, water-power, minerals, forest wealth, etc. Transport, police work, postal communications, etc., can be better co-ordinated, giving improved service at lowered pro-rata costs. Indeed, in the exploitation of resources and the utilization of man-power, the gains would be significant beyond question.

Secondly, the growing enmity and feuds between two neighbours who lived together for centuries, would be liquidated, thereby increasing the strength of both in the Union and also enhancing the stability of the Union itself. This in itself will be a long-term gain, of immense value in itself and likewise as an example to others.

Thirdly, as frontier States both have liabilities and severe responsibilities. As a solid single unit, the capacity to bear the burdens will be increased far beyond the present divided strength.

Fourthly, in many spheres, the surplus in one State will be naturally absorbed by the demand of the other. The potential of both will increase thereby, as it happens elsewhere in this world. The viability of both States would be thus changed radically.

There are many more points in favour of this union. Indeed, apart from mutual fear and distrust, there is hardly any cogent reason against it.

But it is useless to ignore this fear. Indeed, unless an agreement is reached by both sides on safeguards against the misuse of superior numbers on the part of the Biharees in the legislatures, etc., and against the depriving of the Bihari from a fair share of jobs and careers due to the superior training and mental equipment of the Bengali, there can be no Union. We reiterate that these safeguards have to be worked out in detail and agreed upon by the majority of both the legislatures before any further progress can be made. Good faith counts for little in this sordid present day world of ours.

The Bengali Hindu has had a bitter experience of unfair and dishonest use of superior numbers in voting when the ill-famed Moslem League was in power in Bengal. Similarly, the Bihari has unpleasant memories of the tactics of the Bengali in the days prior to Lord Curzon's anti-Bengali campaign. Both are realities and it would be disastrous not to provide fully against the repetition of either.

Many other reasons have been trotted out by the opponents to the scheme. We have gone carefully in all such as have been reported upon in the newspapers or which we have listened to, as in the case of the Calcutta University debate. We confess we have not been able to find any substance in any of them beyond the fear complex.

We can understand the stand of the leftist groups. Their sole consideration is the party-interest; the welfare of the public in general is, and always has been, a minor and secondary detail to them. The most prominent amongst them is a party that is inciting the Bengali to reject the Union and to claim large tracts from Bihar, and also exhorting the Bihari not to yield an inch of ground!

The spokesman of the second biggest party has issued a shameless statement against the

proposal. Perhaps, he believes that everyone has forgotten his own declarations against the claims of West Bengal, on the linguistic basis. He made them after a visit to Manbhum while Chief Minister of West Bengal.

The fears that Bengal would be culturally submerged could only be made by people who have little knowledge of the cultural history of West Bengal. They do not know that at least two of the Bihari languages, Maithili and Bhojpuri, are far more akin to Bengali than to Hindi. Those who know Vidyapati and his influence on our own Vaishnav poetical treasures, would readily acknowledge it. In any case, a culture that has withstood the onslaughts of Pathan and Moghul and the insidious policy of Macaulay, can laugh at all these fears, unless the people have degenerated beyond measure.

There has been a lot of balderdash uttered against the plan, "Unity in diversity" and so forth. It is curious that most of the objections have been made by persons whose origins are not in West Bengal. But even then, there are many from East Bengal, who have faith in the stout hearts of their own children, who consider the move to be an excellent one, provided constitutional safeguards are put down in black and white against misuse of powers against the fundamental rights of individuals or linguistic groups, on the basis of caste or mother-tongue.

We append an analysis of the data, as given in the 1951 Census:

	Bihar	West Bengal and Chandernagore
Total population	40,225,947	24,860,217
Hindi speakers including Urdu	34,817,133	2,038,705
Bengali speakers	1,759,719	21,039,601
Urdu already included in Hindi	2,736,303	457,981
Muslims	4,564,466	4,927,287 (19.8%)
After Merger		
Total population	65,086,000	
Hindi speakers	36,856,000	56.6 per cent
Bengali speakers	22,800,000	35.2 ,,
Muslims	9,492,000	14.4 ,,

In this connection we like to sound a note of warning to the fanatics of Hindi language. Had these Hindi fanatics allowed cultural and linguistic freedom to the linguistic minorities in their territories, then much of the bickerings and ill feelings that have now generated would not have ensued.

The Union of Bengal and Bihar

The following is the full text of Dr. B. C. Roy's statement on the merger :

"The Chief Minister of Bihar and I issued a statement a few days ago regarding the merging of Bengal and Bihar. This statement had obviously led people to think furiously about the condition of affairs in these two States and in India generally. A large number of letters have appeared in the Press; discussions are taking place in various organizations and opinions are being freely expressed about this problem by people belonging to different groups.

"This is as it should be. It is obvious that when the proposition was placed before the public, as was indicated in the statement itself, no details were given regarding the proposal nor could they be given at short notice. But regarding the discussions, and hearing the arguments, both for and against, I feel that it is desirable that I should indicate, even if vaguely, what our suggestions amount to.

"When the States Reorganization Commission's report was published, every State felt dissatisfied with the recommendations. This is nothing very unnatural. There were States which were claiming to expand and there were neighbouring States which were opposing such claims. As I have indicated previously and I repeat again, that while the Indian National Congress had up to the date of achieving independence considered the question of reorganization of provinces on the basis of language, *i.e.*, creating States with similar language affinities, the Congress after independence found it difficult to implement this principle. Since 1947, various committees and sessions of the Congress have from time to time expressed the view that the security, unity and economic prosperity of the country are much more important considerations than regrouping of the States on a linguistic basis. Such grouping may be satisfactory to some State and may produce dissatisfaction in others and, as one of the correspondents has just pointed out, such linguistic grouping is repugnant because it 'savours of clannishness and parochialism.'

"As a matter of fact, even the question of reorganization of States on a linguistic basis can only be a means to an end, the end being the unity and development of the country as a whole. If by such linguistic distribution the country is developed, there can be no question about it. But one has to remember that in this world every action has a reaction. Bengal cannot ask for the merging of the areas contiguous to Bengal where Bengali-speaking people are in a majority without Bihar making similar claims with regard to areas in Bengal where the Hindi-speaking people are in a majority. The result of this tussle would be that there will be a continuous demand on the one hand for extension on a linguistic basis and resistance to it on the other.

"India cannot develop, its security cannot be ensured, its safety cannot be put on a firm basis if such wrangling continues to take place between the component States of the Union. It was because of this spirit that was prevalent in the different areas of India that we felt it was necessary for us to place a different viewpoint before the public, namely, to ask for union rather than disunion, to provide for working together as far as possible in amity and concord instead of trying to group people in warring camps on the basis of language.

"Every right-thinking man will agree that any effort made to divide the country on a linguistic basis will mean separatism and sooner or later a form of 'apartheid'. The recent events in Bombay and in other parts of India have uncovered the dangers facing India today and showed the rapid deterioration almost everywhere in the approach to the basic problem of Indian unity. It was clear to me that over the creation of linguistic provinces the basest passions have been aroused and people have forgotten the lesson that they had learnt during the days of national struggle. It was clear that if this process continued it would split up India, injure greatly the national organization and almost lead to some kind of civil conflict in different parts of India. When this joint statement was issued, there was a sense of relief in the minds of a large number of people that after all an approach to union has been discovered.

"A critic has pointed out that the word which should have been used in the statement was not 'merger' which may connote a compulsion, or the use of artificial forces resulting in a loss of identity. Perhaps the word 'reunion' would be more correct. 'Fusion or merger,' says the critic, 'may come, as come it must one day, through a process of evolution and a wise democratic rule. An artificial fusion, however ingenuously conceived or achieved, cannot last long.' It has been said by a friend that I had used the word 'catalytic' in the sense that it means a chemical compound or in the sense that one body is going to stomach another. The word 'catalytic' was used by me in the sense that this approach to the problem of the development of the country, as has been mentioned in the statement, would act as a catalytic agent and would create similar movements, we hoped, in other parts of the country. It is difficult at this stage to give details regarding this 're-union' but it is possible to lay down some general outlines such as :

"(1) The united State may be called 'The United States of West Bengal and Bihar' like the States of Travancore and Cochin.

"(2) That there should be an assurance that the culture and the language of each State should be protected; that the United States will have two official languages, Bengali and Hindi. Both the languages will be official for the entire State. It may be that in practice certain pre-eminence may be given in one State to a language, *i.e.*, in West Bengal, Bengali would have pre-eminence in educational affairs with Hindi as a compulsory second language and in Bihar Hindi will be the prominent language with Bengali as the second language. But in border areas the two languages would be equally encouraged.

"(3) No such union would be viable if there is any attempt on the part of one State to dominate over the other. In many ways each State will continue its own life subject to a common approach to major problems. The development projects in each area of the two States so united and the Five-Year Plan proposed by each State and approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be implemented by the respective States. The resources which would be developed by each area as approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be raised and employed in that area, although in future, development may be a common objective of the two States.

"It so happens that the richest area in India from the point of view of mineral resources is the area which comprises part of West Bengal, part of Bihar and part of Orissa. If properly

developed, this area will become the heart of industrial India. Any scheme of development of this area must involve the closest co-operation between West Bengal and Bihar so that both States might benefit fully. There should be no delays in drawing up schemes of developments as well as implementing them. Such delays are almost inevitable if the two States function separately or if there is a feeling of rivalry and conflict between the two. In such cases, both will suffer and the areas will not be developed as they should be.

"(4) It has been asked, will such a union come in the way of political, economic or cultural life of the two States? Economically, as has been pointed out, it is quite clear that it would be advantageous to both. Politically also the union should prove beneficial because in some ways West Bengal and Bihar are complementary to each other and by coming together, the spirit of conflict will be removed. Culturally, there is no reason why either State should suffer. With the growth of economy, rapid cultural advancement would take place and protection of such culture in either State will be ensured.

"(5) In this united State there should be one Governor and one Public Service Commission. Rules may be framed so that while recruitment to the higher posts in the combined State might be thrown open to residents of either State, recruitment to the lower posts in each area might ordinarily be made from amongst the residents of that area. There is no reason why the two High Courts should not continue to function, as their work is sufficiently heavy.

"(6) There will be one Cabinet and one Legislature. In addition to the Chief Minister belonging to one region, it may be desirable to have a Deputy Chief Minister belonging to the other region. A convention may grow for the Chief Ministers to be choesen alternately from the two regions.

"(7) There might be two Regional Councils, one for each of the major language areas. Each Regional Council will consist of members elected to the Legislature from that particular region. The President of this Council will be a Minister from that region. The special duty of the Council will be to look after the interests of that region in regard to the subjects dealt with by the Council. The subjects will be mainly those of development under the Five-Year Plan—Education, Health and other social services. These Regional Councils will not have any legislative authority. They will advise and make recommendations about the subjects allotted to each Council to the Cabinet or to the State Legislature and by practice and convention their advice will be accepted. In case of conflict between the two regions or between the Councils and the State Cabinet some provision may be made by appointing an authority to give its final decision on the points at issue.

"(8) Generally speaking, therefore, the internal structure of the two regions should continue as it is and would not be interfered with. For example, the land system, the tenancy laws, the modes of taxation, the raising of revenue and provision for social services may continue to be distinct in one State as against the other. The schemes for these have been framed on a particular basis in each State and it would not be wise to interfere with them immediately unless it be by common consent.

"(9) It is obvious that the principal capital of the State should be Calcutta. Patna may be a second capital and the Legislature may meet in either place. The Law and Order Department in both States should be common.

"While some of the ideas that I have in my mind and that have been suggested to me by friends have found place in the statement above, it is obvious that they do not cover all the points. We have in the beginning to agree to the principle of union and then we can sit down and work togethor the details. Expression of public opinion in this respect will be greatly appreciated. It is obvious that in some matters, as mentioned above, there will be full control of the Cabinet and of the State. In many matters each region will have full play and attempts at co-ordination in these matters should be made. If any additional resources are raised in a particular region, that money should by common consent be utilized for that region only.

"At present one can give only the broad outline of the proposal and wait for its acceptance by the people before we can sit down to work out the details. I only request my people to consider the matter in all seriousness and not to reject the scheme without serious thought. All suggestions for improving the scheme will be welcome."

Industrial Policy and the Second Plan

In its draft memorandum on the Second Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission has suggested that industries will receive the highest priority in the Second Plan. In its view the industrial policy of the country has to be governed by the objective of bringing about a socialistic pattern of society. This implies close adherence to the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, and Government incursions in field where development had been inadequate. Definite steps must also be taken to expand the sphere of co-operative enterprise so that, in due course, the benefits of industrial development are transmitted in increasing measure, to the primary producers of raw materials or the consumers of industrial raw materials without the intervention of middlemen or of private industrial undertakings.

In view of recent developments in the industrial policy of the Government, the 1948 policy has become out-dated. The 1948 resolution on industrial policy was made on the basis of mixed economy. At present although the basis of Indian economy is mixed economy, still however, the industrial outlook and policy of the Government stands modified in effect by the course of events. In December 1948, the Lok Sabha adopted a resolution to the effect that the goal of India's economic policy is socialism. Obviously mixed economy is not socialism, had it been the case the Indian Parliament need not have passed the resolution on economic policy. Further, when the industrial policy of 1949 was enunciated, there was no econcept of planned economy, or if it was, it was in a nebulous form. Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the State has taken upon itself the task of providing employment to the teeming unemployed, and the State's share of responsibility in the matter is much larger than that of the private sector.

It is rather perplexing to reconcile the apparently conflicting viewpoints of the State over its stand on the industrial policy. Since 1948, India is steadily drifting towards socialism with planned economy. The new company law has given an additional weapon to the Government to forge ahead towards socialism. The nationalization of life insurance has widened the scope of State enterprise in this country than what was hitherto envisaged. By the life Insurance Ordinance, the scope of the public sector has been extended to include part Government ownership of a large number of other private industries and business concerns. About Rs. 24 crores of the total assets of life and general business of Indian insurers have been invested in ordinary shares of Indian companies. In addition, the total investments of life and general business in debentures and preference shares of Indian companies exceeds Rs. 32 crores. As owner of these equity shares, the Government acquires all the rights devolving upon shareholders, including the right to vote, in respect of such capital, on every resolution placed before the company.

Thus it is obvious that the 1948 industrial policy resolution stands modified in effect. The private sector is not inviolable nor can it be thorougly relied upon in the task allotted to it. The State should step in whenever the private sector fails to make progress to the desired extent. Constant watch is needed to be kept on it and shortcoming must be made good by State enterprise. As for example, the establishment of new sugar industries should be the responsibility of the State so that the people and the country may not have to depend on the sweet will of the private owners of this industry. The record of the sugar industry since independence is the blackest. It is time the authorities define a new industrial policy in the light of recent developments, keeping in view the aims of the Second Five-Year Plan.

World Steel Output

The world steel output is progressively increasing. The total output in 1955 is estimated at 260 million tons, as compared with 113 million tons in 1945 and 98 million tons in 1935. The output of world steel in 1955 is expected to rise by 20 per cent above that of 1954 and 15 per cent above that of 1953. The American estimate of world output of steel is even higher, being placed at 293 million tons. The production of the USA is placed at 116.5 million tons, as against 88.3 million tons in 1954. The output of pig iron in 1955 is estimated at 183.0 million tons, as against 154.7 million tons in 1954.

In Europe, West Germany is making rapid strides in the production of steel. Ten years ago, the German steel industry was virtually flat on its back. Most of the plant which had survived the repeated assaults of the Allied bombers was dismantled and carried away by the triumphant forces of the victorious nations. German steel industry restarted virtually from a

interests—the control of strategic base in Kashmir during the future war. India could have forced a military decision against Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute and now she understands that it has been a folly on her part to rush to the UNO seeking justice, and what she received instead is anything but justice. The plain fact of the dispute was ignored by the Anglo-American bloc and through legal procedure these Powers took illegal decisions through their international preserve—the Security Council. The issue of the dispute was distorted.

The plain fact was that Kashmir in October 1947 acceded to the Indian Union and this was accepted by the British Viceroy of India. India however, gave assurance to Kashmir that her future will be determined according to the will of the people of the State. Immediately after accession, Pakistan sent tribal invaders clandestinely, concealing her complicity till it was made known by the Kashmir Commission. Evidently in this matter there were two parties—India and Kashmir and there was no dispute among them nor the accession was forced on Kashmir by India in any way. It was purely a voluntary accession by Kashmir and India's assurance for determination of the people's will was given to Kashmir and Kashmir alone. Evidently, Pakistan is an intruder and she cannot have and must not have any *locus standi* in the affair which is purely India's domestic affair. Pakistan by force, through the tribal army, snatched away certain portions of Kashmir and now she claims the whole of it. Thanks to the Anglo-Amerian support, Pakistan is now a party to the Kashmir dispute against India. An intruder has been given legal recognition by nations who claim to be the upholders of world peace and international law, and thus in reality the so-called international law and the talk of world peace are the two weapons in the hands of these Powers for bolstering up their own colonial aggrandizement. The national history of these two Powers are replete with tyranny and oppression, injustice and warfare. No wonder that justice hardly comes from them in international affairs.

The arming of Pakistan has further pushed India away from the Anglo-American Power politics. Pakistan is at cold war with India and the arming of Pakistan has destroyed the balance of power in this region. India opposed to the arming of Pakistan by the USA, but she turned a deaf ear to India's protest In her zeal to guard her strategic positions breating a girdle of encirclement around Russiahe USA forgot that a big neutral Power is a ter ally than a weak friendly Power. A neutrandia is a better guarantee of peace in this reg of the world than an armed Pakistan. India acknowledgedly is a big Power in men and resous and in future war her support to any party m turn the scale against the other party.

During the Korean dispute, t world was on the brink of the Third World Waand had India sided with the Anglo-American bl at that time, war would certainly have broken it. A neutral India is a better bastion of peacin South-East Asia. The Kashmir issue still raining undecided, the arming of Pakistan has een quite unjustified and it is strange that such provocative event has not altogether estrang the Indo-American relations. The only fau of India is that she declined to sell her politil conscience in lieu of military aid that comeswith strings. The arming of Pakistan has definite thrown the balance of power against India in t South-East Asia and India has reasons to be ggrieved at the treatment meted out to her by e USA in this connection.

The third important developmen is the Goa issue. Goa is part and parcel o India and the people of Goa are Indian. M. Dulles's statement that Goa is a Portuguese prince is not only to distort geography but to go against the course of events that will assert itself me day or other. Not only the authorities of th USA and the U.K. have been acting definitely aginst India, the Press in these countries have joine hands in villifying India and distorting news fm India. Mr. Horace Alexander was good enoug to point out the anti-Indian feeling in the Brish Press and sounded a note of warning that this anti-Indian feeling will do more harm than good in the Anglo-Indian relation. The *Daily Telegraph* in its issue of 29th December, 1954, accused India of using Nazi methods in Goa nd Mr. Nehru as aiming at "Ein Volk, ein Rch, ein Nehru." Of course, in expressing anti-India feelings, the *London Time* and the *Economist* head the list in Britain, while in the USA, the *New York Times* takes the lead. During the course of the dispute, Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, claimed that the NATO of 1949 and the Anglo-Portuguese treaties covered the

Portuguese possessions in India. Nehru replied that he was not clear what exactly had Goa got to do with any concept behind NATO. India asked the United States, Britain and Canada for their opininon. They gave the obvious answer that Portugal could invoke Article 4 of the NATO Treaty which provides for consultation in the face of a threat to her territorial integrity or security but that since her Indian territories were outside the NATO area, the defensive obligations of Article 5 would not apply. As far as the Anglo-Portugese treaties were concerned, none of them provide for mutual defence of the other's colonies.

But the recent defence of Goa as the Portugal province in the Far East in the Dulles-Cunha joint statement definitely indicates that the USA is with the side of colonialism. Of course, that is in keeping with the tradition of the USA. The basis of capitalistic structure of economy is colonialism and in defending Portuguese colonies in the territory of India, the USA expressed her true colours.

The recent visit of Russian leaders to India has vindicated India's stand over two issues, namely, Kashmir and Goa. The leaders were good enough to realise the real nature of the conflict and they had the courage and good sense to call a spade a spade. They described Kashmir as the northern part of India and declared that Goa was an integral part of India. India of course did not ask for such statements. But undoubtedly she was pleased with these, as these statements supported India's stand. Queer indeed, it is that the quarters, wherefrom India expected good sense and help in her difficulty, acted against her interest even violating the sense of justice. And queerer it is that the country wherefrom India least expected support for her cause, gave her full support to India. Old friends forsook India in her difficulty, while new countries befriended India and took up her cause.

Indian patience needs be admired that she has not as yet cut off her connections with the Anglo-American bloc, notwithstanding grave provocations and hostility in anything Indian in world affairs, no matter whether it is Kashmir or Goa or arming Pakistan. The Western countries do not understand India nor do they want to do so. They make a parade of their ignorance towards India and they take pride in that. The western diplomacy move in the old rut and does not even realise that if you alienate the feelings of others, you should not expect them to side with you. When the Anglo-American press howls against India or sermonises to her, the press does a disservice to their respective countries.

India-Indonesian Co-operation

The historic Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations recommended the conclusion of bilateral agreements as the chief means for the promotion of cultural co-operation and mutual understanding among the countries of Asia and Africa. The Agreement concerning cultural relations concluded in New Delhi on December 29 between India and Indonesia expressly followed that recommendation. It is hoped that the new agreement would be able to achieve its aim of strengthening the existing ties of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Agreement contained twelve articles besides a Preamble and was designed to remain in force for a period of ten years unless it was terminated earlier by either party by giving six months' notice. Otherwise it would remain in force until terminated by either party by giving six months' notice.

Under the Agreement the Governments of the two countries declared their desire to encourage and facilitate co-operation in all fields of science and literature and art. For this they would encourage and facilitate reciprocal visits of university teachers and members of scientific and cultural institutions for the purpose of giving lectures on special courses. Each Government would institute scholarships to enable its students to pursue their studies in the universities of the other country, to study its language and civilisation. Each Government would extend its facilities for the training of specialists and other persons recommended by the other Government in the former's scientific, technical and industrial institutions. Each Government would encourage, within the limits permitted by national laws, the establishment within its territory of cultural institutes of the other. Each Government would try, within its financial limits, to promote intellectual and cultural co-operation between the two countries by arranging concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising student visits, by

encouraging the collaboration of scientific, artistic and literary societies.. Competitive sports between the nationals of two countries would also be encouraged. Each Government would try its utmost to ensure that educational text-books did not contain any errors or misrepresentation about the other country. Each undertook to recognize the school, college and university degrees of the other country.

If required a special commission might be set up to carry out this Agreement. The commission would compose in each country of its Education Minister and the Head of the Diplomatic Mission of the other country resident there. "At intervals of not less than once in three years the two Governments will hold joint consultations to co-ordinate the working of the Agreement in the two countries and to invite suggestions and advice from co-operating agencies concerning steps that may be deemed necessary for a more effective implementation of this Agreement."

The Agreement comes into force fifteen days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification which would shortly take place in New Delhi.

Maulana Azad signed on behalf of India and the Indonesian Ambassador to India Mr. L. N. Palar signed for Indonesia.

Pakistan Draft Constitution

The Draft Constitution of Pakistan consists of 245 articles and five schedules besides a Preamble. It envisages the establishment of an independent sovereign republican and democratic State "consistent with the ideology of Pakistan." The Constitution was to be a federal one and the republic was to be called the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

The chapter on Fundamental Rights provides that all citizens should be equal before law and no person should be deprived of life or liberty, save in accordance with law. Freedom of speech and expression and the right to peaceful assembly were also recognised. No person joining any educational institution would be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious ceremony or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship related to a religion other than his own. Untouchability in all forms would be abolished and discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth was forbidden in all cases. The Fundamental Rights could be enforced through the Supreme Court.

The Directive Principles of State Policy provides *inter alia* that the State should strive for the strengthening of the bonds of unity among Muslim countries, and generally for the promotion of international peace and security. It would be the duty of the State to adopt measures to enable the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Quran and *Sunnah* and, in particular, the State should strive to "(a) provide facilities for the Muslims of Pakistan to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and make the teachings of the Quran compulsory to them; (b) promote and maintain the Islamic moral standards; (c) secure proper organisation of *Zakat*, *Waqfs* and mosques; and (d) prohibit prostitution, gambling and consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of alcoholic drinks and the intoxicants." The legitimate rights and interests of non-Muslim communities should be protected and parochial, racial and tribal prejudices should be discouraged by the State. The Directives presented the ideal of a welfare State for Pakistan where there should not be any concentration of wealth and poverty. The State was further enjoined to work for the eventual separation of the judiciary from the executive.

The State would be headed by an elected President who must, however, be always a Muslim, and at least 40 years of age. He was to be elected by Members of the (Federal) National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. The President would be elected for a term of five years and no person could hold the office of President for more than two terms. The President would also be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Under Emergency Powers, the President could suspend the constitutional government in provinces by a Proclamation. No such proclamation could be effective for more than six months.

There would also be a Vice-President who must have all the qualifications for election as a President which, in effect, meant that

he Vice-Presidency would also be exclusively reserved for the Muslims.

There would be a Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister, to be appointed by the President from amongst the members of the National Assembly, and it would be collectively responsible to the National Assembly. Other Ministers would be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The National Assembly would consist of 300 members with equal number of representatives from each wing of Pakistan. For the first ten years, ten additional seats—five from East Pakistan and five from West Pakistan—would be provided for women.

Unless the National Assembly otherwise decided one session of the Assembly in each year was to be held in Dacca. As often as a Prime Minister was appointed the National Assembly was to be summoned within three months of such appointment.

The term of the National Assembly was five years unless it was dissolved earlier.

Provincial Governors would be appointed by the President and would hold office during his pleasure. A Governor could not be elected either to the National Assembly or to the Provincial Legislatures. In the discharge of his duties the Governor would be aided by the Provincial Cabinet headed by a Chief Minister.

Provincial Legislatures would also consist of 300 members each with 10 additional women members during the first ten years.

The chapter on the relations between the Federation and Provinces provided for (*a*) Federal; (*b*) Concurrent and (*c*) Provincial List of Subjects as given in the Fifth Schedule. Railways were in the Provincial list. The Provincial authorities, however, could not close permanently and dismantle any railway line without the approval of the Federal Government. Defense and Broadcasting were in the Federal List.

An Election Commission would be appointed with the responsibility for preparing electoral rolls for election of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies and for attending to related work.

A citizen of Pakistan who was at least 21 years of age, who was resident in the Constituency for at least six months and who was not barred by the Constitution or the National Assembly was entitled to vote in the elections. Not more than six months should elapse between the dissolution of the National and Provincial Assemblies and their resolution through elections. The decision regarding joint or separate electorates was left with Parliament.

The Constitution also provides for a Supreme Court with legal status and functions comparable with the Supreme Court of India.

Part XII of the Constitution deals with Islamic Provisions, Scheduled Castes and backward classes, the appointment of special councils, boards, etc. The President would set up an organisation to be called the Institute of Islamic Research and Institution for advance studies to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis.

No law could be enacted which contradicted the injunctions of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and existing laws would be brought into conformity with them.

Within one year of the promulgation of the Constitution the President of the Republic was to appoint a Commission "(*a*) to compile in a suitable form for the guidance of the National and Provincial Assemblies such injunctions of Islam as can be given legislative effect, and (*b*) to make recommendations as to the steps and stages by which the injunctions of Islam should be given effect and as to the bringing of existing laws into conformity with the said injunctions."

In the application of these provisions to the personal law of any Muslim sect, the expression "Quran and *Sunnah*" was to mean the "Quran and *Sunnah*" as interpreted by that sect. Nothing should affect the personal laws of the non-Muslims or the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan.

The President should constitute a National Economic Council composed of four Federal Ministers, three Ministers of each Provincial Government and the Prime Minister of Pakistan who would be the ex-officio Chairman of the Council.

There would also be a Board appointed by the President in each of the Provinces to advise the Federal Government on matters relating to Posts and Telegraphs in the Province.

Bengali and Urdu were to be the official languages of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

English would, however, retain its existing status for 20 years from the date of the promulgation of the Constitution. After the first ten years the President would appoint a Commission to make recommendations for the gradual replacement of English. However, any Provincial Government could replace English as the official language of that province by any other language even before the expiration of twenty years.

In an editorial article on the provisions of the Draft Constitution of Pakistan, the *Hitavada* notes that it was the fourth attempt at Constitution making during the eight years of Pakistan's existence, the first three having had proved abortive. "But in form and content, so far as the non-Muslim minorities are concerned, the new Draft Constitution is little different from its forerunners. The Mullah influence is still predominant in the Draft Constitution and it seems to be a signal victory for the orthodox, bigoted leadership, which wants Pakistan's political life to be ordered according to the tenets of Quran."

The newspaper makes critical references to the Provisions of Head of State and those insisting on conformity with the teaching of Quran and *Sunnah* and says that the cumulative effect of those provisions would render the citizenship of non-Muslims "at best second-class citizenship" notwithstanding official protestations to the contrary.

The Draft virtually denied equality before law "by banning all legislation, which are repugnant to the injunctions of the Holy Quran, any statutory religious safeguards to the Hindu minorities have been rendered impossible. It is doubtful whether ever such a normal practice as the acceptance of interest for loans will be permissible in such a State—this will also affect the monetary and fiscal structure of the State—as taking of interest is repugnant to the teachings of Quran."

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the same subject in its issue of January 14 writes that the hope entertained by some that the delay in framing a Constitution for Pakistan might eventually mean a rejection of the "non-sense about an 'Islamic' State" did not come true. The disappointment was all the greater because the Muslim League was supposed to have had lost its supremacy.

"The proposed nomenclature for Pakistan and the other 'Islamic' features of the Draft," writes the *Vigil*, "are more than an affront to the remnants of Pakistan's non-Muslim population. Their adoption would mean a most dangerous circumspection of the conception of citizen's loyalty to a modern State. For, by definition, the allegiance of non-Muslims to an 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' could never be spiritually whole. Therefore, unless it is intended to drive the non-Muslim citizens out of the country, the authors of the Draft Constitution are proposing for a part of the body politic to be in a condition of permanent moral and spiritual alienation from the State." The danger of such a position, from the point of view of the State's own security was only too obvious. Moreover, as matter of principle it could not be conceded that a State could take any step "so as to degrade a section of its citizens, detract from their full citizenship rights and also place their very relationship to the State and the rest of their fellow citizens in moral jeopardy."

The newspaper adds that the 'Islamic' features were no less a challenge to the Muslims of Pakistan "because the whole thing is a fraud on them." Nobody, except the most unthinking, could accept at face value, the assertion in the Draft that "no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*" since obviously no viable modern State could contract to abide wholly by only such principles of Islam or any other religion. Historically speaking even Muslim rulers of the past would not follow such principles in toto; they only followed those which suited their purpose. There was nothing to suggest that the bigoted rulers of Pakistan could achieve the impossible. These 'Islamic' provisions really were designed to divert the attention of the Muslim masses from their existing miseries.

Noting there had already been a great opposition against the provisions of the draft both among the Muslims and non-Muslims of Pakistan, the *Vigil* writes that the democratic forces must coalesce under a common leadership if they meant to thwart the design of the big rulers because this was the last great chance before them to exert themselves in favour of a healthy growth of Pakistan.

French Elections

National Elections were held in France on January 2 following upon the premature dissolution of the National Assembly by a Presidential Decree in December for the second time in the history of the French Republic.

The Government of Edgar Faure introduced a motion in the National Assembly on October 25, 1955, for complete elections which was adopted by the Assembly on November 2. Explaining the need for earlier elections M. Faure said that the purpose of the measure was to enable a new Assembly, no longer beset with electoral preoccupations, to face important and urgent discussions which must be taken in the international field, in North Africa, and in domestic affairs. Political observers, however, read in this move a desire on the part of the Government to get through the elections before it had to promulgate a number of unpopular measures.

However, though the principle of earlier election was adopted there could not be any agreement on the electoral system to be used. The Electoral Laws had been substantially amended in May, 1951, with a view to cornering the Communists and the Leftists. According to the provisions of that amended law voting was to be by departmental (provincial) list with one ballot; and a party or an alliance of parties getting more than 50 per cent of the votes would automatically become entitled to get all the seats of of that department. The amendment acted in favour of the center parties but affected the Communists most adversely. For some reason and other the Government parties in 1955 wanted further amendment of the electoral laws and in course of the debates on that issue the Government fell to a vote of confidence on November 29, 1955, so that the elections were held according to the 1951 Law.

According to Article 49 of the French Constitution, a government was bound to resign if it was opposed by an absolute majority (314) of the numbers of the National Assembly in a vote of confidence. And Article 51 provided that if two governmental crises occurred under the conditions set forth in Article 49 within an eighteen-month period—except during the first eighteen months of the Legislature the Council of Ministers might decide on the dissolution of the Assembly by a Presidential Proclamation, 318 members (314 being the absolute majority) voted against the Faure Government in November 1955. The Mendes-France Government also having had fallen on February 5, 1955, under similar conditions, the National Assembly was dissolved on December 2, 1955, by the President.

The position of the different parties as a result of the elections are given below:

1.	Communists	150
2.	Socialists (S.F.I.O.)	98
3.	U.D.S.R. (Social Democrats)	9
4.	Radical Socialists and Affiliated Groups (Mendes-France)	49
5.	Dissident Radicals (Faure)	21
6.	Popular Republicans (M.R.P.—Schuman-Bidault)	72
7.	Moderates (Pinay)	96
8.	Social Republicans (Gaullists)	22
9.	Anti-Tax Coalition (Poujade)	52
10.	Extreme Right	3
11.	Unaffiliated	22
		594

(Thirty-three more seats were yet to be filled. Those comprised 30 for Algeria where elections were not held, one each for French Oceania and New Caledonia where elections were to be held by the end of January and one undecided seat in Middle Congo.)

The result of the elections clearly disappointed the initiators of early elections. M. Faure was blamed for causing the elections to be held before time and was expelled from the Radical Party. The expulsion of M. Faure, reports the *New York Times*, "amounted to formal confirmation of the split in the Radical Party, which cuts the moderate middle groups in the Assembly into hostile blocs."

The executive committee of the Radical Party under the leadership of M. Mendes-France, approved the plan for a Republican Front Government of Socialists and Radicals. The National Congress of the Socialist Party also endorsed this plan. Neither party, however, laid claim to Premiership and both left it to be decided by President Rene Coty whether to nominate as Premier Mendes-France, the Radical leader, Guy Mollet, Socialist Secretary-General or a third man. Though both the parties were not unwilling to accept Communist

votes to get into office they rejected the proposal for any alliance with either the Communists or other moderate groups. However, the Republican Front could scarcely hope to form a Government without the open or tacit support of either the Communists or other moderates in the Assembly.

Malaya's Future

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of British Parliament, writes in an article in the *Vigil*, January 21, that the breakdown of the recent 'cease-fire' talks in Malaya between the Communists on the one side and the Chief Ministers of Malaya and Singapore on the other, did not mean that holding such talks was useless or that there was no need to hold such talks in the future.

The failure of the talks was in a sense predestined since the two Chief Ministers were not independent of British control and the British influence was wholly directed against a settlement with the Communists, Mr. Brockway writes. The colonial office and its agents in Malaya had always discouraged efforts to open talks with the Communists and "when the Chief Ministers took the initiative for a meeting with the Communist leaders, British pressure was exerted to make the talks an occasion for surrender."

He avers that the war in Malaya could be ended if it was accepted by the British Government that the settlement within Malaya was a matter for the Malayans to make. Therefore, he urges upon the British Labour Movement to support the demands of the peoples of Malaya and Singapore for full national autonomy at the forthcoming constitutional talks in April.

Kenya Government and Goa

The nationalist Goans living in Kenya formed the East African Goan National Association in September, 1955, "to support the struggle for liberation of Goa by all peaceful means." The Kenya Government refused to register it on November 26. Shri J. N. Nazareth, President of the Association, immediately sent a fresh application for its registration and challenged the Registrar to disclose the reasons for non-registration. According to the *Press Trust of India*, the Kenya Government again refused registration of the Association on the ground it was likely to be used "for purposes prejudicial to or incompatible with peace, welfare or good order in the colony."

Shri Nazareth was reportedly considering further appeal to the Governor-in-Council against the Registrar's decision.

France Opposes Baghdad Pact

There has obviously been a breach in the Western Camp at any rate on Middle East affairs in that France has publicly come out against the Baghdad Pact which was officially sponsored by the U.K. and openly supported by the U.S.A.

Expressing the French Government's anxiety at the situation in the Middle East the French Government's memorandum to the U.S.A. and U.K. recalled that France had never looked with enthusiasm upon the conclusion of the Baghdad Treaty.

"Brink of War" Diplomacy of Dulles

James Shepley, Chief of the *Time-Life* Washington Bureau, wrote an article in the American magazine *Life* in which the writer quoted the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles as saying that he (Dulles) had averted three wars (in Korea in June, 1953; in Indo-China in April, 1954; in the Formosa Straits in January, 1955) by his threats of nuclear weapons. In the article, which was written after an interview with Mr. Dulles, he was quoted to have said: "You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war . . . The ability to get to the verge without getting into war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost."

Mr. Dulles subsequently confirmed the above statement.

The *New York Times* reports on January 12 that some observers viewed the interview in *Life* as a counterpart to the article Mr. Dulles had published in the same magazine in the issue of May 19, 1952, during the last Presidential campaign, entitled "Policy of Boldness."

"That article," the report adds, "became a basic text for many Republican orators attacking the Truman Administration's foreign

present interview may well serve
r partisan defenders of Mr. Dulles'
these observers suggested."

esent *Life* article praising Dulles-
policy, it is further reported in the
e an account of the Indo-China crisis
ied considerably from the consensus
written at the time on the basis of
on available in the State Department
A. and in the embassies of Powers
to the U.S.A.

r example, in retrospect the article
the Indo-China armistice worked out
eva in 1954 as a 'major *save* for the
world' that made it possible to retrieve
Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia from
almost certain loss'.

"At the time Mr. Dulles and his Under Secretary of State, Gen. Walter Beddel Smith, characterized the armistice as a bad bargain. The United States, in fact, refused to sign it.

"The Shepley article, on the other hand, described the agreement to partition Indo-China and end the war as the outcome of a 'policy of boldness' that made it clear to the Communists the United States was prepared to act to hold what was left of South-East Asia."

The article retold the story of Mr. Dulles' flight to London in April 1954 to urge "united action" of Britain, France and the U.S.A. in the Indo-China war. It was stated in the article that Mr. Dulles had returned from London with a specific assurance from the British Government to "jointly take up the battle," but two weeks later—just before the Geneva Conference—"the British had a change of heart."

It also mentioned Mr. Dulles as saying that the Communists had not broken the truce in June 1953 when Syngman Rhee had freed 27,000 North Korean prisoners because the Chinese Government in Peking had been informed through Shri Nehru of U.S. preparedness to use atom bombs if Communists had continued fighting.

The third instance when the Communists had been restrained by Dulles' policy of going to the brink was in January, 1955, when the Chinese Communists stopped their assault of Matsu and Quemoy. The Communists had done this because of the Dulles' resolution passed by the Congress at that time authorizing President Eisenhower to use U.S. forces in that area if the Communists would attack Formosa or its approaches.

The article evoked a storm of protest from the Democratic Party leaders, a section of the U.S. press and from the British Government.

In "the most vehement ever" attack on the Secretary of State within the internationalist wing of the U.S. Senate, Democratic Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota accused Mr. Dulles of distorting history, breaching bipartisanship in an election year and damaging the United States before the world, William K. White reports in the *New York Times*.

Referring to Mr. Dulles' statement on Indo-China, the London *Times* writes: "What Mr. Dulles has to say about his own attitude at the time can naturally be taken as accurate. It was perfectly plain at the time that he, supported by Admiral Radford, was urging in April that both the U.S.A. and Britain should intervene. But he is not right in saying that the British Government or Sir Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, had at any time agreed to intervene. Nor is it true that Britain has agreed to support the bombing of Chinese territory, north of the Vietnam frontier."

The *Statesman's* London office reports: "Second thoughts have brought little comfort to those who are perplexed, if not dismayed, by another instance of the time for 'brinkness' indiscretions, which periodically bedevil American diplomacy."

"This time, with Sir Anthony Eden leaving so soon for Washington, the object of stirring up old disputes is more obscure than ever. Some might say, in fact, it is a subtle way of scoring off the British Prime Minister before the conference begins (*Statesman*, 14 January 56).

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Dulles is no historian and not much of a diplomat."

The *Daily Mail* of London calls Mr. Dulles' policy "a Dance of Death" and writes that if threats of nuclear war was an art, as Mr. Dulles said, "it is the most terrifying art we ever encountered. One false step and the artist is over the edge, taking his H-bombs with him and destroying the world in the process."

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur writes: "If Mr. Dulles had been in charge of foreign affairs in

any other country but the United States, he would have been sacked on the spot for contributing the article he did to the *Life* Magazine on the theory of massive retaliation. This is a new technique of diplomacy which Mr. Dulles is developing. All important statements of policy in a State are made either in the form of White Papers or Parliamentary forums. But no functioning Secretary of State of foregin affairs in any other country so far has outlined his policy or explained it in a newspaper."

Refuting the Dulles' thesis that his "Brink of War" Diplomacy had brought the Korean war to an end, the *Hitavada* writes that the war in Korea had come to an end because both the U.S.A. and the Communists had made concessions. The U.S. Secretary's assertions showed the newspaper comments, "that the Republican administration in the United States has learnt nothing from the recent past." As for Mr. Dulles, Mr. Adlai Stevenson had aptly described him as a man playing Russian roulette with a loaded revolver in hand, the *Hitavada* concludes.

Poland Decrees Private Ownership of Land

In view of the rearming of West Germany and the abolition of Zemindary System in India and uncertainty about the ultimate proprietorship of land, the following extract from a back number of the *Woridover Press* is interesting:

"Berlin.—With dramatic suddenness, the Warsaw government has issued a decree providing that no fewer than 750,000 peasants in the former German provinces are to have their land as private property 'for eternity.' Registration for ownership, at the local courts, is to begin immediately.

"The Russian Ambassador to Poland, apparently as startled as anyone else, asked the Polish Premier, Josef Cyrankiewicz, the meaning of this sudden change in policy. The Polish government, supposedly a servile satellite of Moscow, remained firm, replying that it was an internal affair of Poland's, necessary for 'economic reasons.'

Historic Perspective

"It was a dark day in Polish history when, in August, 1939, Hitler's Foreign Secretary, Joachim von Ribbentrop, flew to Moscow to sign a pact between Germany and the Soviet Union. As a consequence, two months later, Poland was partitioned—for the fourth time. The so-called 'Curzon Line,' which the British Lord Curzon had described as the best ethnographical frontier between Poles and Russians, became the border dividing the two parts of the former Polish State.

"Britain had guaranteed the inviolability of Poland's frontiers, meaning of course only those on the West, since no menace from the East was at the moment taken seriously. The U.S.S.R., however, had promised nothing. And when the war was nearing its end, at the Yalta Conference, the Soviet Union claimed those territories which, at the Peace of Riga after the war between Poland and Russia in 1921, had been taken from her by force and which were, in population, of a White Russian or Ukrainian majority.

"Britain could not keep the word she had given to Poland. So she agreed that the unfortunate Poles be compensated for the loss of territory handed over to Russia. Germany, at that time, was a country deserving of no consideration at all; had not Churchill said that only a dead German was a good German? So, as the weakest had to yield, three German provinces were given to Poland, with the territory of the Danzig Free State in addition. This soil was to receive the Poles who had had to leave their homelands to the east of the new Polish-Russian border line.

"About 7,000,000 Poles moved into East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, while the Germans were expelled. Not all the 7,000,000 came from Poland proper; Polish emigrants who had been living in France, Belgium and the Ruhr, joined in. The Poles were given land in the former German provinces, and settled down. Visitors to Poland agree that all the land is under cultivation. But the peasants were not given the soil as private property. They received it through a sort of lease contract; ownership was vested in the State. And in most of the villages, collectives were organized to work the land, in a form similar to the *kolhoz* system predominant in the Soviet Union.

"What has happened to cause a Communist-dominated country to create so much private property? The reason is evident: another German statesman has been invited to Moscow for negotiations—Konrad Adenauer. The phantom of a fifth partition of their country rises before the Poles. Better show the Polish peasants—at least in the territory that might conceivably be traded—that land is theirs 'for eternity.' And that they must, if necessary, defend it.

Attack on the Press in USA

The International Security Sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate was authorized by the Senate in a resolution to investigate, among other things, "the extent, nature and effect of subversive activities in the United States . . . including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage and infiltration by persons . . . seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence." On this authority the Sub-committee, under the Chairmanship of James O. Eastland, beagn a probe of the press and, to a less extent, of radio and television in the United States to "find out Communists." The Sub-committee had recorded a number of testimonies, including several such from the employees of the *New York Times*. The *Times* in turn dismissed a number of its employees, who had been called upon to testify before the Sub-committee, for their attitude towards Communism.

Nevertheless the *New York Times* came forward against such intrusion in the press in an editorial article on the 5th January.

The newspaper did not question the right or propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of the Congress but at the same time stressed the "inescapable responsibility of the Congress . . . to make certain that any such enquiry be conducted in good faith and not motivated by ulterior motive." But the present enquiry was obviously none of that sort.

While the newspaper would not knowingly employ a Communist Party member "in the news or editorial departments . . . because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly" it considered to be exclusively its own business to decide whom it would employ and not employ. "We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland Sub-committee, writes the newspaper.

The *Times* adds: "Nor do we propose to permit the Eastland Sub-committee, or any other agency outside this office, to determine in any way the policies of this newspaper. It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at the *New York Times* . . .

"It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the *Times* has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner and the Sub-committee's counsel stand—that, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the high-handed and abusive methods employed by various congressional committees, because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act; because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair-play.

"If this is the tactice of any member of the Eastland Sub-committee," the *Times* continues, "and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present enquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by congressional pressure, we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time. This newspaper will continue to determine its policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination . . . and defend civil liberties . . . to challenge the unbridled power of governmental authority."

Concluding, the *Times* writes: "We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have faith. And our faith is strong that long after Senator Eastland and his present Sub-committee are forgotten, long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is dim unwelcome memory, long after the last congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, the *New York Times* will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make it, and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it."

Critical of the Eastland enquiries, the

Washington Post and Times Herald writes: "Whatever Senator Eastland may say on the subject notwithstanding, his inquiry has certainly extended into an area in which the Constitution forbids Congress to make any law . . . The whole of the American heritage cries out against this kind of congressional intrusion into the affairs of (the) press . . ."

U.S. Investigations

The confessions of Matusow and others who testified in many anti-Communist trials that they had given false witness under governmental pressure brought to the fore the utter unreliability of the U.S. "investigations." The recent decisions on the Taylor and Kutcher cases further highlighted the hollowness of much of the accusations on the basis of which people were deprived of their means of livelihood and liberty.

Dr. William Henry Taylor, now 50, taught economics at the University of Hawaii, in Honolulu, before he became a United States citizen in 1940. On January 3, 1941, he took a job in the Treasury Department, which he left in December, 1945, to take up a job under the International Monetary Fund.

Dr. Taylor was first implicated in espionage hearings in 1945 when Miss Elizabeth Bentley, self-confessed spy, first told the story of Soviet "espionage" in the U.S.A. In 1948, Miss Bentley publicly testified that Dr. Taylor was a member of the Soviet espionage group. In September, 1953, the International Organization's Employees Board began to look into the case. In 1954, in course of a libel suit field by Dr. Taylor against the *Washington Daily News*, Miss Elizabeth Bentley retracted her accusations against Dr. Taylor. Dr. Taylor then requested the Board to call upon Miss Bentley to appear before the Board as a witness which the Board did. But Miss Bentley failed to appear before the Board. Nevertheless, on June 28, 1955, the Board decided against Dr. Taylor. The Board said that it "was convinced that this employee (Dr. Taylor) was engaged in espionage . . . that he was placed in the Treasury . . . by Communists and espionage agents . . . and that he was and possibly still is an adherent to the Communist ideology."

Mr. Scott, the counsel for Dr. Taylor, requested a rehearing which the Loyalty Board granted. On the basis of new evidence the same Board had to declare on January 5 this year: "On all the evidence there is not a reasonable doubt as to your (Taylor's) loyalty."

In an editorial article on the recent decision on the Taylor case, the *New York Times* writes that the decision "suggests that the procedure in this (Loyalty) Board and in comparable agencies may lend itself to blundering and injustice. We do not pretend to know what Mr. Taylor's inmost thoughts and beliefs are, but obviously the Loyalty Board did not know about him to pass the judgment it did."

James Kutcher, who lost his two legs in the Second World War, was denied payments of disability pension by the Veterans' Administration because he also happened to be associated with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party which was on the list of "subversive organizations" of Attorney-General. Recently the Administration reversed its earlier decision and decided to continue payments until the final determination of the case in a rehearing.

Criticizing the attitude of the Veterans' Administration in refusing Mr. Kutcher payments of disability pension, the *New York Times* also referred to the effort to put him and his family out of a low-cost housing project because his father would not sign a statement denying that any member of the household belonged to an organisation on the Attorney-General's list. The Supreme Court of New Jersey had, however, unanimously overruled that move. "In the pension case," writes the *Times*, "it seems to us that Mr. Kutcher is clearly entitled to compensation for his war-time injuries. The present attempt of the V.A. to deprive him of these rights, even though it is acting under a 1943 law, can be viewed as little less than retaliation for extremist political views. That isn't the kind of action that sits well in a democracy."

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOUL FORCE

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There is not a single area of human activity or of social relationships in India which remained uninfluenced by Mahatma Gandhi or by his philosophy of soul force. Hence it may be appropriate for me to begin this paper with Prime Minister Nehru's immortal tribute to the martyred Mahatma.

"The Light has gone out of our lives," said Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in an impromptu radio address upon Gandhi's martyrdom, "there is darkness everywhere." Could it really be that Gandhi's light ceased to shine since he was no longer with us in his puny bundle of flesh and bones? Correcting himself Nehru continued:

"It was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years; and a thousand years later, that light will be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth . . . the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom."

Gandhi may truly be said to be the prophetic voice of the twentieth century. Violence inflicts upon its practitioners physical and spiritual wounds; the way of non-violence, said Gandhi, "blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used." Again,

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. 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."

Let us be sure we do not misunderstand the philosophy of non-violence embodied in Gandhi's life and teachings. A practitioner of the non-violent way of life, far from being passive, is the most active person in the world. He is ready to join the fray—non-violently—wherever and whenever there is injustice or wrong. He neither tolerates nor compromises with injustice, wrong, tyranny, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, dictatorship. His task in life is not to destroy the evildoer but to redeem and to convert the evil-doer by love. "With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," he is ever ready to "bind up" humanity's "wounds," to minister to the underprivileged and to the misguided. The constant concern of the follower of non-violence is, in the words of Lincoln, to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The spirit of India's Gandhi as well as of America's Lincoln is today sorely needed by a generation madly dancing over a precipice. We have learned to fathom the secrets of the atom, we have learned to master nature, but we have not yet learned to master our inner selves. Our scientists can predict with accuracy the long-range behavior and movements of stars and planets millions of miles away—but we are unable to foretell our next-door neighbor's behavior and movements the very next moment.

The world has become a small neighborhood. Therefore, we are called upon to understand and appreciate our neighbors across the Atlantic and the Pacific, as well as across the Great Lakes and the Gulf. To understand other nations, we must know their values and their historical development. This requires a sympathetic approach to other nations, cultures, and religions. By understanding Gandhi we may build a bridge of understanding between ourselves and India, between ourselves and the Orient, between ourselves and noble free spirits the world over.

What is Gandhi's message for our small neighborhood world divided into two camps—democratic and totalitarian? First of all, Gandhi would have us set our course by the twin stars of Truth and Non-Violence; which means, we must approach other peoples with charity and sympathy. Second, Gandhi would

have us stand on a platform of values to which we must be faithful unto death; which means, we must act in accordance with principles, not expediency. Appeasement, even for the sake of peace, must be ruled out, because appeasement implies sacrifice of principles. Third, Gandhi would have us work ceaselessly for the realization of "common-human" values, as the sociologists say, for the triumph of the common-human way of life. His hospitality to other cultures was aptly phrased by the Mahatma in the following classic words:

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

According to Gandhi, there are three types of human beings: (1) the coward, (2) the brave, (3) the superior. The coward, in order to save his skin, supinely acquiesces in injustice and wrong. The brave hero, on the other hand, violently resists injustice and wrong in order to re-establish justice and right. The superior person is he who, in the fullness of his strength, forgives the wrongdoer and tries to redeem him and convert him to the ways of doing good.

The Philosophy of Soul Force

Mahatma Gandhi's program of political action was derived from the quest for God. His quest for God, for self-realization, led him to involve himself in the affairs of his fellow human beings, of his compatriots. To quote his exact words:

"I am part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbors. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from Humanity."

This involvement in the affairs of humanity led him to realize the supreme importance of two age-old values, namely, *Satya* or Truth and *Ahimsa* or Non-violence and Love. On the basis of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, Gandhi elaborated his philosophy of Soul Force.

Soul Force may be viewed from four different angles; or, better yet, it may be viewed at four different levels. First and foremost, Soul Force is the primeval element pervading the universe. Here there is no possibility of conflict because of man's communion with Soul Force at the highest level. Second, Soul Force is a way of life in harmony with the cosmic process. There is no possibility of conflict at this second level either, because of harmony with the cosmic process. Third, Soul Force is a tool of spiritual insight into the workings of the universe of which we are all integral parts. Here there is the possibility of conflict because of man's freedom to choose the tools of insight. Fourth and least important, if the conflict is not resolved at the third level by the right choice, Soul Force manifests itself as a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations. In this context, the term conflict is used to signify tension. At the first level, tension would imply estrangement of the human soul from the Supreme Soul. At the second level, it would mean disharmony with the cosmic process; at the third level, ideological differences; and, at the fourth level, violent hostilities.

1. *Soul Force as the Cosmic Principle*: Soul Force as the cosmic principle has been known to mankind, East and West, from time immemorial. Soul Force is the primeval energy, the creative spirit, the self-existent Being without beginning and without end. Prophets have exalted it and poets have sung of its glory. Some refer to Soul Force as a He, some as a She, some as an It: they all mean the same thing. In the Infinitude of the Supreme Being, sex, gender, and age become meaningless. Call it the primeval substance or the form of the formless; call it the *Ding-an-sich* or the Thing-in-itself (of Kant) if you will; call it the interplay of matter and spirit; call it the Brahma; call it the Oversoul as Emerson did—call it by what name you will, Soul Force is the beginningless, the endless, the only *Satt* (Sanskrit: Being or Truth) that is infallible in the universe. And to the extent that the elements of the universe—galaxies and planets, atoms and electrons, birds, beasts, and men—are a part of the *Satt*, do they partake of the nature of the divine. Under this condition alone do the sentient creatures realise their identity, their at-one-ness, with the Supreme *Satt* (Supreme Being: Supreme Truth). *Satt* manifests itself in terms of *Chitt* (Sanskrit: Mind or Intelligence) and culminates in *Ananda* (Sanskrit: Joy or Bliss).

Defying the compulsions of matter, rising above the prison walls of institutions, holding fast to his inner being in the midst of the *Maya* (illusion) of processes, man can truly affirm and realize with Jesus, "I and My Father are one"; or, with Buddha, "I have become the Awakened, the Enlightened, One."

Experiencing Soul Force at the highest level, as mystics have done, man can obliterate differences and conflicts from his behavior as well as from his consciousness.

2. *Soul Force in Tune with the Cosmic Process*: Soul Force is a way of life in tune with the cosmic process. The fundamental oneness of life is the essential aspect of this universe of ours. The stars and the planets move in their appointed orbits; the trees blossom forth into magnificent foliage and flowers; the birds chirp and teeter on the boughs, bedecked in pleasing plumage; the rivers flow majestically, unconcerned with the passing show; the oceans retain their gravity and serenity while receiving untold amounts of water from rivers; nature evolves from the simple to the complex, favoring one form and discarding another—all these events in the universe are but manifestations of Soul Force, of God if you prefer the term. Man's supreme happiness consists in the realization of his one-ness with the rest of creation.

Aham Brahma-Asmi, I am Brahma, is but a variant of the other saying: *Tat-Twam-Asi*, *i.e.*, That Thou art. I am Brahma. You are Brahma. I am That. You are That. Your highest bliss and mine, then, consists in our being in communion with That. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."

Again, if you are That and if I too am That, then you and I have a fundamental affinity, one with another. Indeed, you, my neighbor, are myself in another form; and I am yourself in another form. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Ecstatic devotion to the Most High or supreme adoration of the Ultimate Reality, and realization of the identity of oneself with one's neighbors—these two requirements of the inner life of the spirit flow naturally from Soul Force.

The corollary is obvious: "The virtue of that life and power" (Soul Force) must "take away the occasion of all wars." The indwelling Light of Soul Force not only "leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, and out of earthly mindedness into heavenly mindedness"; it also puts upon us the obligation of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love).

Here Hindu metaphysic and Christian teaching, as expounded by George Fox, meet in majestic confluence like the Jamuna and the Ganges.

There is no possibility of conflict at this second level of Soul Force because of harmony with Soul Force at the first level.

3. *Soul Force as a Tool of Spiritual Insight*: Soul Force embraces the totality of being. Hence it serves the purpose of what the scientists call "a frame of reference." No event occurring in the universe is outside the purview of this frame of reference. Indeed, Soul Force serves admirably as a criterion for judging events and actions, or as an integrating principle. To Mahatma Gandhi it is "an angle of vision." In the language of empiricism it is a hypothesis. The hypothesis of Soul Force postulates that the universe is hospitable, friendly, loving. In Plato's terminology, the universe may be conceived as the quintessence of the good, the true, the beautiful.

Opposed to the theory of Soul Force, there is the postulate of Brute-Force being at the core of the universe. This latter theory holds that the universe is inhospitable, unfriendly, unloving, at best a moral if indeed not immoral. This view is well expressed in the Hindu dialectician's phrase *Matsya-Nyaya*, 'the logic of the fish"—"the larger fish devouring the smaller fish."

In Occidental thought this point of view was best set forth by Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin. Hobbes defined the state of nature as "a struggle of each against all." Malthus premised that population tended to outstrip the food supply; thus there ensued the struggle for existence. Darwin studied nature and arrived at the conclusion that there was universal "struggle for existence"; that only "the fittest" survived, giving rise to new species.

Interestingly enough, another student of nature, Prince Peter Kropotkin of Russia, arrived at the conclusion that in nature there was "mutual aid."

Darwin and Kropotkin are both partly right and partly wrong. In nature we have both phenomena: the struggle for existence, and mutual aid. To read in nature exclusively a struggle for existence, or exclusively mutual aid, would be wrong. We must balance the two in terms of the fundamental frame of reference. The experience of nature as well as of man, an integral part of nature, points to an interesting lesson. In the struggle for existence, that species which learned co-operation and mutual aid among its members has succeeded, survived, and prospered. Benjamin Kidd is quite right when he suggests that social progress consists in the capacity for team-work, in the capacity of the individual member to subordinate himself to the group. Self-preservation, accordingly, becomes group preservation. One finds one's true self when one is willing to lose it for others. How perfectly is the teaching of religion in harmony with the findings of science! But we can arrive at this conclusion because we are operating within the frame of reference of Soul Force.

Contrariwise, the frame of reference of Brute Force compels different conclusions. Man must be eternally at war with nature and with his fellows. To survive, he must be aggressive and brutal. The more brutal he is, the more likely is he to survive—and to dominate. He must, therefore, glorify war and create occasions for war. In the war of each against all, there can be no mutual trust, no confidence, no tenderness, in human relations. Man must not only build engines of human destruction; he must himself be an engine of Brute Force.

Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin, honored social philosophers and scientists as they were, have been responsible to no small extent for the cult of brute force in Western civilization, for "the white man's burden" upon "the lesser breed," for racialism and for imperialism. In our day, Marxism reinforces the philosophy of violence and brute force.

Granted these two possible approaches to an understanding of nature, which one shall we choose as a guide to our behaviour—Soul Force or Brute Force?

The Hindus speak of *Rajju-Sarpa-Nyaya*, "the logic of the rope-snake." If in the dim twilight of an evening you should chance upon a rope lying on the road and think it is a serpent, your reaction to the object would be conditioned by your *belief* that it is a snake. That, objectively, it is a mere piece of rope is immaterial; to you at the moment *it is a snake*. And your response is watchfulness, and either a fight or a flight.

The German philosopher Vaihinger developed the same notion in his concept of *Als ob*, "As if." Man's response to the environment is not in terms of the objective reality but in terms of his subjective conception of the situation.

Granted the universe were unfriendly—an untenable assumption—how about man responding to it as if it were hospitable? Could not man by his very response transform the nature of the cosmic process? But we are not compelled to battle against the universe. The universe is friendly and hospitable. It is our view of the universe that needs to be harmonized with the ultimate nature of Soul Force.

Because man is free to choose as a guide to his conduct either of the two frames of reference, Brute Force or Soul Force, at this level of Soul Force there is the possibility of conflict.

4. *Soul Force as a Technique for Resolving Conflicts*: If in spite of man's best attempt to live at the first three levels of Soul Force conflict does arise, then he must translate Soul Force into a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations.

To Mahatma Gandhi, in our age, belongs the credit for having worked out Soul Force as a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations. The technique of Soul Force or *Satyagraha* (*i.e.*, Insistence upon Truth under all circumstances) can be effectively used by a single individual as well as by a group of people large or small.

The theory is so simple that even a child can understand it. Fellowship among human beings is possible on two planes—the plane of joy and the plane of suffering. On either plane man become oblivious of his petty self and

realises his kinship with the Supreme Self, with Soul Force.

A simple illustration of kinship on the plane of joy is afforded by recreation. Abiding by the rules of the game, the players enjoy a fellowship which is no part of the routine activities of this humdrum life. Group recreation, either indoors or outdoors, is a tonic to the spirit, precisely because participants in recreation experience joy and fellowship on the common-human level.

The inner man is touched by suffering as well as by joy. The occurrence of an accident does not call forth the response: What is his nationality? Does he go to church regularly? How shabbily dressed is he? No, none of these accidental trappings of man's self engages our attention. The prompt response is always: Is he badly hurt? What can we do for him?

There is then this basic law of human behavior: The inner self in each man is touched by joy as well as by suffering and is transported into common fellowship with the object of joy or of suffering. Gandhi understood intuitively this basic law of human behavior.

Suffering calls forth a realization of common-human kinship. Why not then, in effect argued the Mahatma, utilize the technique of "self-invited suffering" to call forth the response of common-human kinship from those that persecute and exploit us and deny us justice and freedom?

Soul Force posits a divine potential in the wrongdoer, be he British, or German, or whatever he may be. And it is this divine potential, the inner man, within the wrongdoer that must be touched and "coerced" to respond to "self-invited suffering." The wrongdoing itself is the logical end-product of an encrusted system or institution—the Empire System, for example—which enslaves the wrongdoer as well as the wronged. Hence, the wrongdoer must be made to see the injustice of the system, to question the validity of the system he operates, by the victim inviting suffering upon himself in the spirit of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love). The concrete technique of Soul Force has been named *Satyagraha* (holding fast to Truth) by Gandhi.

That the political movement of non-violent non-co-operation, or of civil disobedience, was motivated by some such philosophy of Soul Force needs to be emphasized:

"I have no God to serve but Truth." Again, "I can easily put up with the denial of the world, but any denial by me of my God is unthinkable."

The relation between God and Truth fascinated Mahatma Gandhi ever since maturity. In Geneva, the birthplace of Calvinism, the Mahatma discussed Truth and God in refreshing terms. "Until now," said Gandhi, "I used to say 'God is Truth.' Now I believe Truth is God." The statement "God is Truth" is partial, contends Gandhi; the statement "Truth is God" is all-inclusive.

Truth is unreliable except in terms of *Ahimsa*, that is to say, except in terms of non-violence and love. *Ahimsa* is to be viewed not merely as a grand principle, but *as the way of life*. To complete Gandhi's chain of reasoning we must recall the ancient Sanskrit saying: *Satyameva Jayate*, i.e., Truth alone conquers.

Soul Force Involves Both Co-operation and Non-co-operation

In spite of its revolutionary character, *Satyagraha* has a great affinity with democracy; I suppose, because democracy, too, was born of revolution and has dynamic capacity for effecting change of the most revolutionary type in a peaceful manner.

It is unbecoming to the dignity of man supinely to submit to injustice and wrong. In order to abolish existing injustice and wrong the Satyagrahist studies the system or systems and patterns that make for wrong and injustice. He would try to mend or to end, "to alter or to abolish," the system that is responsible for wrongdoing. In his zest to eliminate the wrong, the Satyagrahist is ever careful not to eliminate the wrongdoer. *Satyagraha* does not aim to cure the rash without cleansing the whole system. If a purge be necessary, let there be a purge—a non-violent purge, to be sure. The Satyagrahist looks behind the flutter of phenomena.

The Satyagrahist gives the benefit of the doubt to his antagonist; he strives generously to understand the other's point of view. He co-operates whenever co-operation involves no compromise with principle, with Truth. He works for conciliation and arbitration. His concern is not only to minimize conflict but also to minimize the occasions for conflict.

Democracy is based upon Soul Force; indeed, the democratic process is *par excellence* the manifestation of Soul Force in action; because democracy, too, strives to minimize conflict and occasions for conflict.

The role of self-invited suffering is most important in the technique of *Satyagraha*. Non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing in turn depends upon co-operation among the "revolutionaries." Only self-purification and prosecution of the constructive program make the people fit to offer non-co-operation.

When goodwill and conciliation are unavailing, the Satyagrahist who foreswore violence and warfare has open to him only one course of action, namely, to invite upon his devoted head all the sufferings he can without malice, without ill-will. Sensitivity to suffering is the hallmark of humanity. Hence by inviting suffering upon ourselves we may light up the spark of the divine potential in the wrong-doer.

The process of inviting suffering upon one's self takes two forms: (1) self-purification, internally; and (2) non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing, externally.

Self-purification is meant both for the individual and for society. The Satyagrahist must not hesitate to take upon himself and upon his society, upon his nation, part of the responsibility for existing wrongs. Acts of self-purification call for a reconditioning of the individual and a mending or an ending of internal patterns and systems and institutions that inflict injustice and wrong upon society as a whole or upon certain sections of society. To that end soldiers of non-violence *co-operate* one with another and with other members of society to rid themselves of internal social wrongs.

This is one part of *Satyagraha—the constructive program* based upon self-purification and internal co-operation.

The other part of Satyagraha is non-co-operation with the agency or system that is responsible for the major wrong or injustice in society.

Concretely speaking, in India *Satyagraha* involved, on the one hand, the fivefold constructive program:

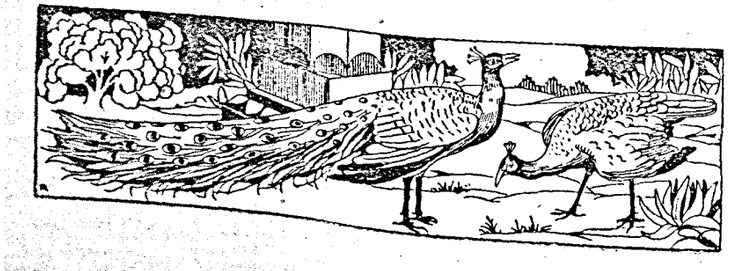
(1) Hindu-Muslim unity,
(2) Abolition of untouchability,
(3) Prohibition of narcotics and liquor,
(4) The greater participation of women in the nation's fight for freedom,
(5) The encouragement of home industries, such as, spinning, weaving, and handicrafts of all sorts.

On the other hand, it involved non-co-operation with the British Government and its institutions:

(1) Renunciation of titles,
(2) Non-participation in official functions,
(3) Non-co-operation with government, courts and schools, and the setting up of people's courts and national schools,
(4) Non-violent violation of predetermined laws of the government and seeking arrest and imprisonment,
(5) Peaceful picketing of government-licensed opium and liquor shops,
(6) Non-co-operation with the civil and military administration of the country,
(7) Non-payment of taxes.

Gandhi devised the program of non-co-operation not as a substitute for co-operation with the British Raj; he devised it as a substitute for irresponsible, sporadic violence which would have engulfed India as part of the natural cycle of nationalist upsurge. Thus, within the framework of his philosophy of Soul Force, Mahatma Gandhi proved the efficacy of the moral equivalent of war.*

* Paper read at the Fourth Conference on Asian Affairs, Manhattan, Kansas, November 18-19, 1955.



THE PANCH SHILA AND WORLD PEACE

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In course of a debate on foreign affairs in the Indian Lok Sabha on September 17, 1955, the Indian Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru recalled his speech in the House six months ago and said:

"At that time there was danger of a catastrophe of a world war or something leading to it. The guns were all loaded and the fingers were on the triggers . . . the situation now has improved greatly during these six months. The guns are still loaded, but the fingers are not on the triggers. . . . there are numerous dark spots and danger zones. Nevertheless . . . there has been an improvement in the atmosphere all round and for the first time, people all over the world have a sense of relief and a sense that war is not inevitable. In fact, it can well be avoided."[1]

On Shri Nehru's own admission, "it would be exaggeration to say that India has made a major difference to world politics. We must not exaggerate our role, but it is a fact that India has on significant occasions, made a difference." "Now," Shri Nehru added, "India's contribution to this new situation may perhaps be put in one word or two, 'Panch Shila'."

Panch Shila

But what is the Panch Shila or Five Principles of co-existence, as it is otherwise known?

In their present form these principles were stated for the first time in the preamble of the agreement between India and China signed on April 29, 1954, with a view to promoting trade and cultural intercourse between India and the "Tibet region of China." These principles are:

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

1. *The Sunday Statesman*, September 18, 1955.

In June 1954, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, on his way from Geneva to Peking met Shri Nehru in Delhi, and the two Prime Ministers in a joint statement on June 28, 1954, reaffirmed the Panch Shila. They felt that the Panch Shila should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

On October 11, 1954, the Panch Shila was restated in a joint Russo-Chinese communique at Moscow. During the last few months countries like Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Poland, Viet Minh and Yugoslavia have expressed their adherence to the Panch Shila. On Indian initiative the Unesco also accepted at its 8th General Conference at Montevideo a resolution on the Panch Shila. When in June, 1955, Shri Nehru had his talks at Moscow with Marshal Bulganin, the Panch Shila was developed slightly further in connexion with the idea of non-interference. For the Nehru-Bulganin Declaration of June 22, 1955, refers to the idea of non-interference thus: "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character."[2]

There is, however, as yet no universal respect for, or acceptance of, the Panch Shila, though there is a general sympathy for its principles. At the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April, 1955, ten principles were adopted in the form of a Declaration of World Peace and Co-operation, and the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution of May 8, 1955, maintained that

2. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 24, 1955. In the Tito-Bulganin statement of June 2, 1955, this principle is stated as follows: "Compliance with the principle of mutual respect for and non-interference in internal affairs for whatever reason whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, because questions of internal organization of different social systems and of different forms of socialist development are solely the concern of individual countries." Ref, *The Statesman*, June 4, 1955.

"In this Declaration is found the full embodiment of the five principles or Panch Shila, with the addition of elaborations which re-inforce them."

However, soon after the conclusion of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, was reported to have declared that all the Five Principles of co-existence were not to be found in the Bandung Declaration, which, however, in his opinion, contained all the seven principles which he himself had suggested at Bandung on April 19, 1955. A declaration, called the San Francisco Declaration, was read by Mr. Van Kleffens, the President at the concluding session of the U. N. tenth anniversary celebrations in San Francisco on June 26, 1955. In this document the Member-nations recognise that the hope of enduring peace rests on how well they carry out the purposes and principles of the U. N. Charter and "uphold these principles in their relations with each other." This last clause, it is understood, was inserted after objections from several nations to a suggestion by M. Molotov that the summation should include a reference to "peaceful co-existence."

Why is there so much hesitation on the part of so many nations to declare their adherence to the Panch Shila?

Historical Background

For a proper understanding of the criticisms against the Panch Shila and suitable replies to them it is necessary to have a historical background of the Panch Shila. In a sense, the idea of co-existence is as old as human history. During the last five thousand years of recorded history men and women, parents and children, friends and relatives, units and groups like families, clans, tribes, villages, states or nations, political and religious ideologies along with their social and economic systems have "co-existed." Not that there has been no destruction of persons, institutions, ideologies or their systems during all these years. But in human history there has been more of living and "let live" than of killing and being killed, i.e., more of peaceful co-existence than otherwise.

Most of the violence in history during the last 150 years has been committed either in the name of nationalism or of a classless society, though the violence for the latter cause has assumed greater significance in recent times. Ever since Marx and Engels propounded in 1848 their thesis that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" and that the existence of the bourgeoisie is no longer compatible with society,[3] there has been no dearth of thinkers to counteract this thesis by ideas of some form of co-existence among classes or systems. Others similarly speak of co-existence among nations. Initially all ideas of co-existence were covered by such terms as toleration, co-operation, peace, non-violence, law, justice, friendship and neighbourliness. Co-existence between capitalism and communism or the classes they represent assumed a new significance after the Communists assumed power in Russia in October, 1917. Neither the First Communist International during 1864-1874, nor the second during 1889-1914 seemed to be any serious threat to the capitalist system. But the Third International founded by Lenin and Trotsky in March, 1919, seemed to operate like the General Staff of World Revolution against capitalism.

By January 10, 1920, the Covenant of the League of Nations with the ideals of peaceful co-existence among nations came into force. By 1920, also, Lenin's policy of peaceful co-[illegible] Non-pay-regimes fundamentally opposed to existence of regular 'programs' of various each other took definite form with the operation of treaties in which the Soviet regime recognised the independence of States that had formerly been part of, or connected with, the Russian Empire, and, in turn, was recognised by them. In a party report of December 18, 1925, Stalin, directly referred to the "temporary equilibrium of forces that put an end to war against us, that ushered in the period of 'peaceful co-existence' between the Soviet State and the capitalist States."[4]

The doctrine of peaceful co-existence got added strength in 1927 when in a struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky, the former's ascendency led to the rejection of the latter's view that the Russian revolution could not be safe until the Comintern had instigated similar revolutions in all major countries. When the

3. Laski, *Communist Manifesto : Socialist Landmark*, pp. 119, 135.

4. J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 294.

Nazis got power in Germany in 1933, and the danger of totalitarian aggression consequently increased, Communists in all countries were advised to co-operate with other peace-loving groups. Having no faith in peaceful co-existence, Germany and Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. But the Soviet Union entered it in 1934. In 1935-36, attempts were made by Communists in various countries to form with other parties joint fronts and popular fronts. However, in August, 1939, the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany. For, roughly by the time of Munich Settlement in September, 1938, it had become clear that "the main capitalist powers had no objection to the expansion of Hitler and Mussolini, provided that their own 'vital interests' were not touched—interests which they did not regard as including the integrity of Soviet Russia."[5]

Hitler put an end to all ideas of co-existence when he invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. When the Soviet Union invaded Finland on November 30, 1939, the League of Nations for the first time as well as the last expelled a Member, the U.S.S.R., and "only Sweden's refusal to allow British and French troops to pass through Swedish territory in order to come to the aid of Finland saved Great Britain and France from being at war with Germany and the Soviet Union at the same time."[6] In course of the war, the Soviet Union was, however, brought to the side of the Allies, when on June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. The beginning of 1942 is also the beginning of the great alliance known as the United Nations.

The alliance of the U.N. transformed itself into an organisation of the U.N. through the U.N. Charter which came into force on October 24, 1945. This Charter embodies the principles of peaceful co-existence to such an extent that no important step in international affairs can be effectively taken without unanimity of the great powers required under its Articles 27, 106, 108 and 109. But the U.N.O. failed to secure world peace effectively. In fact, in the post-war years the tension between the Communists and the non-Communists or anti-Communists developed in the form of a crescendo. The U.N.O. tended to become less important than other alliances and counter-alliances, and even the Comintern, dissolved in May, 1943, was virtually revived as the Cominform in September, 1947. In 1954, Shri Nehru took the initiative to emphasise the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, which have now become famous as the Indian Panch Shila.

5. Laski, *Communist Manifesto : Socialist Landmark*, p. 84.

6. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 524.

First Objection

But is the Panch Shila the final answer to the problem of world peace?

The first objection to the Panch Shila is that it is Communist-inspired. Dr. A. Appadorai has pointed out that the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted at the Bandung Conference does not contain the word "co-existence" because of its having a supposed Communist touch.[7] The fact that peaceful co-existence is inspired by the Communists is no defect of the ideal itself. It only shows perhaps that in view of modern scientific developments, the Communists have modified their earlier ideas against co-existence. Properly understood, the Panch Shila is inherent in the religions and philosophies of all countries of the world. Indeed, in view of the fact that it is Shri Nehru who gave the principles of peaceful co-existence their present worldwide significance, they may be spoken of as Indian-inspired. It is in this sense that these principles are now called the Indian Panch Shila.

Second Objection

In the second place, it is usually objected that the principles of the Panch Shila are very vague. Terms like "territorial integrity," "sovereignty," "non-aggression," "non-interference," "equality" and "co-existence" have been differently interpreted by different thinkers. Students of political science are more or less familiar with the confusion connected with these terms except "co-existence" which is more or less a newcomer in modern political vocabulary. Co-existence might mean the existence of the *status quo* in all its details, a kind of co-existence which is obviously impossible in our political world which is essentially dynamic. If, however, peaceful co-existence implies that certain changes are permissible, then does it also imply the idea

7. *India Quarterly*, July-September, 1955, Vol. XI, No. 3; p. 231.

covered by the words "peaceful change"? If it be said that only minor changes are permissible, but not major changes, what should be the criterion for determining the permissible limit? Again, co-existence may be possible between nations, between systems like Communism and Capitalism or between blocs of nations.

In concrete terms the difficulties may be illustrated if we ask whether the Panch Shila permits a "peaceful invasion" of Goa by the Indian Satyagrahis for the incorporation of that territory into the Indian Union, whether the Western nations of Europe can pursue a policy of "peaceful conversion"[8] of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe through propaganda, economic boycott, etc., and whether the U.N.O. should co-exist side by side with the NATO, the SEATO, the East European Union and a possible MEDO?

But though the details of the ideas covered by the principles of the Panch Shila are not always very clear and definite, yet their broad outlines are sufficiently understood.

Third Objection

A third objection against the Panch Shila is that its principles are rather deceptive. For, according to classical Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, peaceful co-existence between Communism and Capitalism is rather unthinkable except as a temporary expedient. According to Mr. Raymond L. Gartoff:

"The Soviet conception of 'peaceful co-existence' is one of the hardest to define and document, for the simple reason that it is not a basic doctrinal belief, . . . but is rather a vaguely formulated contradiction of doctrine, originally devised to legitimise the establishment of Soviet diplomatic relations, later adopted as an effective weapon in Soviet and world Communist propaganda."[9]

As early as April, 1916, Lenin wrote:

"Every 'peace programme' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses."[10]

8. *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954, pp. 17-22.
9. *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 5. Published by Documentary Studies Section, International Information Administraton, Washington-25, D.C.
10. *Selected Works*, New York, 1943, Vol. 5, p. 237.

The Bolshevik leaders for the first time bowed to the need of some form of co-existence with the capitalist world in March, 1918, by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the German Empire. But the "Left" Communists regarded with misgivings this unorthodox compromise of the Marxian view till they fell from power in the mid-1920's. Even Lenin himself observed in his address to the 8th party Congress in 1919:

"We are living not only in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before the end comes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."[11]

Referring to this passage Stalin wrote in 1926, "clear, one word think," and frequently quoted in his pronouncements.[12]

It may be noted that in every one of Stalin's statements to foreign interviewers in the 1930's and 1940's to the effect that peaceful co-existence is possible, "he neglects to specify how long and on what terms."[13]

In 1952, a Soviet writer, of course, asserted that

"The second half of the twentieth century will bring the complete victory of Communism throughout the world."[14]

But Stalin declared on the eve of the 19th party Congress in October, 1952:

". . . War with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist country, would be more dangerous to capitalism than war between the capitalist countries, for if war between the capitalist countries poses only the question of the supremacy of some capitalist countries over other capitalist countries, war with the U.S.S.R. should certainly pose the question of the continued existence of capitalism itself."[15]

He added, "In order to eliminate the inevitability of wars imperialism must be destroyed."

This passage of Stalin emphasises more the aspect of co-existence in Communist thought than that of an inevitable clash.

In December, 1952, Stalin said to Mr. James Reston, Diplomatic Correspondent of the *New York Times*:

11. *Works* (3rd Russian Edition), Vol. XXIV, p. 122.
12. J. Stalin, *Works*, (Russian Edition, 1954), Vol. 8; pp. 70-71.
13. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 2, January, 1949.
14. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 7.
15. Stalin, *Bolshevik*, No. 18, 1952, pp. 18-20.

"I still believe that war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. cannot be regarded as inevitable and that our two countries can in future live at peace with each other."[16]

Malenkov and Bulganin also have expressed their support for a policy of co-existence between two different systems—Capitalism and Socialism."[17]

The fact, perhaps, is that the Soviet leaders, being increasingly impressed by the destructive power of nuclear weapons, are inclined to waver in their belief in—or desire for—an inevitable clash between the two camps, hoping that the world crisis of capitalism will come about in some other way. Malenkov declared in March, 1954, that another World War would mean the "destruction of world civilization,"[18] and not simply of the capitalist civilization.

It seems reasonable to hold that the destructive powers of science have at last dealt serious blows on the Communist thesis of the inevitable clash, a thesis already shown to be untrue by those who do not explain history through economic factors alone or through the over-simple formula of class struggles and violence. It was on July 16, 1945, that the U.S.A. set off the world's first experimental atomic explosion. On August 6 and 8, 1945, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing nearly 100,000 persons. In the summer of 1949, the Soviet Union also exploded her first atomic bomb and in August, 1953, she even exploded her first H-bomb. The U.S.A. tested her H-bomb in March, 1954.

In view of all this it is not difficult to realise that a long war between the two powers well-armed with atomic weapons certainly would produce an order of radio-activity which would involve all, victors as well as vanquished, and might end the human race.

Fourth Objection

It has been stated by some that the Panch Shila is borrowed from the Charter of the U.N. and is, therefore, more or less redundant. The similarity or even the identity of the Panch Shila with the principles of the U.N. Charter is too patent to be ignored. The first principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty" corresponds to Article 2(1) and 2(4) of the U.N. Charter which state that

"The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members," and that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

The second principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "Non-aggression" is also covered by the reference to refraining from "the threat or use of force" in Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter. The third principle of the Panch Shila, *i.e.*, "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs" is evidently found in Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter which states:

"Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII, *i.e.*, for 'action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression'."

The fourth principle of the Panch Shila is divisible into two parts, one "Equality," and the other, "Mutual benefit." "Equality" is obviously covered by the phrase "the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" in Article 2(1) of the U.N. Charter, and the principle of "mutual benefit" has been stated in Article 2(5) as follows:

"All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter and shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The fifth principle of "Peaceful co-existence" may seem to follow derivatively from the preceding four principles of the Panch Shila; and in that sense may be treated as included in the corresponding principles of the U.N. Charter. But, more fundamentally, the fifth principle must be read and understood with an emphasis on the prefix "Co" in Co-existence. In the latter sense, existence is understood to imply the existence of more than one, and not simply of one who may have self-existence by

16. Moscow Radio Broadcast, December 25, 1952.
17. Their speeches and statements, dated March 9, 1953, March 13, 1954, April 26, 1954, June 26, 1955, etc.
18. *Izvestia*, March 13, 1954. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, 1955, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 9.

devouring neighbours all around. Thus, the final principle of the Panch Shila essentially implies that nations or systems should have peace among them for living "jointly, together and mutually." In this sense, the first four principles of the Panch Shila do not necessarily imply peaceful co-existence, nor does peaceful co-existence necessarily imply any or all of the first four principles.

Properly understood, anything in the Panch Shila is not really redundant. For an emphasis placed on fundamental principles of any kind can never be redundant, and certainly not when this emphasis can save us from a moment of crisis. As Shri Nehru said :

"There was nothing new about the idea of peaceful co-existence. Nevertheless, it was a new application of an old idea and an application to a particular context. Ever since those ideas were initially mentioned and promulgated, they have not only spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but have acquired progressively a greater depth and a greater meaning too."[19]

Fifth Objection

The circumstances in which India was able to persuade China, or was herself persuaded by China, to accept the Panch Shila, bring out clearly the reason for the rejection of the final objection against the Panch Shila that it is ineffective for maintaining world peace. The Communist China has not only been denied her legitimate seat in the U.N. ever since 1949, but has been even declared an aggressor by the U.N. General Assembly in the course of a three-year war on Korea ending in July, 1953. The Berlin Conference during January-February, 1954, solved no international problem. Nor did the Geneva Conference up to June 12, 1954, when the Laniel Government in France fell. At almost the same time when Nehru and Chou were reaffirming the Panch Shila in Delhi, Churchill and Eisenhower in Washington issued statements demanding the solidarity of Atlantic nations, a self-defence organization for South-East Asia, atomic energy co-operation between the U.S.A. and the U.K., and referring obviously to Eastern Europe, even emphasized that

"As regards formerly sovereign States now in bondage, we will not be a party to any arrrangement or treaty which would confirm or prolong their unwilling subordination."[20]

Soon after, the Geneva Agreements were signed on July 21, 1954, establishing an armistice in Indo-China where a 7-year-old war had then reached a decisive stage with victory for the Communists. The gathering strength of the Panch Shila seems to be the main reason why the Communist-backed Viet Minh armies were halted midway in their victorious march all over Indo-China.

Again, the international situation began to deteriorate when on July 23, 1954, a British Sky-master was shot down, through mistake, by the Communists near the Chinese coast. Tension mounted over similar other incidents, the unsolved problems of Korea and Formosa, SEADO Treaty of September, 1954 and, above all, over Paris and London Treaties of October, 1954, providing for the end of occupation in West Germany and her inclusion in the Western European Union and the NATO for purposes essentially of rearmament. The U.S.A. tightened her defence measures for the protection of Formosa against the Communist China specially since December, 1954. On February 25, 1955, the SEADO Council even designated Communism as a menace. In May, 1955, the U.S.S.R. carried out her threats announced since December, 1954, to annul her treaties with France and the U.K. during the World War II, and arranged also an East European Security Pact for a unified command of the 8 Eastern European countries.

It seemed that anything might happen at any moment.

However, the anti-war forces or the forces of peaceful co-existence again gathered momentum and gave a new direction to the tide of events as the top leaders of 29 Asia-African countries representing a majority of the world's population endorsed on April 29, 1955, a Declaration covering the Panch Shila. On May 10, 1955, the U.S.A., the U.K. and France invited the U.S.S.R. to a Big Four Meeting at the highest level, a proposal which the latter immediately accepted. On May 15, 1955, the Austrian Peace Treaty was signed. A Russo-Yugoslav Declaration was signed on June 2, 1955, ending their 7-year-old quarrel and endorsing substantially the Panch Shila. Soon after, Shri Nehru visited Moscow and Prague and issued joint statements with the Prime Ministers of the respective Governments on June 22 and 25, 1955, respectively, in both of which the Panch Shila was endorsed. One month later the victory of the Panch Shila was complete when the Big Four held the historic conference "at the summit" from July 18 to 23, 1955, and reached complete agreement on a plan for future negotiations about the key issues of European security, Germany, Disarmament and Development of contacts between East and West, all for the purpose of reducing East-West tension.

19. *The Sunday Statesman*, September 18, 1955.

20. Quoted from the *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954, p. 18.

Future of Panch Shila

It cannot be denied, therefore, that the Panch Shila has been so far very effective in reducing the world tension at critical moments. But what about the future? Peaceful co-existence in the world today may be said to be achieved through the simultaneous operation of a number of factors: First, fear of modern destructive weapons; second, world public opinion; third, wise diplomacy; fourth, international morality; and fifth, international law, including the law of the U.N. with special reference to disarmament, collective security, judicial settlement, and peaceful change. Of them, fear is not a desirable weapon of peace. It is not effective either. It is not desirable, because it destroys the moral fibre of humanity. It is ineffective, because war to-day is total war, *i.e.*, of all, by all, for all and against all, and all cannot be restrained from the path of violence simply by producing what may be called fear psychosis. The contribution of the Panch Shila to peaceful co-existence is essentially in the spheres of producing a world public opinion for peace, of giving guidance to diplomats in their work for peace and of strengthening the moral fibre in every man in his aspirations for peace. But the Panch Shila adds little or nothing to international law for peaceful co-existence, though it may do so by creating climate of peace leading ultimately to suitable changes in international law in the direction even of a world state.

Even according to so realistic a thinker as Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau:

"There is no shirking the conclusion that international peace cannot be permanent without a world state." It is also true, as Prof. Morgenthau further maintains, "that the world state cannot be established under the present moral, social and political conditions of the world."

But, he adds:

"There is also no shirking the further conclusion that in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state."[21]

Here the Panch Shila can make its most significant contribution to the history of human civilization, if it generates and strengthens the feeling in all that the world struggle for peace today is far more important than all our struggles for power which lead ultimately to World War, and, consequently, that our loyalty to the world, to the whole humanity, is more important than our narrow loyalties to our separate nations. They talk of revising the U.N. Charter now, but they forget that if there be any tension among the Great Powers, all such proposals for revision are bound to be vetoed under Articles 108 or 109 of the U.N. Charter. The Panch Shila, and the Panch Shila alone, can create today an atmosphere conducible to peace, necessary not only for our survival, but also for launching our next steps towards a world state with world loyalty, world law and world institutions. Prof. Morgenthau believes:

"There can be no world state without the peace-preserving and community-building processes of diplomacy."[22]

But he forgets that wisdom in modern diplomacy is to be found not simply in national interest,[23] *i.e.*, in national self-existence alone; but in world interest, *i.e.*, in peaceful co-existence, which, however, must be treated, not as an ideology[24] in the sense of a deception or disguise, conscious or unconscious, but as an inspiring ideal.*

21. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 481.

22. *Ibid*, p. 534.

23. *Ibid*, p. 528.

24. *Ibid*, p. 80ff.

* A paper read by the author at the 18th session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Bhopal from December 21 to December 23, 1955.

RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

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

Introduction

In a country with a balanced economy the population is fairly evenly distributed between the towns and rural areas. The concentration of population whether in the rural or in the urban areas gives rise to a serious problem of an economic, social and political character. India had a fairly evenly distributed population even as late as the first half of the 19th century. The villages were self-supporting autonomous units, regulating their communal affairs through panchayats. The cities were the centres of industries fostered by rulers who supported a large number of officials and favourites in comparative splendour. These princely courts created a demand for artistic products and, along with the wealthier merchants and landowners who surrounded them, employed a fairly large number of merchants, middlemen and craftsmen. These urban centres obtained their foodstuffs from the rural districts round them in exchange of their manufactured products.

The Industrial Revolution in England brought with it far-reaching changes in the distribution of population. The artisans and craftsmen who were deprived of their means of livelihood by means of the introduction of machinery were absorbed in increasing numbers into the rapidly multiplying factories. Large numbers from the rural areas were attracted to the already congested cities. The improvement of farm implements and introduction of machinery into farming contributed to the migration from the village to the city, a migration which was facilitated by improvements in communication.

Thus in the West the era of machinery and large-scale production resulted in the urbanisation of the population. In India, on the other hand, the introduction of cheap machine-made goods and the imports of manufactured goods from abroad led to the destruction of handicrafts in towns and cities. The urban population that made a living out of these new crafts was compelled to fall back upon the land as the only means of livelihood. From being manufacturing and industrial our country was transformed into a predominantly agricultural country.

Importance of the Problem

The distribution of population between rural and urban areas is highly significant. Economic progress in every country has been marked by a corresponding increase in urban population. Rural life and urban life present sharp contrasts all over the world and the contrast is perhaps sharpest in India. The preponderatingly rural character of our country is a sign of her economic backwardness. It shows unmistakably that we are yet far behind other civilized countries in the development of trade, transport and industry. The rural-urban distribution of population is also significant from another point of view. It throws light on the people's national character. The rural people are lethargic, conservative and superstitious and enjoy a high social and cultural stability arising out of cultural and ethnic continuity and homogeneity. All the traditional mores of culture are strongly preserved in a rural society, which offers the greatest resistance to innovation and reform. Thus villages act as a drag to economic progress, whereas the urbanisation is the result of industrialisation, increase in trade and commerce and growth of modern arts and science. The urban people consequently are alert, industrious and resourceful. It is from the cities that progressive ideas radiate and civilization spreads around. The fact that we have only a few cities shows that the springs of economic progress are weak. Ranade, commenting on the progressive rural-intelligence, and self-dependence.

Rural and Urban Distribution

It is still true to say what Mahatma Gandhi told in his life-time that "The Indian nation lives in its villages." According to the 1951 Census, there are 558,089 villages[1]—large and small, thriving or stagnating—in the plains and on the hills, dotted over the face of the country; and in these villages live 2,950 lakhs of the population—the average population per village being 529. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 541 lakhs so that each village on an average comprises 97 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.5 persons.

In contrast to this, there are only 3018 towns in India with a total population of 619 lakhs—the average population per town being 20,510. The number of occupied houses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each town on an average consists of 3,413 occupied houses and this gives almost exactly 6 persons to a house in a town.[2]

The following table gives the distribution of population according to rural and urban areas since 1901:[3]

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Area in Sq. Miles	1,766,597	1,802,657	1,805,332	1,808,679		1,269,640
No. of Towns and Villages:	730,753	722,495	687,981	699,406	602,703	561,107
(a) Towns	2,148	2,153	2,316	2,575	2,703	3,018
(b) Villages	728,605	720,312	685,665	696,831	600,000	558,089
No. of Occupied Houses:	55,841,315	63,710,179	65,198,389		76,035,345	64,400,000
(a) In Towns	5,590,859	6,037,456	6,765,014		9,599,251	10,300,000
(b) In Villages	50,250,456	57,672,723	58,433,375		66,436,094	54,100,000
Total Population:	294,361,056	315,156,396	318,942,480	352,837,778	314,766,380	356,829,485
(a) In Towns	29,244,221	29,748,228	32,475,276	38,985,427	?	61,825,214
(b) In Villages	265,116,835	285,408,168	286,467,204	313,852,351	?	295,004,271
Male:	149,951,824	161,338,935	163,995,554	181,828,923	?	183,305,654
(a) In Towns	15,499,786	16,108,304	17,845,248	?	?	39,997,000
(b) In Villages	134,452,038	145,230,631	146,150,306	?	?	143,337,000
Female:	144,409,232	153,817,461	154,946,926	171,008,855	?	173,523,821
(a) In Towns	13,744,435	13,639,924	14,630,028	?	?	35,349,000
(b) In Villages	130,664,797	140,177,537	140,316,898	?	?	138,196,000

The following table shows the variation in Rural population in 1911, 1941 and 1951 Census:

Classification	*No. of Villages*			*Population (in millions)*		
	1911	1941	1951	1911	1941	1951
Under 500 Inhabitants	552,109	450,902	380,020	102.0	94.2	78.3
500 to 1,000 „	107,545	123,911	104,268	74.6	86.9	72.9
1,000 to 2,000 „	45,843	57,408	51,769	62.2	79.3	71.1
2,000 to 5,000 „	14,643	22,151	20,508	41.2	63.4	59.1
Total Rural Population	819,440	654,372	556,565	280.0	323.8	281.4

The following table which gives the rural urban ratio of the Indian population reveals how little progress has been made towards the urbanisation of India:

The Rural Urban Ratio of Indian Population

Census Year	*Rural*	*Urban*
1872	91.28	8.72
1881	90.59	9.41
1891	90.54	9.46
1901	90.12	9.88
1911	90.58	9.42
1921	89.80	10.20
1931	89.00	11.00
1941	87.20	12.80
1951	82.70	17.30

1. According to the *Census Report* for 1951, a village means "a cluster of houses whose inhabitants are regarded by themselves as well as others as a distinctive social unit with its identity marked by a distinctive local name. The village in the administrative sense is the *mauza*—a settled area with defined boundaries, for which village records have been prepared."—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 42.

2. The average population per village as against per town:

1901	365	13,615
1921	465	14,016
1931	450.4	15,140
1941	517	18,365
1951	529	20,510

3. Vide *Census of India* for 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 572; *Ibid* for 1911; *Ibid*, for 1921, p. 3; *Ibid*, for 1931, 1941 and 1951.

The very small proportion that the urban population bears to the whole is clearly indicated by the close relation between the variation in total population and that in the rural population as contrasted with the general antethesis between the total and urban populations. Since 1891, the total population of India increased only by 2.4% while that of the towns rose by 7.3% in 1901. During 1921-31 the total population increased by 10.6%, while there was an increase of 2% in urban and 9.6% in rural population. The Census of 1941 showed an increase of 32% in the urban population over the figure in 1931 as against 14.3% increase of the total population. While in 1941-1951, the total population increased by 13.5%, there was an increase of 54% in urban and 7.4% in rural population. All the same the predominantly rural character of Indian population remains. Villages, *i.e.*, localities with a population of less than 5,000, absorb about 83% of the people in the country. Population of 7 cities with one lakh or more inhabitants increased in the decade ending in 1951 by about 74 lakhs. Population of towns with 5,000 to one lakh inhabitants increased by 140 lakhs.

In 1872, the percentage of urban population was 8.7% and at the beginning of the century it was between 9 to 10%. In western countries the percentages of urban population towards the beginning of the 19th century were: England and Wales, 21.3; Scotland, 17.0; France, 9.5; Prussia, 7.25; Russia, 3.7; and U.S.A., 3.8.[4]

Urban development in India had progressed at the beginning of this century. In 1901, 1/10 of the population lived in places classed as urban and the remaining 9/10 in the villages. Of the citizens of towns more than ½ were found in places with at least 20,000 inhabitants, about 1/5 in those towns with 10,000 to 20,000, and the same proportion in those from 10 to 15 thousands, while about 1/6 dwelt in smaller towns. Excluding Ajmer and Baroda the tendency to live in towns was most marked in Bombay, Rajasthan, Berar, and least in Bengal, Assam and Kashmir.[5]

In 1911, only 9.5 per cent of the population lived in towns (compared with 78.1 per cent in England and Wales and 45.6 per cent in Germany) and 90.5 per cent in villages. More than half of the urban population was found in towns containing upwards of 20,000 persons, about 1/3 in towns from 10 to 20 thousands; the remainder about 1/5 lived in towns with less than 5,000. The tendency to urban agglomeration was most marked in the north-west and least so in the north-east. The proportion of urban to total population in the main provinces ranged from 18 per cent in Bombay to 3 per cent in Assam, 6 per cent in Bengal, 3.4 per cent in Bihar, 8 per cent in M.P., 11.7 per cent in Madras, 10.2 per cent in U.P., 13 per cent in Rajasthan. The reason for this variation were partly a matter of race and partly a matter of historical and political considerations. The proportion of urban to total population fell during 1901-1911 from 9.9 to 9.4 per cent. The main reason being the prevalence of the plague more in towns than in rural areas, which spread to all parts except the east and the south; as also an epidemic in the towns of M.P., M.B., and U.P.; which drifted away the people to villages.

In 1921, only 10.2 per cent of the population lived in towns as against 89.8 per cent in the villages. The proportion of urban to total population varied from 19 per cent in Bombay to 4 per cent in Assam, 6.7 per cent in Bengal, 3.7 per cent in Bihar, 12.4 per cent in U.P., and 13.4 per cent in Rajasthan. The reason for this increase in urban population was that the conditions were improved.

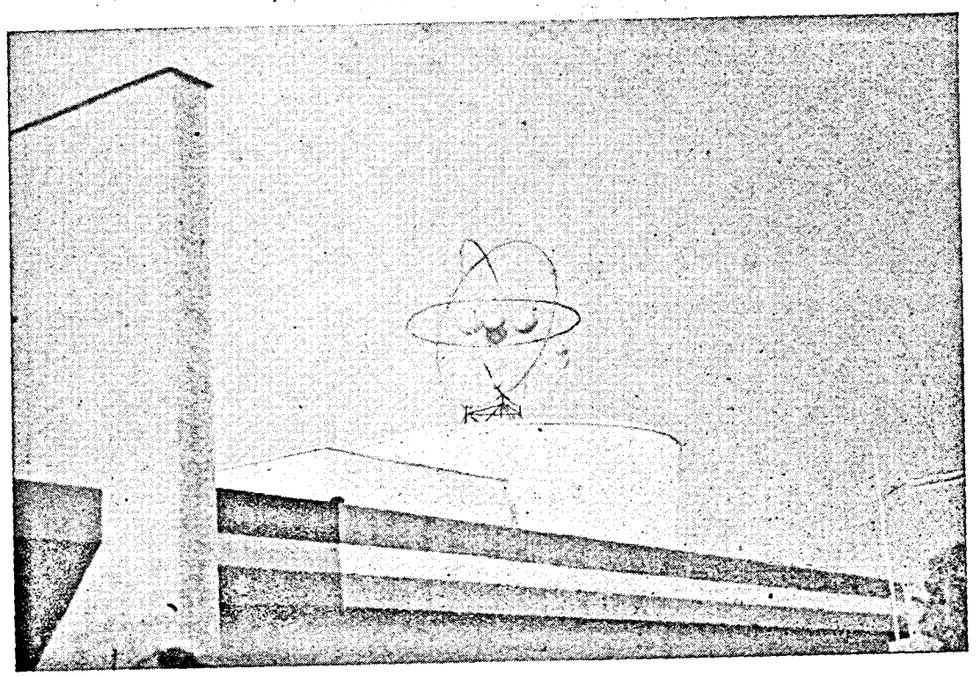
Since 1921, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of population living in towns and a smaller decrease in that living in villages. This has been mainly due to the development of industries and transport in the country which faciliated the movement of surplus farm population to the towns in search of employment. The war also gave a great fillip to the increase in urban population.

The following table gives the percentage of rural population living in villages (of different dimensions) in the different zones:[6]

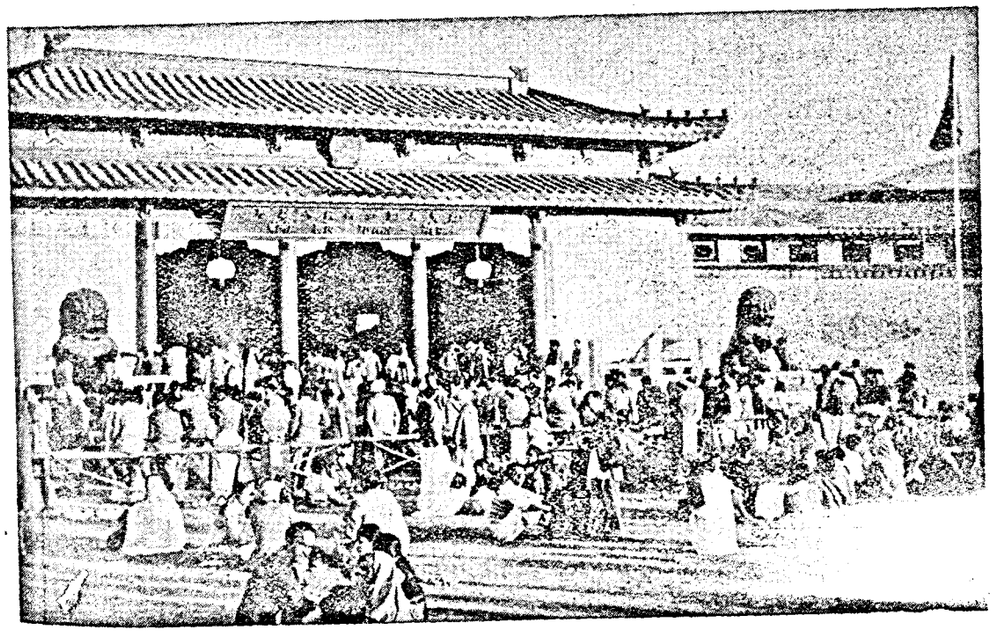
4. A. F. Weber: *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899). Quoted by Dr. Gadgil in *Industrial Evolution in India* (1933), p. 139.

5. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 27.

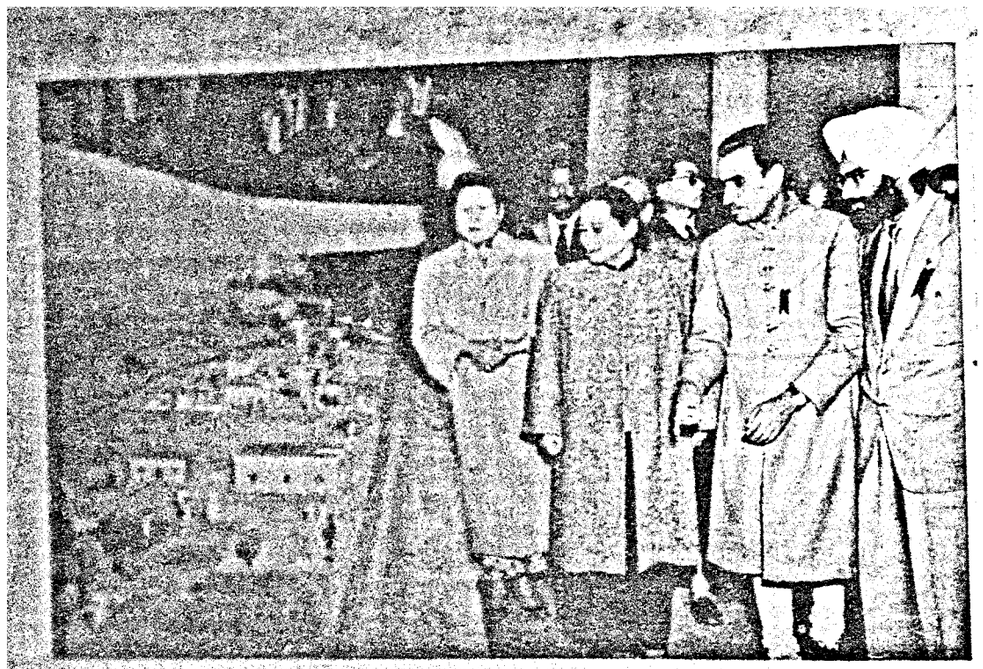
6. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 43.



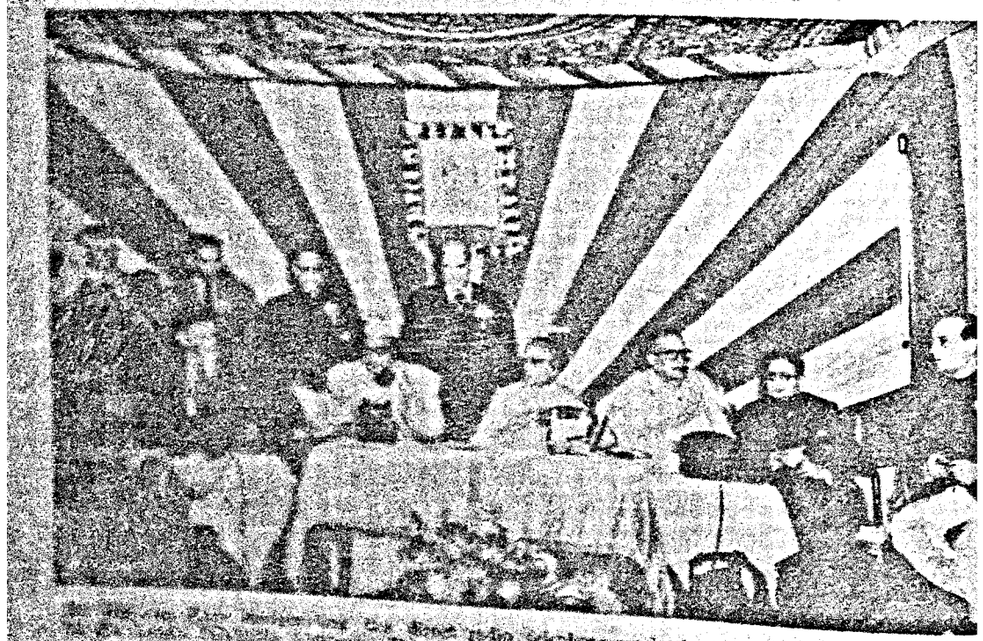
Atom for peace



Entrance to the Chinese Pavilion



Madame Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) at the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi



[illegible] the direct radio telephone service between Calcutta and London [illegible] Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy and Sri D. C. Das, [illegible] Ministry of Communications, are also seen in the picture

Percentage of Rural Population living in—

	Small villages (under 500)	*Medium-sized villages* (500 to 2000)	*Large villages* (2000 to 5000)	*Very large villages* (over 5000)
North India	29.8	55.3	13.5	1.4
East India	33.8	48.6	14.3	3.3
South India	9.4	38.5	35.3	16.8
West India	18.1	55.0	23.9	3.0
Central India	35.7	50.4	13.0	0.9
N.-W. India	30.4	50.9	16.4	2.3
India—Total	26.5	48.8	19.4	5.3

From the above table it will be clear that more people live in medium-sized villages than in others.

As mentioned earlier, about 83 per cent of the population still live in the villages. The condition in the West is quite the reverse. In Western countries the percentage of rural population varies from 44 per cent in U.S.A., and Germany to 68 per cent in Sweden; 29 per cent in Italy; 58 per cent in France; 23 per cent in England and Wales; 55 per cent in Austria; 59 per cent in Canada and 36 per cent in Japan. The percentage of rural population ranges from 92.5 per cent in Bihar to 85.7 per cent in U.P.; 78.9 per cent in Madras; 67 per cent in East Punjab Union; 80 per cent in Rajasthan; 50 per cent in Saurashtra; 78 per cent in Travancore-Cochin; 57 per cent in Ajmer and 99.4 per cent in Manipur and only 17.5 per cent in Delhi.[7]

Definition of Town, City, etc.

The chief defect in the statistics of urban population in India is that the definition of a 'town' has varied from Census to Census. Not only this, but the Provincial Superintendents of the Census have interpreted this definition each in his own way.[8] The Census authorities have divided the two into various classes, as given in the table below. Even the Census Commissioner for 1951 gives a four-fold classification of towns—those that have a population of one lakh and over are termed as 'cities'; those with a population between 20,000 and 100,000 as 'major towns'; those with a population between 5,000 and 20,000 as 'minor towns' and those with a population under 5,000 as townships. According to this classification the pattern of India's urban population is as shown below:

Classification	*No. of towns*	*No. of town dwellers (in lakhs)*	*Urban population percentage*
Cities	73	236	38.0
Major Towns	485	186	30.1
Minor Towns	1,848	178	28.6
Townships	612	20	3.3
	3,018	619	100.0

Urban population classification	1872 No.	1872 Pop.	1881 No.	1881 Pop	1891 No.	1891 Pop.	1901 No.	1901 Pop.	1911 No.	1911 Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over		4,321,917		5,295,097	30	6,173,123	31	6,605,837	30	7,075,782
50,000 to 100,000		1,856,297		2,411,470	48	3,255,175	52	3,414,188	45	3,010,281
20,000 to 50,000		3,338,490		4,470,995	148	4,448,034	166	4,904,461	181	5,545,820
10,000 to 20,000		3,634,373		4,842,072	407	5,487,983	471	6,457,339	442	6,163,954
5,000 to 10,000		3,587,372		5,029,457	896	6,164,900	856	5,938,957	848	5,944,503
Below 5,000		1,344,035		1,886,291	505	1,642,026	569	1,879,465	607	2,007,880
Total urban population		18,082,484		23,935,382	2,034	27,171,241	2,145	29,200,247	2,153	29,748,228
Total population		206,162,360		287,314,617		287,006,054		294,317,082		319,488,137

7. Calculated from the figures given in *Census Paper*, No. 1 (1951), pp. 15-22.

8. e.g., in Uttar Pradesh towns have been classified as "(a) every Municipality, (b) every notified area, (c) every town area, (d) cantonment, and (e) any other continuous group of houses permanently inhabited by usually not less than 5,000 persons which the State Supdt. of Census operations decided to treat as Census Form."

In West Bengal, a town is "(a) an area, irrespective of population, which has been declared to be a municipality, and (b) which has a population of not less than 5,000; (c) a density of not less than 1,000 inhabitants per square mile, and (d) the area has some importance as a centre of trade or distribution or administration, and about three-fourths of the adult male population are chiefly employed in pursuits other than agriculture."

"The fundamental criterion" in Madras is reported to be "the existence of urban features—which can be judged by the way in which houses are situated and how they have been built and the availability of urban amenities (such as bazar facilities for education, recreaton and medical treatment)."

Urban population classification	1921 No.	1921 Pop.	1931 No.	1931 Pop.	1941 No.	1941 Pop.	1951 No.	1951 Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over	35	8,211,704	38	9,674,032	57	15,900,000	75	23,551,000
50,000 to 100,000	54	3,517,749	65	4,572,113	95	6,100,000	111	7,556,000
20,000 to 50,000	199	5,925,675	288	8,091,288	321	9,600,000	401	11,804,000
10,000 to 20,000	450	6,209,583	543	7,449,402	733	10,000,000	856	11,681,000
5,000 to 10,000	855	6,223,011	987	6,992,832	3,017	20,500,000	3,101	20,754,000
Below 5,000	690	2,007,880	674	2,205,760				
Total urban population	2,313	32,418,776	2,575	38,985,427			4,544	75,346,000
Total population		316,017,751		352,837,778				356,879,000

As pointed out earlier the percentage of total population living in the towns has been very small; although of late it has been increasing. The following table gives the percentage of urban to total population:

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
100,000 & over	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.7	4.0	6.5
50,000-100,000	1.1	1.2	.9	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.1
20,000- 50,000	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.5	3.3
10,000- 20,000	1.6	1.7	.9	2.0	2.1	2.6	3.2
5,000- 10,000	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2
Under 5,000	1.1	1.4	.7	.7	.6		
Urban Pop.	9.5	9.9	9.4	10.2	11.0	12.8	17.3
Rural Pop.	80.5	89.1	90.6	89.8	89.0	87.2	82.7
Total Pop.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Factors Affecting the Growth of Towns

The slow urbanisation points to the fact that we are still a backword country. Over a long period the proportion of the urban to the total population has remained almost unaltered except in the last two decades, when this proportion has changed considerably. In England, the development of new industries brought about a rapid industrialisation of the population, of which a large percentage lives in towns. From the point of view of the urbanisation test, India has tremendous lee-way to make up We shall consider, in brief, the different forces acting on the growth of towns in modern India.

Prof. Videla Blache states that

"A city is a social organisation of much greater scope than the village; it is the expression of a stage of civilization which certain localities have not reached, and to which they may perhaps never of themselves attain."[9]

Cities are primarily important as centres of trade and industry, but they are also important as centres of Government, of finance, residence and education, etc. The commercial city is like a giant sitting at the gateway of his estate; with one hand he sweeps up the products which the people of his hinterland prepare, with the other he reaches far out to other people, strangers perhaps, and offers his own people's products in exchange for something which he can send back to his subjects. . . Whereas the industrial centre resembles another kind of giant, one who works with his hands to make machinery, cloth, chemicals, furniture and other articles of comforts and luxury in a great profusion of kinds. He too engages in commerce, exchanging his manufactured goods for the food and fuel and raw materials that he must have if he would keep busy."[10]

The time-worn saying that God made the village and man made the town offers a key to the study of the evolution of Indian towns and cities.

(1) Railways and navigation have brought into existence new commercial centres and have increased the importance of some of the old ones. The advent of railways to a town meant generally an increase in trade and it also had the effect of creating new centres of trade in the tract through which it passes. One of the earliest results of the British rule was the growth of the great mercantile centres, which were connected with each other by railway lines, and it might be said that the British have played the role of town-builders in India. Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, Calcutta, Delhi, Bangalore and Hubli serve as illustrations of the new commercial towns. Railway junctions by affording facilities for the growth of a collecting and distributing trade give rise to towns, and in many cases they form the centres of manufactures or industries connected with the railways. Kharagpur, Gorakhpur, Mogal-

9. Videla Blache : *Principles of Human Geography*, p. 471.

10. E. Huntington : *Principles of Economic Geog.*, p. 613.

sarai, Ajmer, Jubbulpur, Kanchanpur, Waltair, Arkonam and Raichur are important railway settlements. Delhi is essentially a model city being connected by railways with Calcutta, Bombay and Amritsar.

(2) The rivers of northern India have played a very important part in the development of towns. Indian town-planners have preferred sites on river-banks, sea-coasts or on land routes. The orthodox treatises on town-planning make it a rule to establish towns on the right bank of rivers. Consequently, all Hindu towns in India are situated on the right bank of rivers. Hence, any town in India whose location violates this rule, *e.g.*, Calcutta, may be presumed to have grown up or been established under non-Hindu influence.[11] This explains to some extent the development of the cities of Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur, Patna, Monghyr, and Hooghly on the right bank of the Ganga. Most of these cities have grown at points where the river takes a wide bend, as the position is favourable to the landing and loading of goods in boats. These river towns owe their importance to the development of trade in goods in large quantities which break bulk.

River fords also develop towns, *e.g.*, Cuttack on the Mahanadi, Bezwada on the Krishna and Rajmahendri on the Godavari. Navigable rivers offer a very suitable site for the development of a sea-port near their mouths, but the importance of the ports depends also on the prosperity of the hinterland and the availability of the facilities for safe harbourage. Surat on the Tapti, Broach in the West Coast, and Calcutta are the prominent examples of this type of ports but while Surat and Broach have declined, the latter has developed considerably.

(3) Places sacred from the religious point of view attract large numbers of occasional visitors. Banaras, Hardwar, Gaya, Mathura, Puri, Brindaban and Nathdwara in Northern India, and Madura, Tanjore, Conjeevaram and Nasik are the principal religious centres in the South.

(4) With the foundation of residential universities various university towns have gradually been formed, *e.g.*, Aligarh, Patna, Rajmahendry, Mysore and Annamalai Nagar and Vallabhnagar.

(5) Owing to the intense heat in the plains of India it is often necessary for the well-to-do population to go to the bracing climate of the hills and the sea-coasts. The Himalayan slopes, covering a height of 5,000 to 8,000 ft. have furnished some of the important hill-stations of Northern India, while in the Nilgiris we find some of the loveliest hill-resorts of South India. The expansion of the hill-station depends, in addition to its attitude on the facilities of transport, on the availability of level space for house-building, while if the site chances to be selected also as the official summer-residence of the State Heads it acquires an additional importance. Muree, Darjeeling, Dalhousie, Simla, Nainital, Mussourie and Almora in Northern India, and Kodaikanal, Coonoor and Ootacamund in Southern India, are important hill-stations. The east coast of India with its shallow water is suitable for sea-bathing. Hence, Puri, Gopalpur, Waltair and Madras are the principal sea-side resorts in the east while Juhu near Bombay is most important on the west-coast.

(6) "A city," as Prof. Geddes has remarked, "is not only a place in space, it is also a drama in time." The geographical factor or the factor of situation alone does not explain the development of a town, as the historical and economic background has also to be taken into account. Many towns have grown or decayed in India owing to the changes in the political history of the country, *e.g.*, Fyzabad, a town of historical importance, was shorn of its glory when Asafuddaula began to dislike it and transferred his capital to Lucknow. Delhi regained its glory as the result of the change in the capital of India. Hence, the original cause of the foundation of a town may be its suitable natural situation, or the historical factor, but its development is principally determined by economic causes chief among which are the expansion of trade and commerce and the development of organised industries. Industrial factors have played a very important part in the growth of towns. The leading industries of the country have contributed to the conversion of villages into towns and towns into cities. Bombay, Ahmedabad, Hubli, Sholapur, in Bombay; Titagarh, Kankinara, Budge Budge,

11. B. B. Durr : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 28.

Kamarhati, Naihati in Bengal; Naini, Ferozabad, Kanpur, Moradabad in U.P.; Amritsar in East Punjab; Bilaspur, Jubbulpur, and Katni in M.P.; Bisra, Majhar and Gwalior in M.B.; Rajkot and Okha in Saurashtra; and Burnpur, Jamshedpur and Jhala in Bihar have developed mainly due to the existence of one or more industries like cotton, woollen, sports, printing, glass, chemicals, cement, iron and steel, etc. These industrial towns are not fettered by the consideration of the local food supply as they can command a wide area for it. They spring up either (*i*) at centres having proximity to raw materials, *e.g.*, Bisra, Sholapur and Dindigal, or (*ii*) having proximity both to raw materials and supply of fuel, *e.g.*, Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Nagpur, or (*iii*) close to the port of export like the mill-towns close to Calcutta or Okha, or (*iv*) at convenient railway centres like Jubbulpur, Kanpur and Moradabad. Centres for the collection and partial manufacture of important raw materials have also developed into towns. Amraoti, Wardha and Nimar in M.P., Broach, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Dharwar and Belgaum in Bombay are important towns for the collection of raw cotton.

The development of these industrial towns is not out of all proportion to regional consideration as their size is limited only by the extent of manufacture and prosperity of the industry, *e.g.*, the rapid expansion of Jamshedpur is principally due to the springing up of a large number of industries in the immediate neighbourhood which are connected with the steel industry. The development of Mirzapur as an industrial centre has been arrested owing to the gradual decline of the lac industry and the manufacture of brass utensils. With the development of the sugar mill, the cement factory and the paper mill, Dehri-on-Sone (Dalmianagar) in Bihar, and Modinagar in U.P., have developed into important industrial centres. Similarly, with the gradual concentration of a number of industries, Coimbatore has increased in size and importance while the coal-mining towns of Bengal and Bihar have received a set-back due to the slump in the coal trade.

(7) Mining towns spring up close to the site of the mines, hence unless the deposits are concentrated within a small area these towns cannot increase in size. The Bihar mining towns have not attained large dimensions owing to the occurence of the deposit over a wide area and the mobile nature of the labourers employed there. The Kolar gold-field owing to the compactness of the deposit and the facilities of electric supply from the Sivasamudram Falls is in a position to support an ever-increasing population.

(8) Besides the above factors, famines are among the causes which deplete the country-side and increase the volume of the urban population, *e.g.*, due to the great Rajputana famine of 1868, Agra, Delhi and other adjoining towns almost doubled their population.[12] It may happen that a part of this addition is permanently absorbed by the occupations in towns, though most of it is certainly lost owing to people returning to their villages after the advent of the rains.

(9) The rise of a class of landless labourers in the villages as a result of the famines and the dispossession of the old peasant proprietors and the transformation of artisans into wage-earners, also promotes urbanisation to some extent, for the landless labourer is often ready to migrate to towns if he can find employment there.

(10) The city life has a great charm for the middle-class people. Electric light, running water, tram and bus, large general hospitals, specialised and advanced clinics with the latest equipment, all play their part. Educational facilities like universities, colleges, libraries and academies, and recreational facilities like parks, sports, games, cinemas and theatres, are some of the attractions of the towns. In fact, the comforts and the amenities of life in big towns and cities are responsible for the increase in their numbers. Administrative centralization has increased the urban importance of the district headquarters and the provincial or State capitals and the *taluka* towns in comparison with the villages.

(To be continued)

12. D. R. Gadgil: *The Industrial Evolution of India*, p. 142.

THE PLACE OF FRANKLIN IN AMERICAN THOUGHT

By Dr. PERRY MILLER,

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[Benjamin Franklin, whose 250th birth anniversary will be celebrated the world over on January 17, 1956, was perhaps the most eminent mind that has ever existed in America.

Born in Boston, the 15th in a family of 17 children, poor Franklin, with only two years of formal schooling, rose to independent wealth and fame in every field of endeavour—as printer, publisher, scientist, writer, philosopher, diplomat, statesman, economist and humourist.

Though Franklin was an excellent and successful businessman, he retired from active business at 42 and spent 42 years more in the service of the public. He might have made a fortune if he had patented his stove or his lightning-rod.

In his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack*, which he published annually from 1733 to 1758, he preached his gospel of industry and thrift through wit and wisdom. The idea of free, individual enterprise, as Franklin taught it, became the most inspiring and dynamic force in 18th century civilisation.

His maxims in diverse fields are as valid today as two conturies ago. Among other things, he taught that each basic freedom carried with it a clear and definite obligation.

Franklin stands today a colossal figure in the world's memory, his popularity in no wise lessened by lapse of time.]

The place of Benjamin Franklin in the history of American thought can be defined only by paradox. Or, if not by outright paradox, then by two statements, apparently contradictory, which indicate how complex this ostentatiously simple man really was: on the one hand, he is for America the supreme apostle of the European Enlightenment, the pre-eminent philosopher; on the other, he is entirely an outgrowth of the Protestant culture of provincial, Puritan New England. In the second definition, he did nothing all his long life but work out in a secular context implications which in that culture had been concealed behind a theological facade.

On the first score, he was indeed the arch-embodiment of the 18th century's ideal of the scientist-philosopher. More than any American, more even than Jefferson, he stood for those virtues of genial tolerance, rational control of the passions, adoration for the order and symmetry of the physical universe, dislike of pedantry, which the age of Voltaire admired. Indeed, in Europe he seemed virtually the only figure who along with Voltaire realised that ideal. He was fully conscious of the impression he made, and during his mission to France deliberately played up to the role, both to charm the enlightened society and to facilitate his practical purpose.

However, he could not so have aroused the enthusiasm of ladies and of *savants* had he not from the beginning nourished a consuming passion for what the era called "philosophy," which meant mainly natural philosophy or what the 20th century calls applied science. As he wrote, back in 1743, in "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America" (he was constantly to hammer at this theme), the first drudgery of settlement being over, there were now many sufficiently at ease "to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge."

Perhaps the most important idea Franklin formulated in a country where hard work in one's calling was already the inexorable law, and for centuries would remain the overriding compulsion, was his begrudging the time given to "mere necessaries." This would not be remarkable had he been an other-wordly theologian like Jonathan Edwards, or had he been an aesthete who shrunk from such rude contacts. But he was the man who above all set the pattern for worldly success, who assiduously kept his shop until it could keep him, and who enjoyed every minute of the social climb. For the man who made a profit out of everything to which he turned his hand, and who turned his hand to every sort of business, to insist that all this was only preliminary to the real business of life, the philosophical quest for discoveries that may assist the cause of mankind—this was to provide a model of enlightenment not only to American millionaires but to Western civilization.

However, Franklin is unique—though also a child of his century—in that he did not accmulate money simply to give it to charities or to institutions: He proposed to undertake the scientific labour himself. He lamented that political and diplomatic demands distracted him from the pursuit dearest to his hearts, and he accomplished his triumph as man of affairs, all the time wishing he could be in his laboratory. His easy escape from the theological prepossessions of his native society came not so much from intellectual repudiation as from sheer annoyance that they hindered any dispassionate study of nature.

Volumes have been written about his religious opinions, but the essence of them he put in a letter to his father, in 1738, when the old man was disturbed over rumours about the son's infidelity:

> "I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects; and, if a man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous, which I hope is the case with me."

So, in his rare periods of leisure Franklin investigated phenomena, notably electricity, and he made discoveries. Because he accepted Newtonian physics, it is customary to term him a Newtonian rationalist. Yet in the sense in which popularisers of Newton, if not Newton himself, were rationalists, Franklin was never a Newtonian. He would not subscribe to such a dogmatic systematisation of the universe as Voltaire derived from the *Principia*, or as did such British expounders as Colin Maclaurin in *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* (1748).

Instead, Franklin's conception of scientific method came from the pre-Newtonian phase of the Royal Society's programme; it was ever empirical, wary of finality, proceeding by rule-of-thumb rather than by mathematics or by deduction from *a priori* laws. After his first letters on electricity, Franklin wrote Peter Collinson in 1747 that he had subsequently stumbled upon phenomena that could not be accounted for on the principles he had laid down, and he was ashamed of having expressed himself positively.

> "In going on with these Experiments, how many pretty Systems do we build which we soon find ourselves obliged to destroy!"

The moment we recognise this strain in his make-up, we realise that this man so markedly a product of his century was in fact rather a stranger in it than an inhabitant in the European sense. Herein consists his place in American thought. The innermost motive for all his immense activity—mercantile, political, scientific—was not a devotion to pure science or to theory, but the irresistible urge to be doing God's will in this world, here and now. Not only in inculcating frugality, thrift, sober industry was he the ultimate extrapolation of the "Protestant ethics," but he carried into every area of performance the same Puritan paradox of working in the world and of loving the world, all the while never accepting it as the final resting place.

The Puritan mind in America was never hostile to the scientific advances of the 17th century; instead, it welcomed them as further revelations of the Lord's plan. Franklin came of age in Boston when the high-priest of Puritan theology, Cotton Mather, was expounding Newtonianism as a "Christian Philosophy." More importantly, he grew up under the influence of Cotton Mather's *Bonifacius* (1710), better known as *Essays to Do Good*, to which in later life Franklin freely expressed his debt. This work crystallised the effort of 18th-century Puritanism to give over the quest for a holy commonwealth and to settle for a pious activity in society, including the making of money, to be justified by the benefits such sanctified industry would bestow upon the community. Everywhere in Franklin's thinking—in business, in research, in his almanacs and periodicals, in his diplomacy—we come back to the single inspiration:

> "To relieve the misfortunes of our fellow creatures is concurring with the Deity; it is godlike."

To take this phrase—"it is godlike"—in all its astounding implications is to get an insight into the subterranean daemonism behind Franklin's superficially suave and relaxed manner. Early in the previous century, American Puritans agreed on a description of the Christian's attitude toward the pleasures of this world: he loves them (wife, business, position) with "weaned affections." He plunges into the world, does its work heartily, but never deceives himself into supposing that its arbitrary exactions are more than temporary. The saint's true home is elsewhere, and once he arrives there, all these distractions will have become as nothing.

Franklin took the further step of refusing to confine the unconfinable into any man-made formulae, least of all those of theology. Hence he was wary about speaking of God's purposes, and resigned himself to functioning in the world as it happened to be constituted, without for a moment regarding any modality as permanent. He put traditional Christianity aside, not because he was an infidel but because he found its synthesis premature. And he held both Newtonian physics and mercantile economics in a like disregard. In the end of all, we must say that the fundamental trait of Franklin's mind was detachment—if, that is, we immediately couple this statement with the opposite one that for him detachment implied no renunciation of life and its foibles, but joyous acceptance of things as they are, along with a steady determination to make them better than they are. And all this with no visionary dream of realising heaven on earth—because here are finite limits to any mortal's ability to become godlike.

In the final reckoning, then, the importance of Franklin in American thought is not any one idea, discovery, action—important as are his contributions in a dozen specific fields—but his posing of the central riddle, which he not only posed but happily lived with, of how man may live in the utmost temporality without ever being deceived by fleeting appearances.

THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857
Was It a 'National Movement'?

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

The Mutiny of 1857-58 has been characterised by almost all the British historians as 'a Sepoy Mutiny', indicating that it was not a National war of independence at all. Some of them have even expressed that opinion openly and in unmistakable terms. This British theory was first successfully challenged by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the great Hindu Mahasabha leader in his worthy book *The Indian War of Independence—1857* (1909). Ever since then, these two diametrically opposite view-points have been contending against each other. But serious attention to the 'national aspect' of the question has been paid only very recently, that is after the Hon'ble Maulana Azad in his Presidential Address at the 31st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore announced that the Indian Government had sponsored the writing of a comprehensive history of the 1857 rising, and suggested in that speech that in all probability it was a 'national movement.'

We shall examine both these views with reference to the best materials available to us. But before that a caution must be observed. I, a teacher of history, shall take it up as a question of history,—and never as a question of politics. That is to say, I shall try to examine this question as impartially as is humanly possible for me. It is important to note that English historians were not impartial, as they had to keep the interest of the British Indian Empire in view in everything they said or did. From their standpoint it would be a damaging confession to admit that the Mutiny was a 'National War of Independence'. On the other hand, the present endeavour of the Indian historians and of the Indian Government may not be completely free from political prejudices of a different type. Thus, it is not so easy to arrive at a correct conclusion in the matter. In this matter, the merits and demerits of "official history" as discussed by Prof. H. Butterfield in his *History And Human Relations* (1951), are very interesting.

First of all it is very interesting to note that the English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, mainly on the ground that the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it. How strange! In a National War of India's Independence, do they expect non-Indians to take the leading part? I have no doubt that because the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it, its national character is all the more clearly established.

Next, if before the outbreak of the Mutiny there never had been any national resistance or anti-British manifestation, then, in that case, one could contend that the Mutiny was not a national struggle. But, that was clearly not the case. For the last one century just before the Mutiny, there were, on many occasions, very clear historical evidences of constant resistance against foreign domination. Thus, Haider Ali and his son Tipu in Mysore, were the personification of this anti-British resistance. Again, the Marathas under the leadership of Nana Fadnavis resisted the British. Again, when Baji Rao II concluded the Treaty of Bassein and accepted the Subsidiary Alliance, Scindhia and later Holkar resisted the British to keep the independence of the Marathas. The Gurkhas resisted the British, the Sikhs resisted the British, the Amirs of Sindh did so, the Nizam also on many occasions resisted the British. Many of these national leaders at different periods invoked French support to oust the English. All these go to prove that although for the last one century just before the Mutiny British Empire in India was spreading, there was constant and undying opposition. This opposition might not have been unified, but it was there all the same. Thus when the Mutiny came close on the heel of this continual series of national resistance, the only sensible and sound conclusion is that it was a War of National Independence.

It is pointed out by some that the Mutiny was suppressed with the aid of Indian nationals. If it was a national war how could it be possible? In this matter it is important to note that in such a vast country there will never be wanting a few self-seekers who will always take a reactionary role. But, that never means that the Mutiny was only a Sepoy Mutiny and not a war of national independence. For, if we argue like that, then it should not be called even a Sepoy Mutiny, for some Sepoys did co-operate with the British in suppressing the Mutiny. So, that will not do. The correct attitude in this matter is described by a not at all pro-Indian English historian, when he writes: "And the attitude of the Frontier chiefs and the bigger men of the countryside was 'When we know you are top dog we will support you'"[1]

Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., in his book writes:

> "It is important to realise that it was only one army, that of Bengal, that was engulfed, and not the sister but quite separate formations, the armies of Madras and Bombay."[2]

It must be admitted that this is indeed a very sound argument. But what Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn fails to realise, and what is perhaps more important, is that if it proves anything, it proves that it was not a Sepoy Mutiny, but a popular rising. There may be very sound reasons why the Bengal Army alone was moved and not the armies of Bombay and Madras, but that does not prove the Mutiny was not national in character. For now it is clearly established that there were risings in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And if the Sepoys there did not take part in it, then, even according to the British thesis, in Bombay and Madras it was surely not a Sepoy

1. *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective*: By Lt.-General Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Colonel Commandant; The Royal Artillery, p. 75.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Mutiny, but a popular rising. Moreover, it is important to note that the Bengal Army was by far the most important and largest of the three Armies in India.

The prejudiced and partial attitude of the British can be very well imagined if we take one news-item from the *Times*. Hardly had the Mutiny begun in Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, and no one could foresee its nature or course when the *Times* wrote on the 19th May, 1857:

> "It is reassuring, moreover, that the Mussulman, the Sikh, the Gurkha, has no share in the prejudices of the Hindoo. The Government may always count on the votaries of Islam for support in any tumult arising from the teaching of an idolatrous creed."

Thus the idea or better, propaganda, that it was not a national rising representing all sections of the people of India was indulged in when almost the first news of the outbreak of the Mutiny reached England. This news-item within one week of the outbreak of the Mutiny in such a representative paper as the *Times* makes it very clear that the British attitude about the character of the Mutiny was already made up even before the Mutiny was one week old. How extremely wrong was this hope expressed in the *Times* is seen if we consider the following lines of another English historian, who was also not pro-Indian in any sense:

> "The Mahomedan element in the ranks of the native army has hitherto been looked as a counterpoise to the power of the Hindoos, but recent events have shown how thoroughly they can fraternise with the latter when the object is to destroy a common foe . . . . The bitter hatred with which Orangemen and Roman Catholics used to regard each other in Ireland has its intensified type in the feeling entertained towards us by the whole Mussulman race."[3]

The "recent events" refer to the Mutiny. Thus the attempt to show that it was a partial rising in which the Muslims would not or did not co-operate fails completely. Further, here the important confession is made that the British were regarded as the "common foe." Is it not completely clear after this that the Mutiny was a national war of independence? There were as many important Muslim as Hindu leaders of the Mutiny. In his famous study *The Martyrs of Allahabad* Reverend Robert Meek makes the significant statement:

> "It was manifest to all that the Mutiny was not, as at first supposed, of a partial or local character, but the result of a deep-laid, well-ordered, and widely spread conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion—for the expulsion of the Christians and Christianity from India. A time was fixed for striking the final blow, and for the general rising and massacre of the Europeans. The somewhat premature outbreak at Meerut anticipated this—led to the discovery of the fearful plot, and thus providentially put the Europeans on their guard."[4]

This honest, straightforward, and clear confession makes these points clear. First, it was not a 'local' or 'partial' rising but a national one. Second, there was a well-organised 'plot,' an important fact which English historians are usually not willing to admit lest the organised national character of the Mutiny be proved. And third, the rising had for its object 'the overthrow of the British Dominion.' After this can there be any doubt about the national character of the rising?

There is another important fact which is usually ignored by the historians—English and Indians alike. Supposing the Mutiny was just the rising of a section of the Indian people, it would never have aroused the sympathy and goodwill of the European nations like the French and the Italians. These nations had every reason to wish the English success as against the Indians if the Indian rising was not of a representative character. They would never have offended the English just to please a section of the Indian people, and such an unstable and non-political section as the Indian Sepoys. They would take that risk only to gain the sympathy of the entire Indian nation. That is as plain as anything. And we find if we read the newspapers of those days that these European nations had a very great sympathy for the Indian freedom-fighters. This is all the more significant, because this was the period when England and France had fought together the famous Crimean War against the Russians, and England was a great sympathiser in Italy's fight for freedom against Austria. What is the explanation of this strange French and Italian attitude? It is this: Italy knew very well from her recent memories how bitter was foreign domination, and how much support should be given to a nation in its fight for national freedom against a European imperialist Power. It was the expression of a very sincere appreciation of a freedom-loving people in the struggle for freedom of another nation. As to the French, it should be noted that ever since the French Revolution (1789), the French have been the radicals in Europe, and the champions of freedom and democracy, and nationalism. They co-operated with the English to crush Czar's domination in the Balkans and in Turkey as champions of freedom and nationalism. But they were not prepared to extend their moral support to their recent allies to crush India's national war of independence on the same score of freedom and nationalism. In the 'Newspaper Cuttings' maintained in the National Library at Calcutta the following cutting appears from a cutting not dated and from a Paper not named: "Since the tide of success in India has been turned against the Mutineers, notwithstanding their numbers, by the unconquerable fortitude of our isolated countrymen, the journals of certain European states have exchanged their forebodings of disaster for depreciations of vengeance, and, instead of forecasting the ruin of England, have employed themselves in

3. *Sepoy Revolt*: *Its Causes and Consequences*: By Mr. Henry Meade, pp. 29 and 30.

4. *The Martyr of Allahabad: Memorial of Ensign Arthur Marcus Clark of the Sixth Native Bengal Infantry*: By the Reverend Robert Meek, M.A., p. 10.

denouncing the spirit of revenge which they assume to be rampant in British hearts."[5] Under the Title *A Debate on India* in the English Parliament, published in the *Times* on November 11, blame is put on "the Indian insurgents, less enlightened no doubt than their patrons at Paris and Turin."[6] Another reference is made by an English historian to this moral support by other Europeans to the cause of the Indian freedom fighters. He writes:

> "Whilst an Irish journal howled with delight over our difficulties, a French writer recognised in the rebellion God's judgment upon us as a wicked nation."[7]

So, this rising in India was recognised and hailed in France as God's judgment upon English rule in India, and not as a mere Mutiny of the Sepoys of the Bengal Army. It was something definitely greater than mere Sepoy Mutiny. And what is really interesting is, that that was the impartial view of the third party, the French, who had, just before this incident, fought the Crimean War, as comrades-in-arm. It should be noted that I, an individual, could collect only a few pieces of evidence within my limitations, and if a proper perusal is made of all the European Journals and Papers of the period 1857 to, say, 1859, further interesting and very useful evidence may surely be got.

A curious fact is that His Excellency Canning was all for tolerance and forgiveness. But, the 'Clemency Canning' took the earliest opportunity to pass a Gagging Act. On the 13th of June, 1857, Canning introduced this Bill before the Legislative Council and it was passed the same day. On the 17th of June three Indian Presses were seized at Calcutta. It proves one thing very clearly, namely, that even though the actual offenders who did not take a leading part could be tolerated, the free publication of incovenient news could never be tolerated. This anxiety to prevent the free publication of news during the Mutiny can be explained only on one ground, that is, not to enable the posterity to know that it was a national rising. Although the Act was passed for one year, it should be noted that June 1857 to June 1858 was the vital year. And the suppression of news at that very moment was of momentous consequence and effect.

The fact that some Indians co-operated with the British in suppressing the Mutiny is given undue importance by many. It is taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national rising. But it does not really prove that. After a century of British rule it was clear that there should be some supporters of the British, that is, the vested interests that solely depended on the British. That should not surprise any one. Moreover, if we take the case of a few reactionaries to prove that the Mutiny was a national movement, then one can as well prove that the "Quit India Movement" of Gandhiji was not a national movement for were there not a few Indian leaders even at that time who refused to co-operate with him? So, that does not lead us anywhere. An eminent French writer on Indian history summing up this tendency in Indian history writes:

> *"Et les cas de trahison, les exemples de generaux ou gouverneurs vendus, sont anormalement nombreux, dans l'histoire indienne."*[8]

Which should mean in simple English,

> "The cases of treachery, the examples of generals or governors sold, are abnormally numerous in Indian history."

Now, if this is true then it is plain that at all moments of our history (so long as this tendency is not overcome), at every moment of a national rising there must be a few traitors. So, that was nothing special about the Mutiny. Moreover, if one argues like that, then it may be pointed out that since in the Second World War, Marshall Petain co-operated with Hitler and even more closely than Petain, General Darlan co-operated with Hitler, the French resistance against the Germans was not national. Then there was the son of a prominent British leader who regularly broadcast anti-British speeches over the Berlin radio. Will any one on that account say that the British resistance to Hitler was not national? Exactly in the same way if a few Indians co-operated with the English in the Mutiny that should never be taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national movement.

I can do no better than to close with a famous Broadcast over the A.I.R., Delhi on April the 16th, 1955, by Sri Arun Chandra Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Government of India. The Hon'ble Minister rightly pointed out: "It was really a popular rising having spontaneous support from the people." Generally, British historians have tried to attribute the entire rising to religious prejudices on account of the introduction of greased cartridges and to the machinations of some dispossessed native princes and their satellites. At least one British historian Colonel Malleson has effectively demonstrated the falsity of this theory. He has written in his memorable book *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*:

> "The greased cartridge was never issued to a great body of troops if indeed to any. There must have been a latent motive power to make of an unissued cartridge, a grievance so terrible as to rouse into revolt men whose fathers and whose fathers' fathers have contributed to the making of the British Empire in India."

In the famous book he again writes:

> "Circumstances had proved to me that extraneous causes were at work to promote an ill-feeling, a hatred not personal but national, in the minds of men who for a century had been our truest and most loyal servants."

5. Newspaper Cuttings at the National Library, Calcutta.

6. *The Times*, November 11.

7. *The Sepoy Revolt*: By Mr. Henry Meade, p. 187.

8. *Histoire De L'inde*: By Pierre Melle, p. 117.

THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

By D. K. HINGORANI,
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With independence has come a new look on things in our country. Among many other things it has brought a broadening of functions and responsibilities of public service. And in that connection there has been, lately, considerable questioning of the selection policies and procedures of the Indian Public Service Commissions in the States and at the Centre. Do they conduce to recruitment of the right type of persons for increasingly complex, skilled and exacting functions of a newborn national government?

For instance, so far a university degree has tended to dominate the essential requirements for selection through Indian Public Service Commissions. That has done good neither to university education nor to government service. On the one hand, it has led to overcrowding of Indian universities with consequent lowering of their academic standards; and, on the other hand, it has tended to exclude large resources of potential talent from public service. No wonder, therefore, that there has been, of late, considerable talk about reorganizing Indian Public Service Commissions, so as to shift emphasis from mere academic qualifications to innate abilities and acquired experience in their recruitment and selection procedures. The recent appointment by the Government of India of a high-powered committee to examine the existing system of Public Service Commissions in the country reflects the urgency of the problem.

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to know something about the organization and activities of Public Service Commissions in other countries. The United States Civil Service Commission offers an excellent example for study, particularly as both India and the United States have a federal system of government with jurisdiction over vast areas. From that point of view alone, the experience and achievements of the U. S. Civil Service Commission can have a significant relationship to our conditions and may offer constructive suggestions for the solution of some of our problems.

Elaborate Organization

The U. S. Civil Service Commission, like the Union Public Service Commission in India, is the central personnel agency for recruitment of employees for the Federal Government, and is located in Washington D.C., the capital of the nation. Each of the 48 States in the U.S.A. has its own State Civil Service Commission. The U.S. Civil Service Commission is a typical American institution, established in a small way to meet a specific purpose but soon outgrown to assume much wider responsibilities. It was established in January, 1883, soon after the assassination of President James A. Garfield by a disgruntled job-seeker had stirred the American people to act and end the Spoils System. Since then the Commission has grown from a small unit of about 20 to one of the largest government departments with about 4,000 employees.

Its primary objective has been to see that the Executive branch of the Federal Government recruits and retains efficient and loyal officers and staff so as to ensure effective leadership in the Central Government. This is no small job now. The U.S. Federal Government today employs 2½ million people in more than 70 departments, comprising 15,000 different occupations. The Federal civilian pay roll amounts to more than 9 billion dollars, which is roughly one-sixth of the entire Federal Government budget. Slightly less than half of all civilian employees work for the Department of Defence; more than one-fifth of them in Post Offices; about 8 per cent in Veterans Administration; and only 21 per cent in all other departments,—Treasury, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Health, Education and Welfare, etc. Ninety per cent of all these Federal Civil Servants work outside Washington D.C. Only a few departments have their own recruitment systems. For instance, Foreign Service of the U.S. Government is a separate organization.

For such a big job, the U.S. Civil Service Commission necessarily has a very elaborate organization. At the highest level it has three members, not more than two of whom may belong to the same political party. Usually, they belong to the party in power. One of the two is designated by the President as the Chairman of the Commission who acts as the chief executive and administrative head of the whole organization. In the present administration, the Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission has been given for the first time a place in the cabinet to advise the President from time to time on the employment policies of his government.

The three Commissioners are assisted by the Executive Director and the Technical Advisor. Five Bureaus constitute the core of the organization: Bureau of Programmes, Bureau of Inspection and Classification, Bureau of Field Operations, and Bureau of Management Services. The first three Bureaus plan, operate and review more than a score of personnel management programmes; the fourth directs all operations of the Commission's regional offices; and the fifth is responsible for housekeeping activities. Three Boards,—the Board of Appeals and Review, the Fair Employment Board, the International Organization Employees Loyalty Board; and three staff offices,—the Law Office, the Security Appraisal Office, and the Public Information office,—complete the whole organization.

Wide Scope of Activities

This elaborate organization reflects the wide scope of activities of the U.S Civil Service Commission. The main activity of the Commission, of course, is to plan and implement programmes of recruitment and selection of best qualified persons through examinations which afford equal opportunity and treatment to all citizens. In addition, the Commission administers the Classification Act of 1947 which regulates the pay of more than a million white-collar employees of the Federal Government, on a nationwide basis so as to ensure satisfactory implementation of the principle of equal pay for substantially equal work without discrimination. The Commission also administers the Civil Service Retirement Act under which about 1,700,000 employees compulsorily contribute 6 per cent of their income to the Civil Service Pension Scheme. Even the questions of vacation and sick leave for the Federal employees are determined by the Commission.

A marked evidence of the democratic character of the Federal Service is the right of both individuals and agencies to appeal matters coming under the jurisdiction of the Commission. One of the Commission's many responsibilities is to see that such rights are fully protected. Numerous questions and complaints pertaining to selection and training, salaries and fair employment, pension and incentive awards, security and retrenchment, investigations and general grievances come up before the Commission for active consideration and decision from day to day. In fact, the Commission acts as a competent custodian of the rights of federal employees consistently with its duties and responsibilities to the Federal government and tax-payers.

Oral examination—Group performance test

Decentralization

With so many varied activities over such a large area—the U.S.A. is more than twice the size of India in area—one would think the Commission would be cluttered up with too many routine matters. That is not so. The main reason is that it is one of the most decentralized organizations in the world. It has eleven regional offices located in different parts of the country, each of which carries on all the activities of the Commission in its region with minimum supervision of the central office. Decentralization is, in fact, one of the chief and most interesting features of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The idea is to provide maximum service to the maximum number of people at their miximum convenience.

The regional offices are located in principal cities from where they conduct all field civil service activities in their respective areas. They, in turn, have decentralized some of their activities. For instance, for information a candidate does not very often have to go further than the local or neighbouring post office. There are about 2000 such information centres located in post offices all over the country in such a way that there is a place near almost every sizable community where the public can get full particulars about federal employment opportunities. What is more, most of these centres also conduct all examinations sponsored by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. There is a wide network of nearly 800 boards of examiners all over the country helping the Commission to carry out some of its important functions.

Merit System

These functions mainly relate to competitive examinations sponsored by the Commission for selection of suitable candidates for various vacancies in different departments of the Federal government. Over many years, the U.S. Civil Service Commission has built up what is called the Merit System according to which most of the vacancies in Federal government service are filled strictly on the basis of merit, as determined by examinations, and other procedure conducted by the Commission. Increasingly successful efforts have been made ever since the establishment of the Commission to enlarge the scope of the Merit System so as to combat the traditional Spoils System. By now, about 86 per cent of Federal Government employees are appointed through the Merit System; and only about 14 per cent as a matter of political patronage.

The performance is repeated by each group with a different discussion subject and altogether lasts for a little over an hour. For example, the following is one of the discussion subjects given to J. M. A. candidates this year:

"You are the executive board of the U. N. World Health Organization. During one of its meetings it is considering this problem. A representative of a member-country has violently criticized the work of the W.H.O. and announces his nation is withdrawing from it. His country objects to W.H.O.'s requirement that any country, as a condition to receiving W.H.O.'s aid, must meet certain standards in the administration of such aids, and to the organization's practice of withholding aid when the requisite standards are not satisfied. His country does not quarrel with the responsibleness of the standards themselves. He states that his nation will no longer contribute its share of financial support, nor make further payments on the amounts of their contribution in arrears. The country in question has an extremely high infant death-rate. Assuming that the withdrawing nation would still accept W.H.O.'s assistance, should the board move to discontinue W.H.O.'s assistance to that nation or to continue assistance, despite its withdrawal?"

Then, each candidate is interviewed individually by the two examiners. The examiners have now the opportunity to get even a closer and more intimate look at each individual candidate's personality. That is also the time when the candidate often turns to the examiners for answers to many questions that may have been troubling his mind regarding the possibilities and problems of the proposed career. In fact, it is one of the standing instructions of the examiners to do everything possible to induce an atmosphere in which candidates may feel free to share with them their questions and misgivings. And so, not infrequently the tables are turned; it is candidates who interview the examiners!

Candidates are rated on an "in-or-out" basis in the interview and confidential enquiries. The examiners do not attempt to rank them. They fill out a detailed rating form for each candidate and prepare a narrative report on his performance. Their main idea, however, is to determine whether the performance of the candidates meets the high standards of the J.M.A. Programme.

And, indeed, the programme has high standards. The general abilities tests eliminate about half the candidates, the specialized written tests an additional 35 per cent, and the interviews and reference returns somewhat more than half of the remaining candidates! For instance, about 4,500 candidates applied and appeared for the J. M. A. examination this year. Very little screening of applications is done. 800 passed the written tests and only 300 were finally selected after oral interviews and evaluation of references, giving about six as the percentage of successful candidates.

Examination of Examiners

The importance attached to the interview as part of the J.M.A. examination is illustrated by the fact that all interviewers are required to join the J.M.A. Trainee Institute for a day in Washington D.C. before starting their operations in different parts of the country. It is, indeed, most interesting to observe how carefully the examiners are briefed about their duties and responsibilities. Nothing is taken for granted.

They are given an idea of the significance and philosophy behind the J.M.A. programme. They receive detailed advice and literature about techniques of interview, standards of evaluation and variety of rating factors. An actual demonstration of group interview is held to give the examiners a first-hand knowledge of its objectives and techniques. They even get a long list of questions which may be asked of them by candidates, with specific answers so that they may be able to deal with them satisfactorily! At the end of each item of the agenda there are questions and answers followed by a final period of an overall discussion of the entire programme. The talks and literature, demonstrations and discussions afford the examiners a needed opportunity to examine themselves as to their knowledge and ability to handle the examination properly.

The conference is, in fact, an objective lesson in objectivity and understanding. It also serves as an example of the unique collaboration between the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the federal government departments in the J.M.A. Programme. The J.M.A. Training Institute is sponsored by a committee representing the departments who participate in the programme. The committee elects its own chairman and the Civil Service Commission appoints a staff member to work in a liaison capacity with the committee. The committee takes active interest in the implementation of different aspects of the J.M.A. programme, exemplifying close co-operation between the Civil Service Commission and government departments.

Interne Training Programme

The Committee even takes steps to insure that the departments use the selected candidates effectively and provide adequate training opportunities for them. As indicated earlier the J.M.A. programme is something more than a single crucial examination. Emphasis is laid in putting the selected persons in jobs which will fully utilize their abilities in the administrative field, either immediately or in the long run.

The programme further stresses the need for adequate training for the selected persons. The departments where they are posted provide most of this training. In general, the J.M.A. training in the departments consists of orientation, formal classes, and planned work assignments in which the employee assumes progressively greater responsibility.

The Civil Service Commission also offers suitable facilities for a limited group of candidates. Each summer the Commission takes a group of J.M.A. internes for training. The training is designed to acquaint them with the entire operation of the organization. Whenever possible, regular or practice work assignments are used to provide opportunity for first-hand experience of different operations of the organization.

The internese are encouraged to organize in any manner they choose to assist in their own training. Regular periods are set aside for group sessions. Discussions and seminars are conducted by the internes on subjects chosen by the group. Time is also set aside for an individual research or administrative project chosen by each interne.

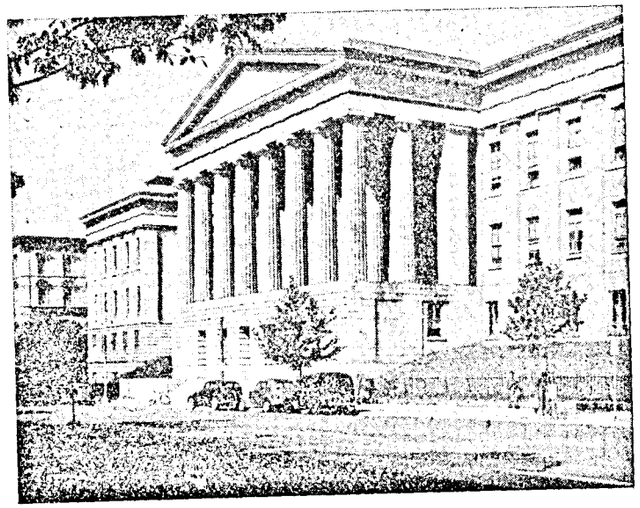
Concern for Candidates

This emphasis on self-training is in tune with the general approach of the J.M.A. programme. The core of that approach is a deep concern for candidates. Wide publicity given to different aspects of the programme, including the examination, is a reflection of that concern. The publicity is designed to reassure the candidates; detailed instructions, including samples of tests, are willingly and attractively offered to induce and put prospective candidates at ease. The anxiety of examiners to accommodate candidates is best illustrated by the fact that in the oral examinations, sometimes examiners go to places even where there is only one candidate to examine! Decentralization, detailed description, and training of examiners are some of the features of the J.M.A. programme conducive to the convenience of candidates.

There is no attempt to catch or confuse candidates for the J.M.A. examination. On the contrary, every effort is made to facilitate their selection and adjustment to career situations. For instance, after the results of the examination are announced in April and circulated simultaneously to all departments participating in the programme, selected candidates are free and even encouraged to visit the departments in which they are interested before making their final choice by summer. Evaluation of the interests of selected candidates is considered of prime importance in their correct placement.

Inspired by the same concern, there are active proposals for implementation, in the near future, to widen even further the scope of the J.M.A. examination so as to include a greater cross-section of candidates, and to keep it open the whole year round, instead of holding it once a year.

This concern for candidates is qualified only by the need to insure the quality of selected candidates. To that end, efforts are continuously made to improve the standards and objectivity of various tests used for selection of candidates.



U.S. Civil Service Commission Building, Washington

Research and Reform

In fact, continuous research is another unique feature of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. For over ten years the Commission has had a continuing research programme in the field of management and administrative selection. The Bureau of Programmes and Standards—one of the five Bureaus of the Commission—is wholly devoted to research in respective fields of the Commission's entire scope of activities.

In that Bureau there is a separate Test Research Section, employing about 12 psychologists and 28 assistants, which constantly carries on research into improved examining methods and selection techniques. It has devised, since 1946, about 500 tests which are currently used in the many written examinations held by the Commission throughout the country for different positions in federal government departments. The Commission has an excellent library for reference and research on all aspects of personnel management and administration.

That does not mean that the Commission has discovered any "magic" method for measuring personality. The present position of selection techniques is considered far from perfect. It is even worse in other countries. There is frequent criticism of the selection tests used in various examinations, including the J.M.A.; for instance, that they are not comprehensive nor objective enough. Often, too much is read into the examination results,—particularly of the oral and group and individual tests.

For that matter, there is frequent criticism of the organization and policies of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, as a whole. Only recently, a new book, *Crises in the Civil Service*, spotlighted this criticism and referred, among other things, to "the need for a new effort to combat the rising tide of spoils-manship" in the Commission.

The significant thing, however, is that the Commission itself is aware of its inadequacies. Last October, the American Assembly, a national non-partisan voluntary organization, called a big conference, in which the Commission fully co-operated, of all official and unofficial agencies concerned with problems of personnel administration, to examine thoroughly all aspects of the Federal Government Service and suggest suitable solutions for the present problems. The Hoover Commission's Report, published last February, made a radical proposal to institute Senior Civil Service in America on the lines of the British Civil Service. All these proposals are on the anvil. And more, there are departmental committees within the Commission itself suggesting organizational and technical reforms from time to time.

This spirit of self-examination and constant search for solutions and reforms is perhaps the greatest source of strength for the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

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INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR
A Show Window

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Fairs and fairy tales have always been enchanting to people irrespective of age and sex. The recent Indian Industries Fair held in Delhi was no exception. Originally scheduled to remain open from 29th October to 15th December, 1955, it had to be extended up to 1st January, 1956. Such was its popularity.

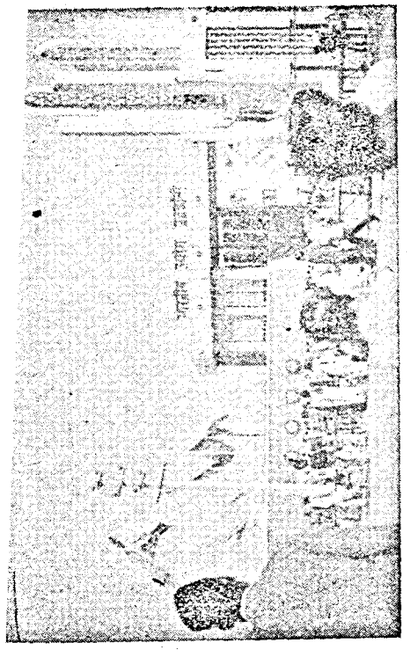
Hundreds and thousands of people from all ranks and walks of life—scientists, engineers, technicians, technologists, artisans and craftsmen, labourers, peasants, traders and businessmen, simple village folks, ladies sophisticated and rustic, wealthy mothers with attendants carrying the babies, mothers with comparatively smaller means carrying the babies themselves, not to mention the V.I.Ps., diplomats and other dignitaries, kept the place busy.

The different sorts of outlook with which these people went to see the fair are difficult to describe. In essence these can be summarised as inspecting, enquiring, wandering, frolicking, and passing time just for the sake of fun. Amongst these divergent views one thing must have crystallised to all Indians and that is the gap that exists between the world progress in science and in its application and that made in India. This naturally leads to an appreciation of the efforts that we have to make to line up with the world progress.

This was needed specially when we are on the verge of the Second Five-Year Plan, for the success of which the common people have to be educated and strengthened for participation. They have also to be shown that industry and village life can exist side by side complementing each other. Under the existing system of social structure with special reference to economic development it was necessary to know the correct line of demarcation between the private and the public sector; they must co-operate with each other for an effective and all-round progress.

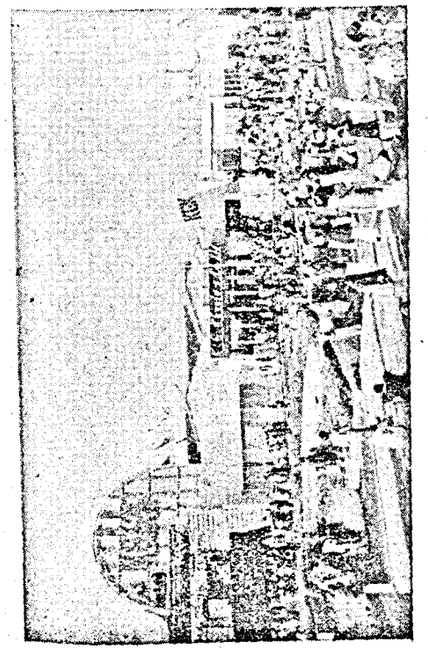
Twenty-one foreign countries, Austria, Belgium, Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, France, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Russia, the United Kingdom, U.S.A., West Germany and Yugoslavia, took part in the fair. Goods exhibited ranged from cranes and machine-making machines to all types of daily necessaries and luxuries. Barring war equipments one cannot mention an item which was not exhibited in the fair. Nevertheless, it would be of interest to mention some of the exhibits which attracted most visitors.

The Atom for Peace pavilion of the U.S.A., a streamlined building with a suggestive atomic-structure symbol on the roof, was quite impressive. Inside, in addition to other items of general interest, the magic hand placed in an airtight glass case fascinated all visitors. The pair of hands inside the case could be operated from outside. They can do almost everything that human hands can do.

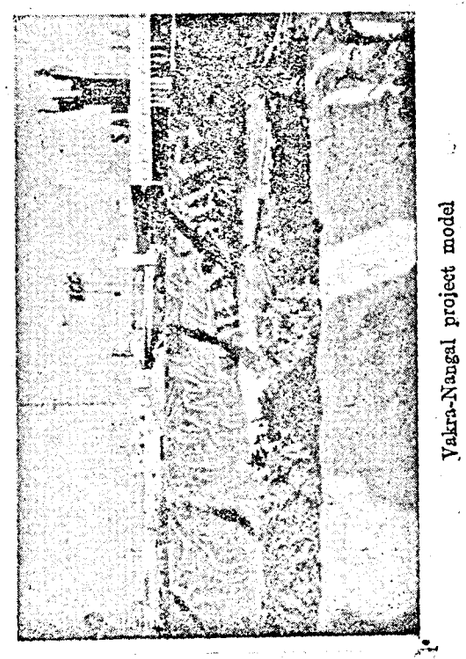


The streamlined Gate

China-clay potteries and dolls



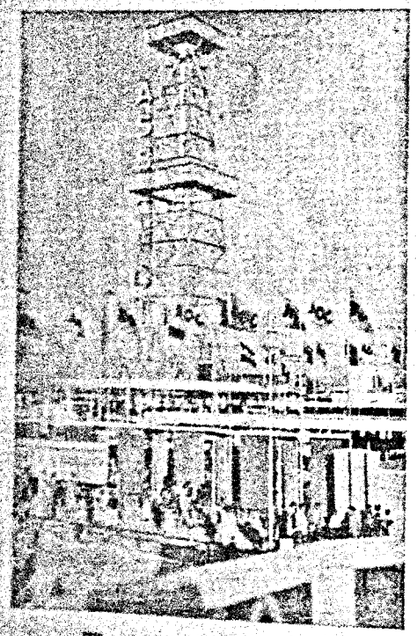
An inside view of the Fair



Yakra-Nangal project model

Television programmes provided by the Philips and the U.S.S.R. were very popular.

In one of the pavilions of the East European Democracies fancy goods and toys were so attractive that in the visitors' book kept there one could come across remarks like, "What a pity your goods are not for sale," "Still yours is the best show." I am sure most of the visitors would generally agree with such remarks.



The Assam Oil Co. Pavilion

In the main entrance to the Russian pavilion the white clay model of Lenin was really remarkable. On the walls one could see life-size enlargements of photographs of Shri Nehru and Russian leaders shaking hands, indicating Indo-Russian friendship and co-operation. In the general layout the aesthetic stress on the items exhibited could be noticed throughout. Agricultural products kept either open or in beautiful glass jars fascinated many. China clay potteries and dolls compared favourably with those brought from the land of China.

The Chinese pavilion was built in the typical Chinese fashion in size as well as in construction well illustrating the tremendous efforts towards progress made by that great people. Many of the articles exhibited, specially the electrical instruments, did not, of course, represent an 'A' class finish, but one could get more the sincerity of purpose and unstinted effort behind these articles and the firm resolve and desire to make a beginning for self-sufficiency. In the entrance to the main hall was placed a gigantic white clay model of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic.

The East German pavilion brought in visitors curious to see the Glass Man depicting the human system hidden underneath the skin. The high class precision instruments exhibited do not require any special mention as they are already famous in this respect.

The Indian pavilion occupying the largest area of the Fair provided a lot of varieties, though not always indicating high industrial progress. Various moods of Indian life and activities, and the general lay-out of the Second Five-Year Plan and what it can achieve have been well-illustrated by charts and figures. Of the various river-valley projects, the model of the recently started Bhakra-Nangal project was very impressive.

The still model of a Dehati on Cycle on the top of the Star of India pavilion and the paddling model of an youth inside the Hind pavilion would startle any visitor. Both these models came near to reality. Assam Oil Company very successfully explained the various aspects of their activities starting from drilling to refinery. A walk through the rooms of the Imperial Tobacco Company would give you interesting historical details of smoking and show you the making and packing of cigarettes in an automatic machine.

Although the Fair covered as big an area as 73 acres of land, yet the general outward display was artistic throughout. Just in front of the streamlined entrance gate the sculpture of a couple stepping out in unision to greet visitors indicated the cordiality of India. Then there were the murals and relief-works depicting the agricultural and industrial life of India. The attractive lighting at night and the constantly changing colours of the fountains would almost place you in a dreamland.

All these would have been of no avail had there been no arrangements for refreshment and recreation. Justification for such a remark cannot be understood unless it is known that to pass through all the Pavilions of the Fair one would have to walk about twelve miles. On this long-winded path you would have to see hundreds of thousands of articles exhibited. To relieve you in your long walk there were restaurants, cafetarias and tea and cofee stalls arranged by the Indian Tea and Cofee Expansion Boards. There were boats for your joy-ride and amusement park with Giant Wheels and other attractions for children as well as their parents.

The Fair was a big thing covering a space of 73 acres requiring some three crores of rupees to man the show in which some nine hundred participants,

Indian and foreign, brought in goods to show. In spite of all these I think it would not be out of place to mention certain things which probably could have been avoided with a little care. Although in holidays and crowded moments, persons attending the various stalls could have no chance of explaining things to visitors, yet whenever a question was put it should have been correctly answered. But unfortunately this procedure was not followed in all instances.

Somebody has called the Fair a buyers' lounge and those who went to see it during the last few days would agree to this remark. In the majority of cases the machines and industrial products were affixed with cards with the word 'sold.' It is said that East Germany alone secured orders worth two crores of rupees.

Had you happened to walk out of the Fair about the closing time and wanted a taxi or a tonga it would have been almost asking for the moon. If, by necessity, you had to catch an outgoing train that night, then you would have been ashamed to see the frantic efforts made by your host to catch a taxi or a tonga. You would then be forced to hire one at an exhorbitant rate. As it rushed to destination, you would look back to have a last glimpse of the beautifully illuminated dreamland of the Fair.

Photographs by P. C. Mukherjee.

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ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The 20th Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts was opened by the Governor at the Indian Museum on the 16th December, 1955, in the presence of a large number of distinguished guests, the Maharaja and Maharani of Nepal, and all the top-ranking artists, art-connoisseurs and critics. The Governor's speech was an inspiring address, dilating on the high status of artists in society and also making a passionate appeal to the citizens of Calcutta to patronize art and artists. It remains to be seen what response to this appeal will be made by our good citizens, who, as a rule, extend their patronage more to music and literature than to the productions of visual arts. Ever since Abanindra Nath Tagore began his new movement in Indian Art in this city, continued attempts have been made to awaken the art-consciousness of our citizens and to induce them to encourage and patronize artists, but it is notorious that notwithstanding incessant exhibitions of paintings and other works of Art, held throughout the year at the hospitable halls at No. 1 Chowringhee, at the Artistry House, at the Indian Museum, and, at other places, there has not developed any great demand for Art and there have been more exhibitions than buyers of pictures. Indeed, it is notorious that the number of unemployed amongst artists is growing every year, while their counterparts in the field of music are basking in the sunshine of prosperity, thanks to the succession of Music Conferences and the crowded programmes for music on the Radio. Even our great literary luminaries love to boycott our picture exhibitions, where they are seen very rarely with the result that art and literature live in water-tight compartments—and the literature of Art has not yet taken its birth in India, for our cultured gentry have not yet acquired a trained eye to look at pictures, much less power to understand and critically appraise them. The Visva-Bharati and our Calcutta University have tried, in a feeble way, to arouse the interest of students in the visual arts, but the majority of our

At pond
By Gopal Ghose

scholars, our Bachelors and Masters of Art, file out of the portals of our University, every year, in formi-

dable battalions without any nodding acquaintance with our masterpieces of painting and sculpture, whether of the old schools or the new. So that the products of our Universities, our future citizens, never qualify for performing the duties of good citizenship by setting up public galleries of Art or by helping artists to live and contribute to the spiritual hunger for beauty and fulfil the demands of the higher aspirations of life. It has not yet been realized that Art has a dynamic role to play in building up a truly socialistic pattern of life, of which we frequently hear

Day's catch
By Rathin Maitra

so much, as hackneyed slogans on the lips of Communists as well as Congressmen. The above reflections are provoked by the rich array of paintings and sculptures assembled in the current exhibition of the Academy of Art. They have come from all parts of the Indian Union, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Mysore, Nagpur, Darjeeling, Dehra Dun, Nasik, Poona and Santiniketan. Such a variety of exhibits offer convenient evidences, on which one can judge the prevailing trends and tendencies in Indian contemporary art. They at once prove to any casual observer that most of our practising artists are suffering from a debilitating fever of imitating the language of the various "Isms" of the Modernistic art of Europe. Even artists, formerly treading on the sober path of Realism and Vision, such as Kanwal Krishna, Devayani Krishna, and Makhan Datta Gupta, have begun to worship at the shrine of Cubism, and Abstractionism, shamelessly ignoring the brilliant history of Indian painting, covering a period of five thousand years. The painter of beautiful Himalayan landscapes is attempting in vain in his *Shakti* (206) to interpret in the name of progress the solemn symbols of *Vajra-yana* mysticism in the 'vulgar' language of European jargon, disdaining the lessons of the Nepalese and Tibetan masterpieces. Yet the brilliant canvases contributed by Pannikar (178, 185, 189, 194, 197, 211). Makhan Datta Gupta, Rathin Maitra and others in their emphatic and impassioned compositions and vigorous brush works, lift their heads far above the mediocre levels of the exhibits in oil in the Academic manner. But the two unassuming little canvases of Jagadish Roy: *At the Door* (174), and *Grey and Green* (267) hold their own in their sober, restrained treatment of homely themes, extracting tons of beauty in the much-maligned Academic manner. We are still expecting our Indian Constables and Turners to set down in the sober language of Oil the permanent records of beauty, which our depopulated Bengal villages are still nursing in their abundance. One would not repudiate them even if they are interpreted in the brilliant colours and vehement brush works of Van Gogh illustrated in his landscapes of the French "Provence" or in the dreamy Pointillism of Seurat. Whatever may be the techniques used, they must represent Bengal, her cottages, her paddy fields, and her river scenes. There are a few Bengal landscapes in the Oil section (233, 237, 250, 262, 269) and a few very picturesque forest scenes of Assam by S. Basu Roy Chowdhury (25, 37, 41, 44, 47, 136), but they do not attain the honour of a permanent place in our National Gallery. Special prizes should inspire our talented Constables to set down in permanent records the beauty of rural Bengal. In the domain of Portraiture, we have several talented artists in Bengal as well as in Bombay and other centres, but our best talents are not receiving commissions to paint worthy portraits of our leaders in politics, literature, and science, to fill our national Valhala. The poverty of portraits in the show is really tragic. The pretentious though vigorous brush work of A. P. Santaraj's *Portrait of an Old Man* (198) easily outstrips the sober if somewhat tame canvas of Sri Kisory Roy's *Mother's Portrait* (224) and the accomplished and restrained beauty of G. Banerjee's *Portrait of a Friend* (273). But they do not represent the height which many of our portraitists are able to cover under intelligent official patronage and a really national call. The mere display of skilful brush work in the puerile portrait of Rabindranath Tagore (287)

does not enhance the reputation of modern portrait-painting in India. This will be evident if one refers to the brilliant study of our national Poet painted by a modern Japanese master, reproduced in colour in

Grey and green
By Jagadish Roy

an album, widely circulated in this city and cited in a small block in the current Number of *Desh* (10 December, 1955, p. 434). There is no justification whatsoever for placing on the wall a large canvas by the same artist, entitled *Lest We Forget*, a slipshod work with no drawing, no colour, or sense of composition. As pointed out by another critic, many items in the water-colour section have been accepted by the Hanging Committee, which should have been omitted if only to raise the general level of the show. We have no critically trained public to judge and appraise independently the merits of works of art correctly and dispassionately, and the inclusion of mediocre works only help to confuse honest picture-goers, beginning to understand what to admire and what to depreciate in current productions of Art.

As usual the Academy has appropriately assigned a special room to pictures in Indian style. But this has unfortunately emphasized the general low level of this section, this year, which the Academy has attempted courageously to redeem, by way of ballasts, by citing three examples from the brush of Dr. Nanda Lal Bose, which seem to rebuke the weak and futile conceptions of the majority of the "Indian" pictures. Yet brilliant pieces rear their heads above this slough of despondence: (1) *The Bee* (334) in which A. Almelkar has creditably presented Rajput traditions in a new and developed form with convincing decorative qualities, (2) *Balcony* (336), in which A. Chowdhury gives a convincing interpretation of Indian style in a new, original, and progressive technique of astonishing merit, (3) A brilliant study of *Palasa* (349) in the Japanese manner by Indra Dugar and (4) *Danuja Dalani* (316), in which Dipen Bose has put new life into the conventions of Ikon-painting in Bengal. His work, recently exhibited in a one-man show, have raised high hopes for the languages of indigenous Indian painting, which he is assiduously pursuing, demonstrating, incidentally, that "Indianism" is, after all, the best form of "Isms," suitable to the genius of Indian artists. In this connection a happy surprise is provided by Sri Samar Gupta (one of the famous stalwarts of the Tagore School), who exhibits three pieces of Oil, never encouraged by devotees of "Indianism," and he demonstrates that the Indianists can equally handle the medium with conspicuous success, as in his *Basket Weaver* (236), *Captive* (278) and his vibrating study of *Yacca Gloriosa* (308).

Some "problem" pictures are contributed by Anil Bhattacharyya: "No. 1" (222), a cryptic *Cup of Poison* and No. 2, and No. 3 (259, 307), which though revealing careful craftsmanship, are marred by the unfair use of "spraying."

The bee
By A. A. Almelkar

The water-colour section has very few high lights to attract attention. The only pieces worth mentioning are: *Lane in Khatmandu* (64) by Ganesh Haloi, Anil Paul's happy study of *Nakhoda Mosque* (142) and Ramen Dutt's *Station Under Mist* (46). The black and white section is equally disappointing and enveloped in gloom, which is redeemed by D. Mitra's able study in brush, *Drawing* (98) and Adinath Mukherjee's *The Cranes* (105) which skilfully extracts poetry out of a sordid, prosaic subject-matter.

The sculpture section is very rich in numerous successful pieces, in a diverse variety of techniques, ranging from the Academic to the Abstract. It is easy to admire the sentimental treatment of a pair of goats, *Greedy* (36) for their grass. But there is a stately solemnity in the moving piece of architectural sculpture: *We Open the Gate* (35) contributed by Kumar Robin Roy, deserving high praise. This could be fittingly utilized by our city-fathers to decorate any of our city-roads. In this kind of decorations there is plenty of scope for Municipal patronage to provide employments for many of our talented sculptors, eager to render their services to transform our city of squalor into a city of beauty. The kind attention of the Mayor and the ex-Mayor of Calcutta may be drawn to this serious demand for contribution to citizenship.

The Exhibition offers many valuable lessons, for what to admire in contemporary Art, what to buy to fill the walls of our National Gallery yet to materialize, and how to utilize our living artistic talents to enrich and glorify the hard-earned Independence of the Indian Union.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"China and Asian Stability"

Permit me to point out a few inaccuracies in the article "China and Asian Stability" by Dr. Kalidas Nag in *The Modern Review* for December, 1955.

(1) The author writes on p. 445: "After a second revolution on July, 1913 Yuan Shih-kai was elected President." But Yuan had been President since an earlier period in the sense as Dr. Sun Yet-sen was President. With Dr. Sun's resignation Yuan acceded to the presidency of the Republic of China on March 10, 1912. The "Second Revolution," so called, was an abortive effort of the southern provincial lords to oust Yuan from the presidency. After the failure of that attempt Yuan, through murder and intrigue, obtained his own election as the regular President for ten years from October, 1913.

(2) The statement about thirty years' Communist war against Chiang is hardly borne out by history.

(3) Bandung Conference was held in April, 1955, and not in July, 1955, as stated on page 446.

(4) Chou En-lai did not "finally emerge Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic" (p. 446) but rather as the Premier of the State Council under the 1954 Constitution.

(5) Mme. Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ching-ling) is not "also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic." No doubt she had been so in the beginning. But after the promulgation of the new constitution in September, 1954, she has been one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

(6) China again is not "a sub-continent of 32 provinces and 12 municipalities" (p. 447). At least in the recent past she had not been so divided administratively. Until June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) was administratively divided into 28 provinces grouped into six Greater Administrative Areas and fourteen centrally administered municipalities. After the reorganization of June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) is now divided into 25 administrative provinces, two national autonomous regions and three centrally administered municipalities.

[See Liao Kai-lung—*From Yenan to Peking*, pp. 146-150; Chou En-lai—*Report on the Work of Government*, delivered before the first session of the National People's Congress of P. R. of China in September, 1954, p. 33; Shie I-Yuan—"Changes in China's Administrative Divisions" in *People's China*, May 16, 1955, pp. 28-30.]

(7) The characterization of the ten years 1939-1949 as the period of the liquidation of the Kuomintang was neither in accord with the facts nor with the accepted history. The period 1937-1945 was marked by Kuomintang-Kungchantang alliance against Japan. Even the Chinese Communists do not regard 1939-1949 as a period of struggle against KMT. During the period of the anti-Japanese National United Front the most notable incident straining the KMT-Kungchantang relations was the New Fourth Army Incident in 1941. But the controversy was not pressed by either side. Therefore, the reference to 1939-1949 as the period of the liquidation of the KMT was not clear.

(8) The omission of any reference to the adoption of the new Constitution in 1954 made the history of the period incomplete in an important respect.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKAR

"Capital Formation in India"

I have read with great interest the article on "Capital Formation" by Miss Bela Bose in your journal of January, 1956. Before discussing the question it would be better to put compendiously Miss Bose's views on the subject. She states that

(1) In an underdeveloped country, like that of India, capital formation being a function of savings, is very low, as the latter itself is very low, being the result of the low real income which itself is due to the low productivity, thus constituting a vicious circle.

(2) The problem of capital formation is thus a problem of increasing the income of the majority.

(3) The passive role that is played by the various Banking institutions and the Bank Rate and the Open Market Operations in increasing Savings and Investment is discussed.

(4) She favours nationalisation of industries, provided, of course, they are profitable!

(5) Lastly, a surplus budget is favoured and high taxation is rejected on the Colin Clarkian principles.

It seems from the outset that Miss Bose is quite partial to the classicals. The problem of capital formation is not a function of savings but of creating something new which does not exist, say up to the mark. "It is a problem of curtailing consumption and diverting the existing factors of production from producing consumers goods to producers goods." This is true only in case of highly developed countries and the question of restricting consumption for capital goods in an under-developed country does not arise as an under-developed country has many idle resources which are not all exploited. The idea that the economic development conditioned as it is by growth in the stock of social capital is essentially limited by what may be termed as the 'savings fund' is out-dated and wrong.

> "In recent years there has been a growing inclination among economists to regard such a pre-existing 'Savings Fund' as a myth; and in general terms the argument that a country's potentiality for investment is not limited by any such factor is now sufficiently familiar. This general argument amounts to the contention that the margin between income and consumption may be enlarged by augmenting income as well as by lowering consumption and that the carrying out of plans of capital construction will augment income from the moment of their inception. While the margin between income and consumption will thereby be widened, this can occur without any absolute fall in the consumption either of the community as a whole or of any individuals in it. This latter conclusion depends on the assumption that the economic system contains elements of reserve productive capacity, *and this is true of an under-developed country*,* which can be mobilised for constructional work without competing with the production of consumption goods. Subsequently as the capital equipment under construction comes into operation it will have the positive effect of facilitating consumption: new sources of power or new technical equipment will raise the productivity of labour already engaged in the production of consumers' goods."†

Even accepting the contention that the problems of the war and planned economics stand on the same footing with regard to the developed and under-developed countries and a sufficient gap must be created between income and expenditure so as to have capital formation there is no limit how much the consumption can be curtailed provided, of course, the wage rates are increased. That would lead indirectly to deficit financing. Deficit financing would no doubt lead to a rise in prices which would stimulate further production not only in consumption goods but in capital goods as well. If the increase in consumption goods is greater than the capital goods, so far the better, for an under-developed country needs badly an export surplus for the import of certain capital goods which cannot be produced in the home country itself.

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* Italics mine.

† Maurice Dobb: *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*, p. 23.

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WORK ON GANGA BRIDGE PROJECT IN FULL SWING

THE field work on the Rs. 16-crore Ganga Bridge Project at Mokameh is now in full swing. Over 12,000 men and women of all categories are working round the clock on the erection of the approach bank and the construction of a guide bund, both of which have to be finished before the next monsoon.

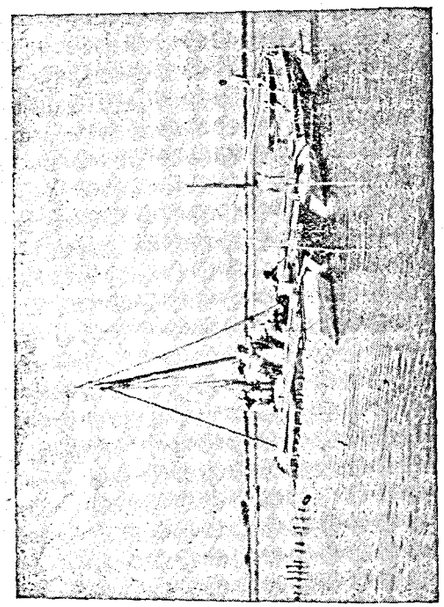
The approach bank will require 40 million cubic feet of earthwork and the guide bund 25 million pieces of pitching stone and 30 million cubic feet of earthwork. About 90,000 cubic feet of pitching stone, equivalent to a load of 500 ordinary metre-gauge wagons, is being carried daily across the river to the site of the guide bund by the Wagon Ferry. This represents a record performance for any single ghat working in the country.

About three miles upstream of the bridge site, the river Ganga flows into two channels, north and south. The north channel which carries 30 per cent of the river-discharge is being blocked by the approach bank to be protected by stone pitching leaving the south channel to be bridged across.

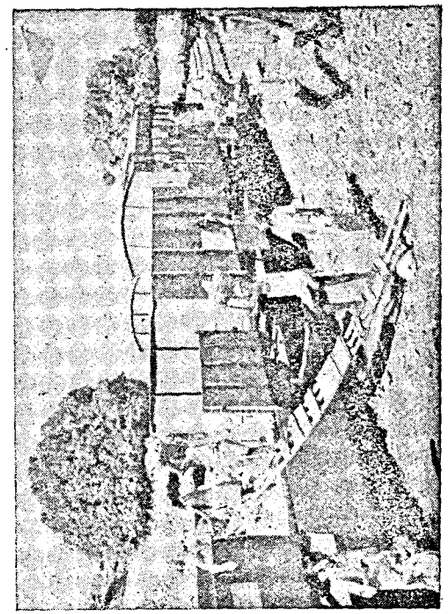
BRIDGE FOUNDATIONS WORK IN PROGRESS

The work of bridge foundations is also in progress, and well curbs for five piers out of the 15 have already been laid, and sinking and concreting started on two. The wells have to be sunk into the river-bed up to 165 to 175 feet below the winter water-level. The launching of caissons for the three wells which have to be laid in 20 to 30 feet deep water this season is also on this month's programme. The foundations will need 4 million cubic feet of concrete. The entire quantity is being manufactured by a crushing plant with a capacity of 100 tons per hour erected on the south bank of the river. The manufactured product—both coarse and fine—is loaded mechanically by an endless rubber conveyer belt into boats for taking across the river.

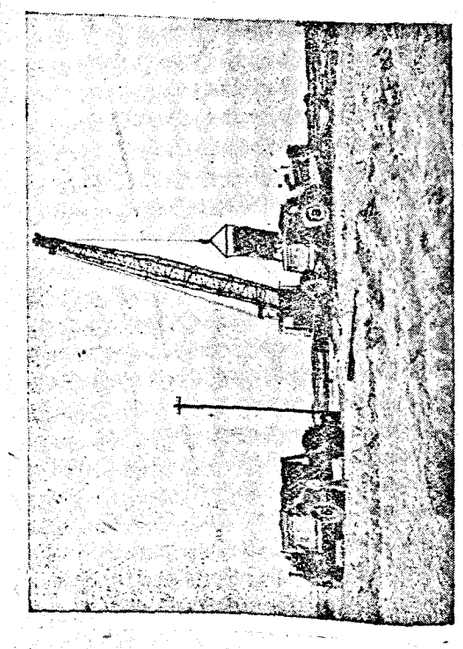
Temporary but suitable accommodation has been provided for the personnel close to the site so as to avoid inconvenience to the staff. Tube-well water supply has been arranged and canteen and medical facilities provided near the site of work.—*PIB*.



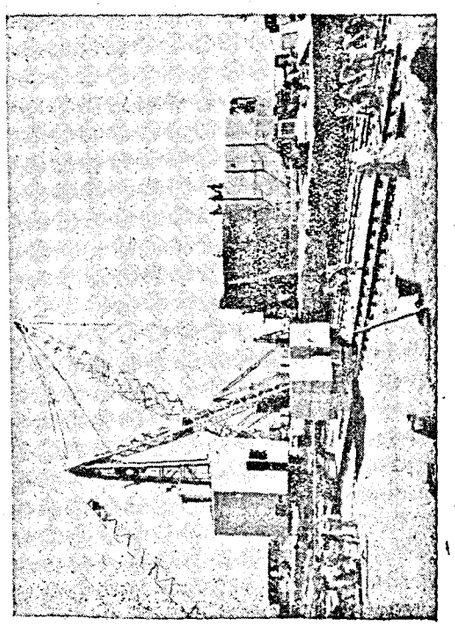
Bandalling being done in Ganga river to reduce flow in North Channel of the river, which has to be blocked



Loading stone for transport across river for Guide Bund of Ganga Bridge



Earthwork by dragline excavators and dumpers on the construction of Guide Bund of Ganga Bridge



Erection of a well curb weighing 140 tons for 400 ft. spans of Ganga Bridge

THE UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Dr. SUSHIL CHANDRA SINGH, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
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The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not a creation or a discovery. It is an evolution, a growth, the slow-bought gain of the ages. The Congress of Berlin, the Brussels Conference and the two Hague Peace Conferences were the earlier steps towards recognition of the human dignity. The ruthless suppression of the human personality during the two world wars brought into limelight the problem of safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Allied statesmen realised the need of emphasizing the respect for human rights. President Franklin D. Roosevelt put forward his pleas for four freedoms—"freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fears everywhere in the world"—in a message to the Congress in 1941. Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill declared: "When this struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecution will be ended." The Atlantic Charter, The United Nations declaration of 1943, and Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 1944, gave expression to the aspirations of the common people for the protection of human rights. In 1940 a committee sponsored by London *Daily Herald* drew up a model International Bill of Rights. Individuals and organizations created public opinion for a world recognition of human rights. The result was that the United Nations Charter framed in June 1945 at the San-Francisco Conference contained no less than seven emphatic references to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Charter laid down the foundations of a plan of human rights. The Commission of Human Rights was set up early in 1946. As a result of its efforts during 1947 and 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights gradually took shape. It was finally passed by the 3rd session of the General Assembly on 10th December, 1948. It was adopted without a single dissenting vote.

Significance of the Declaration

As the declaration itself shows, it is "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." It is a proclamation of historic importance and has been ranked with the Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789. It is a landmark in the struggle for human rights and freedoms. As Carlos P. Romulo, President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, said, it is "the most comprehensive document, the first in history to define from a truly universal standpoint the basic rights and fundamental freedoms to which all men everywhere are entitled." Mr. Trygve Lie thinks that the Declaration "is destined to become one of the great documents of history." Herbert Evatt of Australia believed that millions of people all over the world will receive inspiration from this document. Charles Malik of Lebanon regards it as "a document of the first order of importance." Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt regards it as "the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru hopes that the Declaration will give impetus "to certain positive values in life which we must respect and hold on to, if life is to be made worth living."

There are certain chief features of the Declaration. It represents the highest aspirations of the common people—the aroused conscience of mankind. It defines rights without any discrimination whatsoever. It has a universal application. It is meant for all peoples of all countries. For the first time a large majority of the nations of the world have accepted in theory at least the principle of the recognition of human rights. The list of rights mentioned in the declaration is a very comprehensive one. All types of rights, social, domestic, political and economic have been mentioned. A survey of all these rights brings before us the fact whether it is at all practicable to confer all these rights on citizens. It seems as if the duties are submerged in the ocean of rights.

The Impact of the Declaration

Already the declaration has been published in 36 languages of the world. The General Assembly has passed a resolution urging the various U.N. bodies to popularise the contents of the declaration. The U.N.E.S.C.O. has taken a leading share in publicizing the declaration. It has prepared pamphlets, radio-scripts, films, posters, special articles and exhibit materials throwing light on the various aspects of the declaration. Dr. Torres Bodet, U.N.E.S.C.O's Director-General, took initiative in launching the idea of the national and international observance of the anniversary of the declaration. As a result of its efforts, Human Rights Day has been solemnized the world over. Various international organizations representing trade unions, women, businessmen, Christian associations, Churches, Jewish organizations, Catholic missions and various other persons and institutions have taken steps to emphasize the principles of the declaration. The World Federation of U.N. Associations seems to have dedicated itself to do this work.

The human rights programme of U.N. includes a wide variety of activities concerning freedom of information, status of women, discrimination, protection of minorities, abolition of slavery and forced labour, etc. Already various commissions and committees of U.N. are tackling problems concerning human rights.

The General Assembly has taken keen interest in finding solutions to problems concerning human rights. It has discussed several times the treatment of the people of Indian origin in South Africa. The General Assembly recommended to the Soviet Union to withdraw the measures which prevent the Russian wives of citizens of other nationalities from leaving their country with their husbands. During its fourth session it took action on the question of discrimination practised by certain states against immigrating labour. It recommended the inclusion of certain rights and freedoms in the Eritrean Constitution. It applied the declaration to non-self-governing territories. The Social and Economic Council has taken various decisions based on the declaration. It has urged equal pay for equal work. The Trusteeship Council has cited the declaration in its various decisions. The specialized agencies like the I.L.O. are playing their part in implementing the declaration. In various international agreements, such as, Netherlands-Indonesian Union, Somaliland agreement, the European Convention for the protection of human rights, Japanese peace treaty, etc., show an impress of the declaration. Various national constitutions show its impact. The Indonesian constitution is the first case in which the human rights have been based almost entirely upon the declaration. The constitutions of Costa Rica, Syria, El Salvador, Haiti have been effected by it. Laws have been passed in France, Canada and Germany embodying some provisions of the declaration. Even the International Court of Justice has taken note of it. In the dispute between Colombia and Peru involving the right of asylum of Mr. Victor Haya de la Toree, Judge Jose Azevedo in a dissenting opinion cited the declaration. The various U.S. Courts have done the same.

Efforts Towards Implementation

The Human Rights Commission has taken up the task of drafting the Covenant on human rights which would constitute a treaty binding on the various states and prescribe measures by which they could be implemented. In the beginning the idea was to draft a single Covenant, as desired by the Assembly. The Human Rights Commission, therefore, drafted a single Covenant and submitted it to the Economic and Social Council in 1950. In 1951, however, the General Assembly asked the Commission to prepare two separate Covenants. By the middle of 1954, the Commission had practically done its work. It sent the two Covenants to the Assembly. The matter came up before the Assembly in December, 1954, when it gave for the first time a first reading to the Covenants and decided to consider them article by article at the next session.

The two Covenants have a common preamble with much of its language derived from the preamble of the Declaration. Attempt has been made to show that human rights belong to the nature of man. They are not the creation of an external authority. All people and nations have been given the right to self-determination. States which agree to the Covenants must consent to promote the realisation of the right in all their territories. One draft Covenant deals with economic, social and cultural rights and the other draft Covenant deals with civil and political rights. The draft Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights contains several regulating provisions on non-discrimination, on general limitations on the exercise of these rights and on the retention of existing rights. Progressively legislation has to be introduced to implement the provisions of the Covenant. A reporting system has been suggested. The draft Covenant on civil and political rights ensures to all individuals within the territory of a state the rights in the Covenant without discrimination. Each state agrees to take the necessary steps to adopt such legislative or other measures as are needed to implement the provisions of the Covenant. Judicial remedy for the violation of these rights has been ensured. A Human Rights Committee is suggested. It will implement the rights in the civil and political Covenant. The Committee will consist of 9 members to be elected by the International Court of Justice. It would hear and mediate disputes between states over alleged violations of the rights given in the Covenant. A reporting system has been suggested here as well. The two Covenants are fairly exhaustive. They deal with nearly every aspect of the individual's life in society. If fully implemented they will go a long way in ushering in a new era of peace and understanding.

Lack of Understanding

The declaration is good so far as it goes. But it is not enough. Something more is needed. What we want is its implementation. Already we have mentioned the steps taken towards that end. We believe that the declaration is greater than the United Nations. If all its contents are accepted in right earnest there is no necessity of the U.N. or rather the work of the U.N. is immensely facilitated. That is what we aim at when we talk of the U.N. and its activities. As Lord Acton declared about the French declaration of the Rights of Man that it was greater than all the armies of Napoleon, similarly we may assert that if all nations are true to the declaration, it can surpass all the resolutions passed in international confenences so far and even all the armies recruited by the U.N. to combat aggression. But if wishes were horses, beggars would ride on them. There is a real lack of understanding among nations. Today they accept one thing, tomorrow they violate. We have seen how the Hague decisions, Locarno Pacts, Pact of Paris, London and Washington decisions have been thrown to the winds. Today we know how Indians are being treated in the South African Union. They have no political rights worth the name. They are being treated like helots in different parts of South Africa. It is a clear challenge to the whole United Nations Organisation and in spite of its best efforts nothing has materialised so far. The people of South-West Africa have been tagged against their will to the White dominion of South Africa and they do not enjoy any right at all. This treatment to a dependant people is being meted out by South Africa, a so-called civilised country and member of U.N. and day in and day out supported by the white nations of the British Commonwealth. The French Government which claims to base her policies on the declaration is not following it when it is a question of her colonies. We know how political opposition is being suppressed in Morocco, Africa and elsewhere. The British Government which claims to base its policies on self-government is adopting very slow steps towards political emancipation of her colonies. She is adopting a halting attitude in her colonies. We are already familiar with the Sereste Khama case when the Labour Government refused to recognise a tribal chief because he had committed the so-called sin of marrying a white girl, Ruth Williams. This was the action of the Labour Government of Mr. Attlee and this was done to humour Dr. Malan. Already there are rumours going on that the British protectorates of Swaziland and Bechuanaland may be handed over to the South African Union. The British Government has created a Central African Federation only because they want that that region of Africa be dominated by the Whites of Southern Rhodesia. The U.S.A. has been the 'Arsenal of Democracy' and Roosevelt was the American President who enunciated the four fundamental freedoms. Every time the U.S.A. stands for human dignity and political integrity. Wilson played a leading part in the evolution of the League of Nations and the mandates system. The American policy in Philippines, in her overseas territories and in her Trust Territory is worth emulation and worth admiration but what is happening to the Negroes within her borders is a matter of constant blame to the successors of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. The recent Dulles-Cunha statement on Goa has shocked enlightened world opinion. It seems as if the traditional policy of anti-colonialism is being reversed. The U.S.A. is indirectly supporting the cause of western imperialism. Nearer home, the communist governments of China, Russia and eastern European countries have played with the rights of the people who are living in a region of Iron Curtain, regimentation and totalitarianism. All this is happening at a time when we have already on the Statute Book of the United Nations a declaration known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We should pray to God and create necessary public opinion, world-wide in scope, so that the declaration may not be a farce but may be "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations" as it is supposed to be.

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A FLOOD AND ITS CONTROL

By SURATH NATH SARKAR, M.SC.,
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The devastating effects of floods are too well-known to be described but the gravity of the problem is generally not fully realised and often soon forgotten. It is only after repeated and severe losses from disastrous floods that people are aroused to adopt measures for protection from them.

Floods at any point on a stream are caused by the water reaching there from above in larger quantities than the stream can carry at its bankful stage. When the capacity of a channel at any place is inadequate to carry off this abnormal quantity of water it will cause the river to overflow its banks and inundate surrounding low-lying areas. Frequently, an arbitrary elevation in many important rivers is marked as the so called 'danger level' to specify the flood stage. Floods undoubtedly follow certain natural laws which have more or less been known, but they generally involve much complexity. To forecast the flood conditions is thus a difficult problem, but it is on the correct forecast that the success and adequacy of the protective measures adopted largely depend.

It is to be noted in this connection that the need for flood-control arises mainly from man's attempt to make use of the flood plains of streams. The encroachment of river channels and flood plains due to growth of cities and industrial concerns, railways, highways and bridges has restricted the natural flow of rivers and thereby caused water to flow at a higher stage so as to overflow the banks. Flood problems have thus aggravated now-a-days much more than they were before. True it is that floods will occur for all time to come and they cannot be prevented completely for ever, but they can certainly be controlled by regulating the flow of natural channels.

Before dealing with flood-control measures, it will probably be not out of place to discuss briefly the various factors which contribute towards floods. The two main factors affecting the magnitude of a flood are: (i) Excessive rainfall and (ii) size and characteristics of the watershed.

Excessive Rainfall

This is the principal cause of all floods throughout

the world except possibly in the polar region. But adjacent to oceans floods may be caused by unusually high tides due to wind and storms. Besides, flood stage may sometimes be augmented due to debris carried away from the watershed. Generally speaking, an intense precipitation over a small watershed or heavy precipitation for a number of days over a large watershed or warm spring rains over accumulated snows are the causes of serious floods. The intensity, duration, and distribution of rainfall all are important factors. The amount of precipitation required to cause flood again depends on topography, size and shape of the basin. When a large deposit of snow over a watershed starts melting during spring as a result of continued high temperature and if this is accompanied by heavy rain a flood is to be apprehended.

Characteristics of the Watershed

The surface slope of the catchment area is an important factor. The steeper the slope, the more rapidly water will flow and the shorter will be the period of concentration. If the ground surface is loose and dry, the run-off may be considerably reduced and flood may not occur. Since the infiltratinn capacity depends on the nature and vegetative cover of the soil, they also play some part on the magnitude of flood. The distribution of channels is also to be considered in this connection.

Let us now come back to the problem of flood-control. In developing flood-control measures, it is highly important to estimate the probable magnitude of future floods on which the success of a project will largely depend. For this purpose, the rainfall data, the size, shape and other physical characteristics of the watershed require to be carefully studied. A detailed record on the magnitude and frequencies of major floods for a catchment over a long period is extremely useful for the design of flood-control works. Systematic discharge records of a stream for a number of years is of great importance for this purpose. The discharge measurement aims at obtaining data showing relation between discharge and stage of a stream. The discharge figure is obtained from measurement of the cross-sectional area of a stream and the mean velocity of the flowing water. But unfortunately no systematic record for a long period exists on any river. Although long-stage records have been kept in some countries they have served little purpose because of incompleteness of data. It is often found that records of rare floods do not exist so that recourse must be made for estimating probable floods based on rainfall data. The consideration of rainfall is thus an important adjunct in flood-control studies.

The measures for flood-control may broadly be divided into two classes. The first comprises provision of adequate channels that will hasten the flow of flood water from the watershed. While the second comprises use of those which retard the flow by storage, damp down the peak intensity of flood and regulate the flow to such extent as the channel can safely carry. While the former may be accomplished by channel improvement, the latter is done by means of reservoirs. Improvement of a channel for flood-control is usually made by (i) straightening and deepening it or (ii) by providing by-pass to direct a part of the flow down the channel away from the river or (iii) by construction of levees to prevent or reduce overbank flooding. Recently a suggestion has gained ground that by controlling the vegetation of a drainage basin and adopting improved agricultural practices, flood flows may be diminished. But the efficacy of it has not yet been fully demonstrated.

The improvement of existing channels increases their carriying capacity whereby the flood water will move faster. The duration as well as the height of flood will be diminished as a result. This can again to achieved in two ways, namely, (i) by increasing the cross-section of a stream and (ii) by enhancing the rate of flow of water. The first one is only practicable for a small and shallow stream having a small watershed. The channel can be dredged to some depth and widened if necessary, which is neither practicable nor economically feasible for a large river. The hydraulic properties of stream as well as its sediment characteristics will determine the method of control and its effect. The velocity or the rate of flow of water can be increased by reducing the roughness of the river bed, increasing the hydraulic radius or the slope of the water surface. This is also possible only for small streams where the removal of weeds and other obstacles may be easily done to reduce the roughness of the bed. The river bends which also form obstacles to flow may be eliminated by short cut-offs. The hydraulic radius may be increased either by deepening or widening the channel, the former being more effective than the latter. It is generally better to raise the banks by levees than lowering the bed by dredging operation. Slope can be altered by straightening a stream by means of cut-offs. But this action may be justifiable only after careful examination of the nature, size and width of the flood plain of a stream. It is only in small streams or streams whose beds and banks do not easily erode, the cut-off channel is made as wide as the natural channel. On a large alluvial stream, usually a narrow channel is dredged down to its low water level. When water flows through it during the rising stage, the channel gets enlarged gradually by nature. Shortening of a large stream having wide flood plains is usually no effective remedy. Because the volume of flood water may be so large that the increased discharge due to cut-offs will not be enough to prevent overflowing the banks. Construction of levees away from the banks is a common practice in such cases. Levees for confinement of over-bank flow produce two effects, namely they reduce cross sectional area for high stages resulting in active scouring, and the reduction in channel width causes a tendency for the river to increase its slope. Cut-offs may disturb the regimen of a stream for many miles above and below and the stretch of increased velocity may be subjected to severe erosion. The cost of such operation may also be very high. Alluvial streams sometimes present peculiar problems. They generally do not possess stable banks or bed. They wander back and forth across their flood plains. The river bends of such streams deflect current whereupon the concave banks are eroded and materials thus scoured get deposited away on the other side. Such a stream rectified by cut-offs may get crooked again as before. But large streams may, however, be improved by cut-offs, if the banks above and below the stretch are rivetted against possible erosion controlled by diking and dredged above to adjust the bed slope and deposits that may be formed below are removed. The effect of tributary flows *i.e.*, the size and location of tributary streams and the time required for their flood water to reach the main valley should also be considered for channel improvement purpose. The shortening of a channel by cut-offs will decrease the channel distance and flood water from both may be concentrated simultaneously to cause a maximum stage in the lower stream the effect of which will be disastrous.

Bypasses are sometimes adopted for local control of flood. This is done by diverting a portion of flow through another channel, and thus relieving the present channel of part of its burden. The chief effects of bypasses on the flow in the main stream are steepening of slope above the point at which the channel leaves it and the local flattening of slope and reduction of discharge below. Carving of banks often reduces the carrying capacity of channels by forming sandbars downstream. Such banks are protected by structures of pile-dikes, tree-retards or rivetment. Clusters of piles are driven to river bed, braced and lashed together in the pile-like method. This retards water and causes deposit on the downstream. Tree-retards consist of a number of trees bound together into a raft which is anchored along the bank to be protected to concrete piles that are sunk into the bed. These rafts form permeable dikes which retard water flowing through them.

Levees are small earth-structures placed away from the banks to serve as artificial channels during flood periods and protect the low lands from being overflown. Levees as measures for flood control have been widely used from olden times. But the design of a levee for a particular flood discharge, its spacing and height, alignment and grade, etc., are not an easy job. Measures are to be adopted for protection from seepage, erosion by current or wave action. Generally, concrete lining, sheet piling along the toe of the slope and some sort of grass cover are used for this purpose.

Reservoirs can no doubt prevent flood, but the cost in most cases becomes prohibitive. In fact, the feasibility of controlling flood by building reservoirs depends on the cost of construction, availability of proper reservoir sites and on the value of benefits to be derived. If the topographic conditions are favourable for storing a large volume of water the construction of a reservoir will be economically justified. The beneficial effect also rapidly diminishes with distance, depending on the storage capacity and inflow to the valley below the reservoir. Reservoirs are therefore built near the area desired to be protected by them. A series of reservoirs on the tributaries will involve huge cost and for this reason, reservoirs are generally built for multiple purposes, like irrigation, power and navigation and not for flood control alone. Of course, a number of reservoirs have been built solely for flood control purposes in different countries.

Reservoirs for flood-control are very effective and well applicable to small watersheds. A system of reservoirs, one on each of the principal tributaries solves the problem for a larger watershed. Reservoirs are to be located at the headwaters or the upper reaches of a stream. There are generally two types of reservoirs according to their functions, storage and detention reservoirs. A storage reservoir is provided with gates at the base of the dam so that flood water may be emptied out in quantities as desired. A detention reservoir has a number of openings in the base which remain open for all times. They will always store water in excess of that the openings can discharge. Storage reservoir has the advantage of flexibility of operation to meet any emergency and these can be used for multipurposes. The advantage of detention reservoirs is that they are not manually operated but their use is mainly restricted to flood control purposes only and applicable to comparatively small watersheds.

It will appear from above that the economic factor stands mainly in the way of constructing flood control projects. Multipurpose dams are generally therefore looked for solution in such cases. But the requirements for such purpose are generally quite conflicting. Reservoirs for flood control should empty out water as soon as possible so as to be ready for the next storm, whereas for irrigation and other purposes water is to be stored and taken out only when required. Moreover, multipurpose reservoirs should have much greater capacity than those required for flood control.

It is to be noted that flood-control either by reducing flow by means of reservoir or protecting flood plains from overflow by levees always constitutes a local problem which admits of no general solution. On some rivers levees may serve best, on others the reservoirs and on still others a combination of both. In fact, each particular case is to be judged on its own merits. Where a combination gives the correct solution the extent to which each can be used is also to be determined. Each situation requires to be studied carefully by means of river models with reference to practical and physical considerations.

THE PATH THAT LEADS TO SCHOOL

By KALIDAS RAY

[*Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the orginal Bengali*]

The *babul* in blossoms brings to my mind
The dear old way,
Along whose slender path in early youth
To school I used to go, day by day.
Enclosed with hedges greeen, here and there,
In tiny door-yards of cottages gay,
The children run and play ;
How busy are their mothers with household care !
Beside a holy tomb, in ruins and bare,
With eye-lids down, in prayers entranced,
Full many a soul, a-kneeling in rows.
Conches blow in the Siva's Shrine; Aglow's
The Dutch graveyard with blooms of divers hues ;
Rightward smiles the pool, with lilies in bloom,
Leftward swings in winds the clump of bamboos to and fro.

Bellows blow in the smithy hearth ;
Beneath the *bakul*-trees the gipsies pitch their tents ;
Strewn's the earth with half-burnt logs.
Ding ! Dong ! Swells the bell in the Armenian Church,
Slowly comes the parson, infirm and old ;
Under the arch he takes his stand and greets.
There the chapel is ; No more the devotees ;
No more the people of the fold.
The priest to-day, alone he hears the chimes of Time,
And his hour awaits.
To tiny pitchers trickles th' juice
In the roadside dates
The wind's in the palm-trees ;
The nests of weaver-birds it shakes.
Ah, with these, and many such glimpses untold,
The woodland-path doth gleam in my mind !
To lips of mine did language give
The school-shrine ;
Messages brought from home and abroad ;
My empty bowls it fill'd with treasure fine
And fit me for the journey.
Time and again, I salute her !
And that sylvan path ! It did kindle in me
A torch of hope and intuition,
A fondness and feelings deep,
Gave me a new birth, and roused me from sleep ;
Gave wings to my imagination, spurred my fancy,
Stir'd up the yearnings of my soul—
Taught me divers modes of Muse
And fit me for the poet's role—
Never shall I forget it.
To this weary, desolate life, to this day
Solace it brings with manifold gifts,
Transcends and uplifts ;
A new eye and a new ear it gave to me,
Put forth new impulses of soul and sense,
Never shall I forget it !

With its shady green, with what tender care
How often would it wipe away my cares !
The fatigue of reading, languidness,
The fret and sweat and melancholy gloom !
Ah, a part of my life hath it become, that tender care !
Like a creeper abloom,
Its memory hath entwined me for ever
With Nature fair.
The prime of my life haunts there still !
The pollens of my blooming days
Lie scatter'd on its dust ;
What an attachment deep did I feel
For each shrub and tree !
Every cot to me was dearly known.
Stretching their supple arms from stems of trees,
Fluttering in the breeze,
Oft would the creepers greet me in the way,
With their floral bliss.
Hallowed with sweet dreams of boyhood,
How vivid are they today
Those objects of tender ties,
Associated with that path !

When and how a purple twig
With leaves of emerald green did shoot,
When and where a tender bloom
Mellowed to a dainty fruit,—all this I knew.
In this bosom is writ on what trees and when
The fury of the North-wester struck the branches dear.
They lie shatter'd in the dust here—
The fond hopes of my boyhood-day
That built their homes on those boughs !
Yes, that path ! it knows, it knows my vows
And all the secret of this life !
Many a hush'd wish of my youth
Have I left behind with the birds,
Twittering in the coppice there !
Still wet is the grass with tears I shed,
My joys and sorrows cling to it ;
Dappl'd with light and shade, dank with dews,
How sweet
An' sublimated, lovely an' variegated
Are they to-day—
In dust and dirt and breath of the woods !
In the quiet neighbourhoods,
All my wistful. desires are sobbing still
Night and day, in the choir of the crickets,
Pining for the kindred.
And the gilded dreams of youth are blossoming still !
Lo ! The Yellow clusters, they throb and thrill
On the boughs of the Laburnums.

INDIAN SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRIES

By Prof. G. S. KAMAT, M.COM., M.A. (Econs.)

Even before the birth of Christ, Indian ships plied the seven seas. Thereafter a period of uncertainty and dependence intervened and the past bright tradition was cut off. Now we are a free nation. Our old aspirations have naturally risen again. We have the inspiration and encouragement of our past glorious history and the sea is as if beckoning to us to re-establish our maritime traditions. It is true that it will take time but we must hurry up before it is too late to bring our shipping and ship-building into their own.

It is intended to review the present position of these industries on this background in this article.

India has a coastline of 3000 miles and she is in need of an adequate merchant navy for the transport of her goods and passengers. India's volume of overseas trade is growing very fast. Further a strong navy serves as an efficient second line of defence for the country.

The present volume of cargo exceeds 22 million tons per annum. But India's merchant navy falls too short for its handling. The aggregate Indian-owned shipping registered tonnage for operation on coastal and overseas routes was 4,75,000 by October, 1954. It is not even half per cent. of the world tonnage. India's share of international trade exceeds 2 per cent. But with the present tonnage hardly 5% of it is carried with great difficulty. India needs at least 2 million tons to satisfy the immediate needs. Between 1947-51 India paid nearly 150 crores by way of shipping freight for the import of foodgrains only. Had there been an adequate navy for its carriage there would have been a considerable saving in the foreign exchange. As per the First Five-Year Plan, by 1956, India proposes to teach the target of 600,000 G.R.T. With the marked activity now being shown by the Indian shipping companies it is hoped that the target will easily be reached.

Shipping and ship-building industries belong to the category of heavy industries. They require crores of rupees by way of capital. But this itself will not suffice. There are many other factors. Some are within the control of shipping companies and some are beyond their reach. For example, national and international circumstances, import and export policies of Government, ability of the country to find markets for its goods abroad, modern facilities at ports, rail-sea co-ordination, co-operation of labour, etc., all these are beyond the control of the shipping companies. On the other hand, size, type and speed of the ships, organisational efficiency, etc., are matters entirely in the hands of the ship-owners.

A coastal ship costs nearly 50 lakhs of rupees while an overseas ship requires nearly a crore of rupees or even more. Capital formation is very difficult in an underdeveloped country like India, with the result fresh additions to the fleet by constructing new ships become difficult. It is true that the Government has been providing liberal loan facilities to the shipping companies for acquiring new ships. But a further liberalisation of terms and conditions is being asked for. At present the Government gives 85 per cent. of the cost of the ship whether newly built or second-hand. at 4½ per cent for the coastal ship and 2½ per cent for the overseas ship. This rate though it apparently looks attractive imposes a big burden on a shipping company, particularly as a unit in the overseas trade where there is keen competition. Supposing a ship costs a crore of rupees and a loan for the like amount is to be returned within a period of ten years, the annual burden in case of one steamer alone would be in the region of about 10 to 12 lakhs and when it is further realised that minimum depreciation of 6 per cent has also to be provided, the two items will account for as much as 15 to 17 lakhs of rupees. Ship-owners are, therefore, rightly suggesting that the rate of interest should be reduced and the period for repayment may be raised to the normal life of the ship *i.e.* 20 years. The period of repayment also should start after the fifth year and not as at present.

Since the Government gives financial assistance to the shipping company and in view of the fact that India has a ship-yard of her own it is natural that the Government should insist on ships financed by them being built at the Vizag Yard. It is doubtless the intention of the patriotic ship-owners as well. But the present practice of pricing the Vizag Ship on the U.K. parity results in a considerable disadvantage in regard to his competitive capacity as compared to a ship-owner who runs ships built in Germany or Japan where deliveries are also quick. There have been unconscionable delays in the delivery of the Vizag Ship criticism about which was voiced on the floor of the Indian Parliament recently. We hope this is a temporary phase and in any case it cannot be allowed to last long.

For a cheap and efficient transport the shipping companies must evince a greater care in regard to type, size and speed of the ships. Requirements of coastal trade have been met and continue to be met satisfactorily by ships of 10 knots speed. But in overseas

services after World War II especially all newly built ships have a greater speed reaching 14 knots cruising speed (which is above the economic speed). Doubtless there are some ships having 10½ knots speed. As regards fuel used it is worthy to note that a large proportion of vessels in the overseas trade is oil-burner, coal-using steamers being confined to coast only. It is natural as India's supplies of coal are abundant.

It is unfortunate that the existing merchant navy should be dominated by secondhand ships. Nearly 60% of the tonnage added or to be added during 1946-56 is old and hence not economical. Out of 138 ships (5,68,227 GRT) 94 ships (3,48,118 GRT) have been secondhand ships. These ships required a sum of nearly 20 crores of rupees. The remaining new ships would require an amount of 31 crores of rupees. It is very difficult to raise so much amount. Old vessels are not economical and also affect the efficiency of companies. Both factors are important in the overseas transport where keen competition cannot be avoided. The Government should, therefore, discourage Indian shipowners from going in for secondhand tonnage.

As disclosed by Shri S. N. Haji during the discussion, some time ago which I had the honour to have with him, the average age of the ships is now coming down. In view of the new tonnage ordered by the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. it is expected that it would come down to 11 years or so by 1956-57. It was 23 in 1945-46.

Since national lines provide a number of established services between India and many other countries, it is reasonable and just that the companies should look to the Government for patronage which will provide opportunities both for the improvement and expansion of Indian shipping. Government of India has been practically the largest single importer of goods for the last few years. In 1951, nine million tons of cargo was imported on the Government account. In 1952 the figure stood at 6 million tons. Now that food position has improved, imports of grains will be reduced. However, a large tonnage of goods will continue to be imported under various international agreement such as Technical Co-operation Agreement, etc. It is estimated that imports on the Government account are likely to remain in the neighbourhood of 4 million tons per year. If Indian shippping companies are afforded an opportunity to undertake the transport of these it will increase their receipts and will enable them to add new tonnage. Moreover, crores of rupees which India pays annually to the foreign companies would be saved and would strengthen the exchange resources of the country.

At present it seems, there is lack of co-ordination or co-operation among different ministries on this subject. Shipping and ship-bulilding are closely connected. But at present its charge has been divided among various departments and ministries. The problems pertaining to this field are at present looked after by three ministries. The subject of import and export is handled by the Commerce Ministry, shipping as such by the Transport Ministry and construction aspect of it by the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposal working under Housing, Power and Works Ministry. These three activities of Government need to be co-ordinated and as suggested by Shri Haji, India would benefit a lot if activities of these are canalised through one central co-ordinating agency. It may be explained further in this connection that while ship-building is wholly Governmental, shipping is private and therefore, the problems of each are distinct; one is the producer, the other, consumer. Howeven, co-ordination should not be difficult.

The XVth biennial Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce was held in Tokio, last May. The subject of "Flag Discrimination" was placed on the agenda. The representatives of leading ship-owing countries presented some cases "as flagrant cases of 'Flag discrimination.'" While charging in this way they had least regard to the views of the representatives of the underdeveloped maritime countries.

India holds the view that every maritime nation has a right to develop its mercantile marine according to its requirements of trade and defence. The Government must protect national shipping as it protects other industries. The Government as a shipper has a right to choose its own ships and such choice cannot be described as "Flag discrimination."

India has long back accepted the provisions contained in the International Maritime Ports convention of 1923. It aims at preventing restrictive practices regarding port dues and navigation in case of ships belonging to other contracting states. The equality of treatment covers facilities such as allocation of berths, loading and unloading facilities, as well as dues and charges of all kinds levied in the name or for the account of the Government, public authorities, etc. India signed the convention when she was not a free nation. But even today after becoming independent, she continues to honour these provisions.

Till World War II the term 'Flag discrimination' was limited to port dues, berthing facilities, etc. Now its meaning has been stretched a bit further so as to apply to patronage to national ships. And this will have no end. Really any attempt to extend the scope of 'flag discrimination' is uncalled for. Even the existing leading ship-owning countries has adopted various discriminatory practices in their earlier stages of development and they are today what they are! Nobody had opposed them at that time. The restrictive navigation laws of England are well-known to the students of history. But the same practices have come to be charged as 'flag discrimination' today.

The Inter-Governmental maritime Consultative Organisation (Geneva, 1948) has also recognised the assistance and encouragement given by a Government for the development of its national shipping and for that purpose it does not constitute discrimination, provided of course, it does not curtail freedom of shipping of

all other flags to take part in international trade. Therefore, to term "subsidies, tax concessions, loans at concessional rates of interests, reservation of state cargo to national vessels, insertion of suitable clauses in bilateral trade agreements concluded with other countries" as 'Flag discrimination' is not correct. Even today British writers like Mr. N. D. Rothan remarks that "When we cease to discriminate against ships of other flags we will have a stronger argument to bring forward that other countries should cease discrimination against British vessels." (1955 Annual of *Fairplay*). Coastal trade is wholly reserved for the national vessels and is not termed as 'flag discrimination'. Similarly, whatever is done for the legitimate development of national shipping cannot be termed as such. Calling upon shippers and importers to patronise the nation's ships are not more reprehensible than the slogans: "Buy British, Buy American," etc. India has recenly become a free nation. She has a coast of 3000 miles and was in the past a leading maritime nation. She is economically progressing, her industries are growing. She must have, therefore an adequate merchant navy as early as possible. Reservation of 100 p.c. of coastal trade and 50 p.c. of overseas trade to national ships should be regarded as reasonable and attempts for fulfilling the legitimate ambitions of a maritime nation should be regarded as just. The national flag to grow needs all legitimate protection.

Conferences provide another headache to the national shipping companies. The economic position of our shipping companies is not very satisfactory. They have practically no reserves with the result they cannot stand competition. Hence they have to adopt a policy of negotiation for securing the right to lift cargo from ports situating on their regular runs. Indian companies experience difficulties on getting admission into conferences which govern trades between the intermediate ports in the India-U.K. continent sector. The Indian ships cannot lift cargo from the intermediate ports although foreign members of the same conference are allowed to do so. For example, an Indian ship loading cargo from Calcutta for discharge at Colombo will not be allowed to load cargo from Colombo for say London although this port situates on its regular route.

This restriction normally affects the earning capacity of the Indian companies. A ship should always sail with as little empty space as possible. But Indian ships have to suffer on this account. Unless our Government takes a bold initiative and enables the companies to face the competition in the international services, we may not be quite hopeful about the future of Indian shipping.

The Union Minister for Commerce and Industry while speaking before the Import Advisory Council's Meeting on 21st May, 1955, warned the foreign shipping companies who have threatened to bring about an unwarranted rise in the freight surcharge on goods carried to India, that their ships will not be allowed to touch our ports. These companies want to raise their freight surcharge by 25 to 30 per cent because of delay in clearance due to labour trouble. But non-co-operation of the dock labour is experienced not in India alone. It has become a usual thing in foreign countries like U.K. also. We do not, however, hear about a similar threat being given by any shipping company touching the British ports. It is hoped that they will put off their decision of levying a freight surcharge in case of Indian goods.

Commenting on the warning given by the Commerce and Industry's Minister of the Government of India, Shri Haji said that it was not possible for India to prevent foreign ships from touching our ports, because we are bound already by the International Regime of Maritime Ports (1923) convention; but instead we may impose a surcharge on the income accrued to them from the carriage of Indian goods and this will be more effective.

Another question pertains to rail-sea co-ordination. It has assumed a serious proportion recently. For example, coal is being carried more cheaply by rail than by sea against a well-accepted canon of economics that sea transport is cheaper than rail transport. However, this queer position is going to be examined by the proposed Committee for Rail Coastal Shipping Rates Co-ordination whose recommendations, it is hoped, would put the business on its natural footing.

Ship-owners have been urging government for tax concession. Indian shipping industry is still in its infancy. Today it is concerned with salestax, duties and levies on stores, etc. Especially, the 1946 amendment to the Income Tax Act has hit the industry. Under this the sale proceeds and amount realised from the underwriters for maritime mishaps are being taxed. There is a higher frequency of accidental total loss as also of disposal of fully depreciated ships. The shipping interests want an exemption from the operaton of this clause. It is true that the Government have allowed initial depreciation and double normal depreciation in respect of new assets and in case of ships, they are allowed on secondhand ships also. The ship-owners feel that this does not give them a real relief but merely defers the payment of tax to a future date. According to them not merely underdeveloped countries but even the leading martitime countries have granted various concessions in regard to taxation. For example, the U.K. Government have recently sanctioned an "Investment allowance" to the extent of 20 per cent of the new plant and machinery. The Indian National Steamship Owners' Association had recommended this relief of granting an Investment Allowance on U.K. lines, to the Taxation Enquiry Commission. The companies should be encouraged to plough back as much amount of their profits as is possible on which it may be sug-

gested no tax should be levied or the rate charged should be nominal. These concessions will enable the Indian shipping companies to develop on sound lines and rapidly.

This article will not be complete without a reference to the "Tanker Fleet." Now that the oil refineries have come to be established in Bombay, Indian ships and others concerned have been agitating about their share in transport of crude oil imported for being converted into refined products and again their transport to various consuming centres in India. The national fleet would not be complete without an appropriate quota of tankers. It is estimated that for the transport of 1½ million tons of refined oil and oil products, our country would require 20 tankers of about 9,000 tons D.W. in addition to 10 tankers of about 18 to 20 thousand tons to import the crude oil from outside. Further it must be noted that the terms of the agreement entered into by the Government of India with the oil companies have also given rise to criticism as it debars the Indians indefinitely from the transport trade. Thus on the coast about a 1½ million tons of refined products will be carried by the foreign ships in spite of the fact that the coastal trade has been reserved for the Indian national ships.

However, there has been difference of opinion about the building up of a national tanker fleet. For example, Shri V. S. Vallabhdas has expressed in his article published in the Air Rail Road and Marine Transport Supplement of the *Times of India* (dated 25th February, 1955) that it would be unwise for India to invest money in tankers at this stage, when the tanker building is undergoing a sort of revolution. The size and speed of tankers is being considerably raised and tankers of 45,000 to 47,000 tons having a speed of 15 knots are under construction in the important ship-yards of Europe. These would make the present tankers obsolete. Hence, according to the said authority we may allow the oil companies to handle the crude oil imports and oil products in their bottoms and carefully watch the position for some time to come. We shall benefit from experience of others.

There is also a great necessity for up-to-date port facilities which would lesson the delay in clearing the goods from ships and docks. The recent controversies in connection with the dock labour have made it clear that delays in turn-round of ships is due to factors such as inadequate trained personnel to meet customs routine, utter inadequacy of modern equipment in ports and last, but not the least, the 'go-slow' policy of labour whatever the reason thereof. It will be realised that a day's delay costs a shipping company a dead loss to the tune of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and the companies have lost in this way 50 to 200 days in a year.

A word must also be said about the management of Indian shipping companies. It is necessary to promote economy in all directions. In this connection a causal study of the management of foreign companies would be instructive. Most of the companies are under the managing agents and it must be stated to their credit that no problems have arisen in this industry of a type comparable to that one in the textile industry. It is satisfactory to note that the new Companies Act which will be probably passed in the July/September session of the Indian Parliament will introduce much needed reform in this system as a whole.

Thus stands our shipping and ship-building today. We have, there is no doubt, a bright maritime future. Shipping companies should remove the shortcomings which are within their reach and for the removal of other drawbacks the national Government must come forward. The next five years, it must be said, will be the testing period for Indian shipping.

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

GLORY THAT WAS GURJARADESA (A.D. 550—1300): *By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. 1955. Parts I and II. Pp. xxi + 505. Price Re. 1-12 for each Part.*

This is a very painstaking work on the history of a region comprising modern Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat (forming according to the author from c.700 A.D. onwards the homeland of a people called after their territory by the name of Gurjaras) during the period from the downfall of the Gupta Empire down to the Muslim conquest. Though this tract was not of much consequence before 700 A.D., it rose thereafter to imperial greatness under certain famous rulers of the Pratihara, the Paramara and the Chaulukya dynasties. This explains the titles the first, the second and the third empires applied successively by the author to the dominions of Nagabhata II and his successors, Munja and lastly Jayasimha Siddharaja and some later rulers, with Kanouj, Dhara and Anahilavada as their respective capitals. The author has utilized all available source-material with commendable diligence. What is more, he has frequently balanced the conflicting evidence and provided critical estimates of character as well as of the springs of historical movements. The history of the ruling dynasties is accompanied by periodical reviews of the social, the religious and the economic conditions of the land. Genealogical charts, maps, appendices on selected topics of history and archaeology and a good index, add to the usefulness of this work. A few general statements of the author, however, we think, require reconsideration. While the indigenous origin of the four Kshatriya clans, the Pratiharas, the Chahamanas, the Paramaras and the Chaulukyas may be taken to have been proved, is it correct to state (p. 8f.) that they were (evidently in contrast with all other neighbouring dynasties), "united by blood, tradition, and the country of their origin and then they remained closely knit together throughout the period from A.D. 500 until 1300?" Did the weakening of "the Aryavarta-consciousness" with the accompanying decline of "the Chakravarti idea" and the stiffening of the Chaturvarnya scheme into distinct castes date only, as the author variously thinks (pp. 61 f, 273 f, 330 f), from the decline of the Imperial Guptas, or from the invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, or from the death of Harshavardhana? Was the exclusive spirit of the Kshatriyas due entirely or mainly to their adoption of the practice of universal polygamy? Was the rise of "popular forms of Arya-dharma like Buddhism and Jainism" (*sic.*) due to "the failure of the lofty Aryan learning and ritual to satisfy the aspirations of the newly-absorbed masses" and did "these new movements" connote "Aryavarta-consciousness" as a mere "literary and mythological concept?" (pp. 332-33). It is right to characterise (p. 122) Mihira Bhoja as "not merely a Caesar nor a Pontiff such as the imperators of Rome and Byzantium," but as being "thrice sacred" on the grounds stated by the author? Can the transition from Ancient to Mediaeval India be dated in the precise year 997 A.D.? (p. 235).

U. N. GHOSHAL

PROBLEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: *Edited by Dr. B. B. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Bharati Bhawan, Bankipore, Patna. Pp. ix + 310. Price Rs. 10.*

The volume under review purports to be a collection of papers on different problems of Public Administration, both of a general character and also with special reference to India, read and discussed at two consecutive sessions of the Indian Political Science Conference held under the aegis of the Indian Political Science Association and edited by the President of the 14th session of the Conference. The book falls into five different sections. Section I is devoted to a study of administrative problems in general, Section II to Public Corporations, Section III to Executive, Section IV to Judicial Administration and Section V to Local Administrations. Considering the great importance that public administration has assumed lately not only in this country engaged as it is in gigantic experiments in rehabilitation of its economy on the attainment of independence, but also in other parts of the world engaged in post-war reconstruction, the authorities of the Indian Political Science Association are to be congratulated on conceiving the idea of bringing out such a volume containing the well-considered views of the best scholars of the subject throughout the country on its different aspects and studying from different angles. Like all such compilations it shares both the good points and defects of such a work. We have had the advantage of having the mature thoughts of a number of acute minds working on the subject from different backgrounds and thus getting a proper perspective in regard to the problems. On the other hand, we find some amount of overlapping inevitable in such a publication. The volume does not make the extravagant claim "to deal exhaustively with the vast field of public administration in India," but the modest claim of the editor of the volume indicating "the lines on which further studies in this subject are necessary" is more than justified. The volume will not only prove of interest to scholars of public administratic

in every country but serve a useful purpose by way of offering a good reference book on the subject of which there was great dearth in this country, at any rate, to University students reading the subject in their course of studies in Political Science in many of the Indian Universities.

A. K. GHOSHAL

1. WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Demy octavo. Board-bound. Pp. iii + 372. Price Rs. 3.*

2. THE STORY OF MY LIFE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Abridged and simplified by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. vii + 207. Price Re. 1-8.*

3. REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES: *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. v + 132. Price Re. 1-8.*

4. THIS WAS BAPU: *By R. K. Prabhu. Pp. xiv + 178. Price Rs. 2.*

All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

1. As I read through the book the title of a brochure by Mano Gandhi came to my mind—Bapu, My Mother. And he himself writes: "I have mentally become a woman in order to deal with her heart. I could not steal into my wife's heart until I decided to look her differently than I used to do and so I endeared to her all her rights by dispossessing myself of all my so-called rights as her husband" (p. 91). Gandhi declares to call women the weaker sex: "It is the soul of the two, for it is even today the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith, and knowledge" (p. 129). He answers a poser with a counter-question thus: "Has not independence of men and the holding properly led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes' then let it be so also with women" (p. 154). Texts of the sentences that demarcate between the sexes or [illegible] Gandhi and he would scrape them (p. 15).

Nevertheless, he would not, for the life of him, have her sacrifice the rôle. That he regards as "revering her by forgetting and the beginning of the end" (p. 78). How would he, with all his tender care for [illegible] He sees what should seek justice, not [illegible] (p. 182). Gandhi asks girls in schools and [illegible] to disappear into the kingdom of [illegible] We see in history has done so much [illegible] I wonder why the book does [illegible] The book carries a foreword by Sri [illegible] The paper used is good, so is print- [illegible] There is a printing mistake there in No. 78, first [illegible]

[illegible] The volumes under review is presented in res- [illegible] of the teaching profession for a [illegible]—Gandhiji's [illegible] are in charge of shaping the future of our [illegible] A school that goes [illegible] (Sem (p. 15).

[illegible] Community [illegible] Bharat Sevak Samaj [illegible] country. [illegible] nation [illegible] Gandhi [illegible] Rebuilding our villages along the true way. We may not go without peril, all out for material prosperity ignoring the spiritual values. This book should be in the hands of all engaged in such village work.

4. Sri R. K. Prabhu, it appears, is the fourth in the line of Gandhi anecdote-givers. The first was Sri Ramchandran with his *A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecdotes*. The second was Sri Kaka Kalelkar with his incomparable *Stray Glimpses*. The third was Sri Chandrashankar Shukla with his *Incidents of Mahatma's Life*. All these are love's offerings. And love sees as nothing else so truly sees. We should be grateful to them for letting us have a peep at what they in their love abundant saw of the Master. Anecdotes are not all light fare. They are a rich repast too, if we shall remember the pithy saying of Dr. Martin, the philosopher: "Trifles make perfection but perfection is not a trifle." The foreword to this Sri Prabhu's book by Kaka Kalelkar is illuminating. By presenting the public with these anecdotes Sri Prabhu has laid us under a debt of gratitude.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOUTH ASIA: *Edited by Dr. A. Appadorai. Published by the Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Price Rs. 4.*

The Asian Relations Organisation organised and the Unesco sponsored a Social Science seminar in New Delhi in December-January, 1952-53. "The contribution of social sciences to studies in the status of women in South Asia" was the subject for discussion in the Seminar. The volume under review is based on discussions in the above Seminar.

The discussions threw a flood of light on South Asian womanhood from various angles. Ten pages read in the Seminar are given in the Appendices (i—x). Each stimulating and thought-provoking in its own way, gives a lot of information not known to many. The papers by U. R. Ehrenfels (Appendix I), D. P. Mukerji (Appendix III), Lakshmi N. Menon (Appendix V), and Richard J. Coughlin (Appendix IX), among others, deserve special mention. The first points out that the matrilineal organization of society, in which succession to family and other social titles and the inheritance of property are traced through the mother, was not a primitive social form. It is further contended that "Men are not ruled by women, or submitted to severe restrictions in matrilineal societies, such as women are in patrilineal societies" and that "Matrilineal culture-tradition has played a major part in fashioning the cultural background of South and South-East Asia in the past and may provide fruitful elements for shaping the future." The author's contention that Buddhism was in a way "a renaissance movement of Indian womanhood and with this of non-Aryan, non-Patriarchal features" is, however, a controversial one and may not be accepted by many.

Mr. D. P. Mukerji's paper, "Indian Women and the Modern Family," gives much food for serious thought. He points out that the middle class women in modern India is "hovering between two worlds, one nearly dying (religious) and the other still unborn (individual). Much of her psycho-physical trouble arises from this uncertain social situation . . . Natural family life itself is often jeopardised by this cultural vacuum. There is more stress and strain in the married life of the upper classes than before." This state of affairs is due not a little to the fact that Western values, which are pushing out certain Indian

values, are not being installed in their places. There is a big "gap in knowledge of classics and the latest text books." The gap is not conducive to culture.

The learned author reminds the new Indian woman that "As carrier of the best of the modern and as store of the best of the old values" she has a duty towards the quality of the evolving Indian culture. "She can stand as a bulwark against brutalisation and vulgarisation, against the reduction of humanity into a mass of undifferentiated individuals, to which we all seem to be doomed." The pity is that the modern Indian woman is not doing it. She has further to give clear answers to the questions posed in the paper—"What type of family do educated Indian women want?" "What social learning does the type of family they want offer?" "What is, in their opinion, the relation between familial education and social service, which they must needs perform in the evolving Indian society?" The matter is urgent and the well-being of the nation at large demands prompt answers.

Mrs. Menon's paper "Political Rights of Women in India," on the other hand, is more factual than critical. So also is Mr. Couglin's paper "The Position of Women in Vietnam." These together with the other papers incorporated in the Appendices give much valuable information, unknown or little known to, perhaps,, most of us. A perusal of them is sure to prove an intellectual treat of no mean order.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

1. WHAT BECOMES OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH: *Pp. 227. Price Rs. 3.*

2. FIRST LESSONS IN VEDANTA: *Pp. 198. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Both the books are by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book discusses an important subject—the meaning of death, state of transmigration, reincarnation and different worlds passed through by the disembodied soul. The frontispiece is picturesque and depicts the journey of soul after death. In the tenth chapter considered views of the German philosopher, Schopenhaur, and the beliefs of ancient Egyptians in hereafter are quoted and discussed. Biblical conceptions of resurrection and judgement are superficially compared with Hindu views of *karma* and rebirth in a separate chapter.

The second book contains elements of Vedanta and is meant for beginners. Categories of Vedanta and the two Upanishads—Sarvasara and Niralamba are also summarised. Select passages from the Upanishads, attributes of Brahman and Sankaracharya's *Atma-satka* are added at the outset. The Vedantic maxims and Vedanta in alphabet given in another chapter are immensely instructive. A perusal of the book will acquaint the reader with the essentials of Vedanta. Vedanta which is the pinnacle of Indian Thought should thus be popularised in order to stabilise our philosophy in the modern society. Swami Sivananda is doing yeoman's service to the country by broadcasting Vedanta through such readable manuals.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU OF BHATTA LAKSHMIDHARA (Vol. VI, Vratakanda): *Edited by Rangaswami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIII. Baroda, Oriental Institute. Price Rs. 17*

We have great pleasure in noticing Vol. VI of the *Krityakalpataru*, a voluminous digest on *dharmasastra*, of which Vol. V (the first to be published) was noticed in these pages in December, 1946. In the meantime several other volumes have been issued and the work is nearing completion. The existence of the present section of the *Kalpataru* was not known to the world of scholars till the more or less recent discoveries of two manuscripts at Nagpur and Ujjain. It is on these two manuscripts that the edition is based. The volume deals with 175 *vratas* or vows among a legion known in different parts of the country. A number of them are quite interesting but few of them have any agreement with *vratas* current in Bengal or recorded in old literature of the place. A close agreement, however, exists between the descriptions found in this work and those in the *Vratakhanda* of the *Chaturvargachintamani* of Hemadri. This is clear from the footnotes which record variations noticed in Hemadri, the *Bhavisyapurana* and the manuscripts referred to above. The volume will supply valuable material for the historical and comparative study of feasts and festivities of the land and its various parts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA SAHITYER PARICHAY: *By Sachin Sen. M.A., B.L., Ph.D. Third edition. Readers' Corner, 6, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 7.*

The volume and variety of Tagore's works justify the expanding critical literature on them. The present author has tried to follow his trend of thoughts carefully and give a fair estimate of his poems, novels and dramas. The poet himself acknowledged in a letter: "You have viewed the poet with care and spirit of enquiry." Signs of scholarship and hard work are evident and the issue of the third edition of the book clearly proves that it has enjoyed popularity.

The book is divided into five chapters: (1) Rabindranath's Ideas, (2) Rabindranath and the Meaning of Literature, (3) Introduction to Rabindranath's Poetry, (4) The Novels of Rabindranath, (5) Rabindranath's Dramas. The writer seems to be inclined towards analytical study. On the whole the book is informative and useful.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

DIYA JALA, DIYA BUJHA: *By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Ramauria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A novel with vigour and verve. It portrays the life of the now dying feudal chiefs of Rajasthan, who ruled over their subjects with unqualified and unashamed autocracy. The only two pillars of their reign were their personal whim and want, specially in the matter of gratification of their passions without the least moral compunctions of any kind. The present publication paints all this in lurid and ghastly colours. The play of light and shade like the burning and snuffing out of the lamp, against which the whole drama is enacted, is masterly. And yet in the midst of the despicable degradation of humanity, simple and pure love asserts itself and ultimately triumphs as well.

GUJARATI

PUNIT PAGALUN : *By Pravir Vakta. Published by Purnima Shah, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A "Righteous Step" is a tale written by Shri Vakta to assist the Prohibition policy of the State of Bombay. He is a young writer and free of enthusiasm to do something for his fellow brothers and sisters. He has secured a chorus of approval for work done and contemplated to be done in this direction from those of the highest status, like Governors and Ministers. He is fond of art and culture. Trikala is his Kala Kendra (Art Centre). He writes in Hindi also, and provided he gets help, encouragement and co-operation he is sure to do better.

SHATPATHA BRAHMAN : *By Popatlal Dayaram Raval, L.S.M.F., Morvi. Printed at the Sandeshalal Press, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated. Card-board cover. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.*

The *Shatpatha Brahman* is a part of the Shukla Yajurveda and is more than 6500 years old, thus older than the Hebrew, Buddhistic and Christian religions. The tenets comprised in this composition are found to have been prevalent in Mesopotamia, when the Aryans lived there. The writer who has made a very deep study of its contents, in the light of observations of Vedic scholars of the East and the West, comes to the conclusion that its language is symbolic, and the rituals are also symbolic. He finds principles of modern science like Physics, Electricity and Radio-Activity, set out there in unmistakable terms, provided only one can understand the symbols. He proposes to bring out only one part, out of four, into English, namely that relating to Radio-Activity. Our recommendation is that he should do so for the whole of the book. Laymen all over the world should realise that Indians knew all about Electric energy and Radio-Activity, six thousand years ago, and that then, somehow or other forgot it all.

NIRMAL SHYAM RAS : *By Kumari Nirmal Devi. Published by Mrs. Lakshmi Behan H. Vora, Bombay. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 224 + 5. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Miss Nirmal Devi is Vedant Tirth, Kavya Tirth, Vyakaran Visharad, etc., and a scholarly young lady, who has already by her learned and religious addresses established her name as a speaker and a guide to the trends of the Vaishnavite Creed. A devotee of Shri Krishna, the Shyam Sundar, Shri Devi as she calls herself, has published 105 songs in Gujarati and 6 in Sanskrit, the contents of which remind one of the devotion of the Gopis to Krishna, immortalised all over India, old and new, by poets of all provinces. That such devotion still exists, is a proof of how deep-seated it has been. Nirmal Devi deserves to be congratulated in every way.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhi and the Modern World

Ethel Mannin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

There is a sense in which "Gandhi-ism" is a misnomer, since the doctrine of non-violent resistance to evil and of personal purity of flesh and spirit was the teaching of Jesus two thousand years earlier; the Buddha, six hundred years before that, taught reverence for life in all its forms, human and animal alike, but not the specific doctrine of *satyagraha*; but the term is valid in that Gandhiji was of our time and brought to our world moral force such as the world had never known (Jesus in his time did not so kindle the imagination of millions), and as a moral force Christianity has ever been pitilessly punctured by expediency.

It is true that India, since independence, can no more be called a "Gandhi-ist" country than England, or any other Western country, can be called Christian —whatever the professions, as devout as they are hypocritical, of Christianity. Had India deeply absorbed and accepted the teachings of the Mahatma it would have been unthinkable that his assassins should have been executed.

Vachel Lindsay's poem would seem singularly appropriate applied to this twentieth-century saint :

> Now you were ended. They praised you,
> . . . . and laid you away.
> The others that mourned you in silence
> and terror and truth . . . .
> That should have remembered forever,
> . . . . remember no more.

There is a sense in which Gandhi has become a name—who once was a living spiritual flame.

There is also a sense in which that flame still lives in men's hearts, not only in India, but the world over, and will continue to live until the planet is entirely given over to the powers of darkness, which it cannot be until that living flame is finally quenched. Which means that it may never be.

We have seen in connection with the Goa demonstrations that the spirit of *satyagraha* still lives in India; we have seen that spirit kindled also in the recent demonstrations in South Africa, in which Gandhi's son, Manilal, played a leading part. Now, it seems, ironically, that a peaceful invasion of Kashmir is being planned by Pakistani *satyagrahis* (organized by the Christian Zamindara Labour League of Lahore), ten thousand of whom plan to march peacefully into Indian-held territory.

Gandhi's spirit still lives, even with those who denounced him in his lifetime.

And it will continue to live, because the alternative is the extinction of the human race. The scientists have warned the world that recourse to atomic weapons, to total war, that is to say, can only mean total annihilation. This means that in the modern world there must be total renunciation of war—for they deceive themselves who aver that atomic weapons whold not be used, that the atomic bomb, in its ever-increasing hideousness, is a power for peace. Whatever country henceforth resorts to the arbitrament of war lets loose total destruction upon the entire planet; in a radio-active world life cannot be sustained in any form, and those who survive death by burning or blast can only do so to die of starvation. Mankind is already gradually destroying the earth's fertility by chemicals and machines, creating dust bowls and soil erosion, adding man-made desert to desert. This destruction of fertility can be halted and remedied; there can be no halting of an atomic war or any remedying of its consequences. The idea that science will somehow throw up something effective in the way of defence in an atomic war is the sheerest wishful thinking—there can be no defence in total war, as the scientists have warned us, from Einstein downwards.

But war in any shape or form is an abomination, a crime against life to which those who venerate life as Christ and the Buddha and Gandhi venerated it, cannot in any circumstances lend themselves. It is a sad comment on human nature that many who denounce the latest atomic bomb are nevertheless quite prepared to accept a non-atomic war—in spite of the napalm horrors of the Korean war. *The hope for humanity lies in the growing number of people, the world over, who are gradually coming to accept the principles of non-violent resistance to evil, as taught and demonstrated by Gandhi in our own time.*

It has tremendous, and heartening, significance that many leaders of the African nationalist struggle against imperialism have been influenced by Gandhi and have urged *satyagraha* methods upon their followers. This was observable in 1953, in East Africa and down to Cape Town, and many Africans in Northern Rhodesia were to be seen wearing "Gandhi buttons"—badges with the profiles of the Mahatma engraved on them. This is all the more interesting when it is remembered that Gandhi's career began in South Africa. If the teachings of the Mahatma are largely rejected in his own country, by a generation which has grown up in the violence of the newly launched atomic era, among the less sophisticated and less Westernized peoples of Africa, the country in which he began, his spirit is still active.

In India itself the success of the land-distribution campaign conducted by that remarkable old man, Vinoba Bhave, points to a revival of the Gandhian spirit. Vinoba has followed directly in Gandhiji's footsteps by going into the villages, without any fanfare of preliminary publicity, with nothing "organized," relying entirely, as Gandhi did, on the moral force of his appeal to what the Quakers call "that of God in every man." Such an appeal, however, would be made in vain without the driving power of love behind it. Gandhi declared, "The hardest fibre must melt in the fire of love"; he demonstrated the fact over and over again in his own life, and now Vinoba Bhave is similarly demonstrating it. When the fire is not strong enough

there is no response. In Gandhi's case it was strong enough to make him so profound a moral force that this "half-naked fakir," as Churchill scornfully called him, could put himself effectively against the great weight of the political power of the British Raj. The possessions, even these man in the loin cloth had to be cajoled and conciliated, because by love alone he had a nation of some four hundred millions behind him. When the people, lacking his moral strength, resorted to violence on occasion he grieved and prayed and fasted. *He would have no more to do with the unorganized violence of the masses than with the organised violence of governments. He declared that he would prefer to be crushed between the two.*

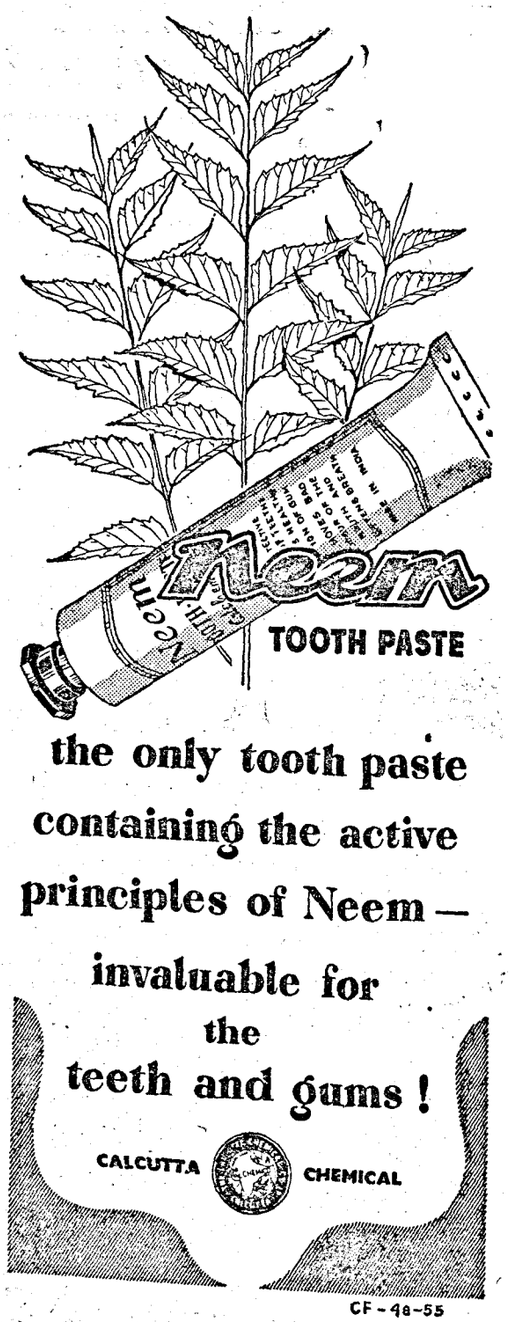
Reginald Reynolds, in his book, *To Live in Mankind: A Quest for Gandhi*, writing of Basic Education, which teaches people how to live co-operatively as opposed to Westernized education which merely provides a smattering of Western culture and is bound up with the acquisition of degrees, declares that "India's ultimate problem will not be the untouchables but the unteachables." It could be said with equal truth that *the whole world's ultimate problem is the unteachability of the mass-produced mentality, for which the press, cinema and radio are largely and jointly responsible.*

The real hope for the salvaging of civilization would appear to be in the East. Not merely is the bulk of the world's population in its "teeming millions," but that bulk is ninety percent agrarian and as such not corrupted by the lies and false values of what passes for civilization in the West. The young people —especially—of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon are perhaps as much bound and delivered over to shoddy notions and false values (usually in the name of "Progress") as their counterparts in the West; an insidious Americanization, the Coca-Cola civilization, has invaded urban life in both East and West, from Morocco to Mandalay, from Rome to Rangoon, but it does not penetrate to the hidden villages of the Rif, the off-the-road villages across the Burmese paddy fields, the jungle villages in the middle of the vast subcontinent of India. There still remain vast areas of human existence outside the Coca-Cola belt. Throughout India, Burma and China, there are far-reaching basic educational schemes which, whilst they include literacy, place it lower on the agenda than the teaching, by example, of co-operation in communal living.

Such schemes are in the direct Gandhian spirit, which, along with non-violent resistance of evil, reverence for all life, devotion to truth and righteousness, demands an all-embracing love and co-operativeness in our relations with our fellow humans.

In the West experiments in co-operative living are conducted through the medium of "work-camps," where men and women of good will, young and middle-aged alike, meet to work for the common good: in building a youth hostel or a community centre, for example. Here again the Gandhian spirit of service operates. It might be that because the West has reached a crisis in its civilization it may yet prove fertile soil for Gandhian ideas, even if it does not recognize them as such. It may well be, as Reginald Reynolds suggests in his book, that Gandhi "will share the fate of so many other prophets, whose ultimate effect has been most deeply felt outside their own countries."

The extent to which Gandhi's ideas will endure and develop in the modern world is debatable. What there is no disputing is the world's urgent need of them, as the only guarantee of its continued existence.



Indian Culture Through the Ages

Dr. Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

It is in the simple joyous faith of our Indo-Aryan ancestors that we have the seed of Indian culture which grew and blossomed so luxuriantly in later ages. The Vedic *rishis* attempted to harmonize life in all its aspects, and this is the dominant note pervading all subsequent thoughts and ideas. Life was conceived as an integral whole. The word *'dharma'* was used to mean a rule of life, or a way of self-moulding; and this rule of life was only a phase of the supreme law which upheld the universe. In the long history of Indian culture, the aim of all inquiries has been to find the underlying truth amidst the conflicting diversities of the world. It was in the Vedic age that there began "that quest to discover the significance of the world and of man's life within it." This spirit of inquiry deepened and became more pronounced in the period of the Upanishads. It was certainly not a pursuit after an imaginary or poetic heaven or vain speculation on the mysterious and the unknown. It was an inquiry after 'truth' in the real sense of the world—and in the Upanishadic age it was an intellectual inquiry. the method of which was 'questioning' and *tapasya*, or deep concentration of mind. In the well-known parable in the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, is described as approaching his father and expressing his desire to be instructed in the knowledge of Brahman. The father gives an answer which merely puts the son on the way to discovery. He uttered a formula describing what Brahman is and asked his son to find it out for himself. This formula, which has become an integral part of our spiritual thought, was worded as follows: 'That from which all things are born, that by which when born they live, and into which they enter at death, try to know That; That is Brahman.' Obviously, there can be no deeper problems than those of birth, life, and death which the human reason is called upon to penetrate.

True Detachment

The complaint is often made that Indian culture encourages asceticism and other-worldliness leading to indolence, apathy, and other vices deterimental to the interests of the community. The Vedic seers never countenanced the doctrine of the negation of life. But, as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out in *The Discovery of India*, the extremely analytical mind of the Indian Aryans adjusted in a splendid way the two opposing tendencies which often exist side by side in man—the acceptance of life in its fullness and the rejection of it. There is a transcendental element in Indian culture, but, properly viewed, it is just this which gives it its sublimity and greatness. The Indian mind was not averse to the enjoyment of material comforts. Arts and crafts, science, architecture, diplomacy, and statecarft all attained to a very high degree of technical perfection in ancient India. To engage in right action with strength and energy, but to remain above it without worrying over results, this was the spirit of Indian culture, and it meant true detachment in life and action and not abstention from them.

The Buddhist Age

The close of the Vedic age was marked by a period of decadence when a whole host of heretical sects came into existence propounding the most fantastic theories about salvation and ways of life. But upon these ruins arose Buddhism which, though presenting a distinctive form of culture, was yet an expression of the same spirit of India. Although the Buddha did not accept the authority of the Vedas, there is very little in his teachings which cannot be found in the Upanishads or in the writings of the old Hindu sages and philosophers. Like all the great sages of India, the Buddha addressed himself to the eternal problem of pain and misery in the world. This emphasis on suffering has laid Buddhism open to the charge of pessimism, yet surely a philosophy which overlooks pain as a fact in creation affords no real solution to the problems of life. The Buddha's message was one of universal benevolence and love for all; he taught men to overcome 'hatred by love, anger by kindness, and evil by good.' He gave a new direction to the yearnings of the people; old values were changed and the outlook of men in the domain of spirituality and morals was materially altered.

The inherent weakness of Buddhism lay in the fact that it did not make the harmonious adjustment of human life that was made by the Vedic seers. Its negation of life, its monasticism, and its reticence over the existence of an intelligent God led ultimately to its decay. However, there can be no doubt that Buddhism made profound and powerful changes not merely in the ethical, but in the social and outward life and ideals of the race. Its freedom from conventional restrictions and prejudices opened up new and wider horizons. It spread over Central and Western Asia to the borders of Greece and Egypt and inundated China and even the distant shores of Japan.

Two Distinctive Features of Indian Culture

Among the basic features of Indian culture are its spirit of toleration and its power of absorbing and

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assimilating other cultures and making them a part of its own. There can be no better proof of the vitality and strength of a culture than its ability to do this. This absorbing capacity of Indian culture was at no time more manifest than in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist ages. The Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians, and the Kusanas, all of whom came to India as invaders, were absorbed and adopted as integral parts of the Indian community with far-reaching effects upon its arts and sciences.

The vitality and expansiveness of Indian culture at this time is further demonstrated by the many colonizations that took place in different parts of South-East Asia.

THE PAURANIC AGE

With the decay of Buddhism and with the inauguration of the Gupta period began the classical age of India, which gave rise to the Puranas. The Pauranic culture is a poetic and luxuriant thing. Sanskrit poetry flourished and there were literary and artistic activities of a really high order.

It was during this period of decadent Buddhism that Sankara was born; he was one of the world's greatest philosophers and spiritual leaders, a matchless dialectician and born reformer. He led the movement for the revival of Vedic culture and its sublime philosophy as embodied in the Upanishads. He tried to synthesize the different currents of thought that were agitating the popular mind at the time. He adopted the monastic rules of the Buddhists and, though himself a non-dualistic philosopher, he did not discourage the Pauranic form of worship. The establishment of four monasteries at the four corners of India testifies to his high practical insight and his clear vision of a culturally united India. His numerous works stand as the classics of Hindu philosophical and religious literature.

MOGUL RULE

In the eleventh century A.D., India rapidly became weak and disunited. It was then that the Mohammedan invasion gave a shocking blow to the whole fabric. The Pathan and then the Mogul rule lasted for several centuries, until the British came, and, having lost political freedom, any attempt on the part of the Hindus to assimilate the new culture could now only end in the extinction of their own. Hence the Hindu mind became rigid and exclusive, its elasticity and powers of expansion and assimilation ceased; the caste system became stiffer and barriers of various kinds were devised to protect the Hindu religious and social systems from foreign ways and influences.

However, the fact of the Hindus and Mohammedans living side by side resulted in a synthetic approach to each other's thoughts and ways of living, which was particularly noticeable in music and architecture. In the field of religion, it produced a galaxy of saintly persons which included Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ravidasa, Guru Nanak, and many others whose religious doctrines overleapt all barriers of caste and creed.

MODERN TIMES

The stream of cultural life was at a low ebb when the British came to India, and the lowest stage of degradation was rapidly reached with, on the one hand, the prompt applauding of everything European, and, on the other, the despising of everything Indian; even those who were supposed to be orthodox were no better, for they were ruled by time-worn usages and rites. Thus, Hindu culture seemed to be nearing total extinction, but a reaction set in led by Rammohun Roy who prepared the way for a spiritual and cultural renaissance which took place through the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and finally through Sri Ramakrishna who fulfilled the great need for a spiritual synthesis, which could reconcile the apparent contradictions in the Hindu religion and demonstrate its real unity amidst a multiplicity of forms. Sri Ramakrishna did this by showing that realization of God was possible in all religions; paths may differ, but the goal is the same.

This has been the spirit of Indian culture through centuries. With the dawn of independence, her ancient powers of adaptability and assimilation must now return. Without losing her own individuality and distinctiveness, India must adopt and assimilate all that is best in the cultural currents of the whole of the modern world.

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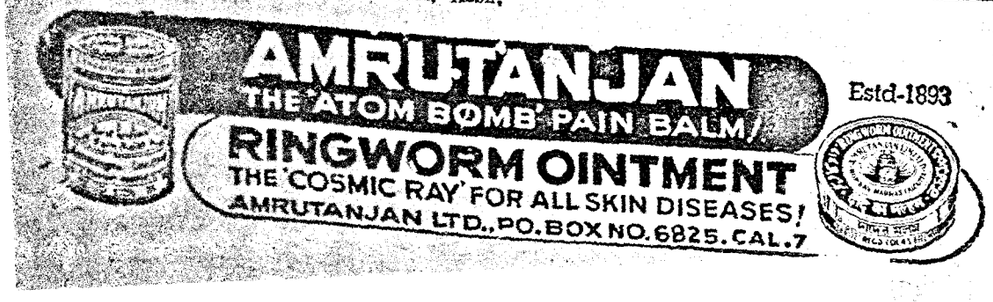


Unemployment in India

S. D. Vishinani writes in *The Indian Review*:

One of the most important causes of increasing unemployment in India, both urban and rural, is the change in the economic structure of the country. The temptation to migrate from the rural areas to the cities and big industrial towns in search of employment on daily, weekly or monthly wages has struck a heavy blow to rural economy. Artisans and skilled workers who could engage themselves in small-scale cottage industries, arts and crafts and thus add to our national wealth, prefer assured regular income or fixed wages against the uncertainty of profits which their cottage industry might bring. The rural areas are thus deprived of their industrial potential and only such population absorbed in Agriculture forms the backbone of the village community.

With this growing influx of labour from the villages, and there being no sufficient work to intake all that come, unemployment among the new arrivals is the result. As more and more people keep on coming from the rural areas they only tend to worsen the unemployment position and add to the ranks of the unemployed.

In the cities and smaller towns where people receive education, either upto the High School stage or the University stage, the problem of finding clerical jobs for all these educated people assumes abnormal proportions. These so-called educated people consider themselves suited only for the desk jobs and refuse to undertake any other work. As private concerns and government departments can absorb only a fraction of these educated people, the remainder have no other alternative but to join the ranks of the unemployed.

If only some of these educated people took to other vocations and professions and started trainig in that direction, the problem of unemployment could be considerably eased. Take for instance the case of a Matriculate. If he learns typewriting, a profession which does not take more than six months to learn, he can easily get himself employed as a typist in a government or private office. The mechanical line also offers good opportunities for employment. Even people with little education can take to the mechanical line.

Another profession which can give good employment and better pay to the Matriculates and Graduates, is the profession of Stenography. All they have to do is to learn type-writing and shorthand at some commercial institute, which are found scattered in large numbers almost in every town. While type-writing can be learnt easily, greater perseverence and knowledge is required to learn shorthand. Instances are numerous where persons started learning shorthand but later gave it up at one stage or another because they either found it boring or could not write with speed. Perseverence, as I have said above, is the key-note to attaining proficiency in the art of Stenography.

The profession of Accountancy also offers good scope for employment to a large number of educated people. Only those who are good at figures and possess a neat handwriting are specially suited to this profession.

There are still a good many professions like those of the electrician, fitter, welder, mechanic, wireman, driver, etc, which offer ample scope for employment opportunities.

If, therefore, those who are educated cease to think only in terms of clerical or the so-called 'white-collar' jobs, and train themselves for other vocations and professions, the problem of unemployment could be solved to to some extent.

PRIVATE SECTOR

In the private sector there is a tendency to employ as few pepole as possible and to extract the highest profits possible. Almost all the employees are overworked. If the greedy profiteer or private employer could realize that it is his moral duty to share his profits with his employees and he should employ as many persons as were necessary for running his business, the result would be increased efficiency and improvement in the quality of work turned out. The employees being contented, would naturally work honestly and put in their best.

It is also a well-known fact that persons employed in private concerns get less pay than those employed in the Government service. This is perhaps due to the fact that private enterprise has to create money and their entire resources depend on the net profit which their business brings to them. Extravagance is, therefore, out of the question unless, of course, they are doing a roaring business.

The development of private enterprise depends upon the natural resources of the country and availability of necessary finance. Our country is rich in natural resources but deficient in motive power. We have to depend on foreign imports of machinery, tools, etc, for our industries. It is heartening to note that we are making up for this deficiency and have achieved some progress in the small-scale manufacture of industrial tools and machinery.

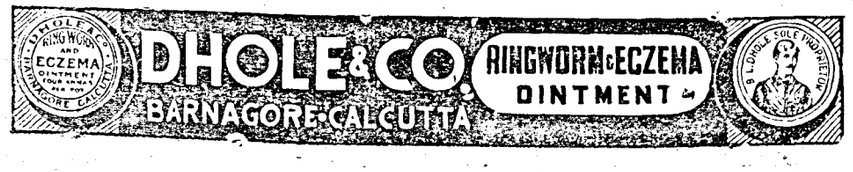
GOVERNMENT SECTOR

The Government with its vast financial resources and authority to impose fresh taxes or to enhance the existing ones to increase its revenues, is better equipped to employ a vast number of people in its various undertakings.

A large number of persons is required to run the administrative machinery of Government. The Centre and the State Governments employ thousands of people for their various branches. The State has also undertaken numerous welfare activities like transport, railways, airways, posts and telegraphs which give employment to a vast number of people.

POPULATION

The ever-increasing population is also responsible for the growing unemployment among the people. The population of India grows at the rate of 5 million per year while the number of jobs does not increase even by a fraction. It is time our people realized this and checked the unhealthy growth of our population. If population is held in check and less people are born,



they would not only be brought up well but also become useful members of society. On the other hand, if millions of people are added to our population every year, they would only tend to aggravate the already acute unemployment problem in our country.

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

Good work is at present being done to combat unemployment. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, have opened regional employment exchanges throughout the length and breadth of the country. These Employment Exchanges primarily cater to the needs of educated people and assist them in finding suitable employment. All government departments have been instructed to notify to the Exchange all vacancies occurring in their offices and the Exchange in turn sends a number of suitable persons for the posts. All one has to do is to register one's name with the Exchange. The Exchange, in turn, invites the candidates in different categories and issues Introduction Cards for the employers.

The Employment Exchange also registers the names of unemployed people for employment as Labour and also for other low-paid posts under the Government. The private sector has not yet utilized the services of the Exchange fully as have done the government departments.

People who are not well educated or trained have little chance of getting good jobs through the Employment Exchanges. This is mainly due to the fact that Exchanges have to depend mostly on vacancies arising in Government departments where educational qualifications count more than mere suitability. A man may be very strong or experienced; but he must have the minimum educational qualifications before he could be recommended for any Government job. This pre-requisite to a well-paid Government post is a great hindrance in the way of persons capable otherwise who could not receive higher education for one reason or the other.

Keen competition among the candidates is another cause for the disappointment of many. Some persons are well-connected and influential and they succeed in getting jobs while better candidates with little influence are deprived of suitable employment opportunities. This is a thing which is not possible for any agency to check. Favouritism is to be found in almost every sphere of life. Rather than condemning it or trying to cast aspersions on it, the remedy lies in increasing one's attainments and once a man comes to the top it is difficult to ignore him. Hard work and continued effort are bound to bring good results.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Planning Commission has come forward with a 11-point programme to combat increasing unemployment in the country. The Five-Year Plan is being revised in the light of this programme to increase employment potential in the Industrial and Government Sections. Some of the States have come forward with plans for opening schools in every village and thus provide employment as teachers to a large number of educated unemployed people. The problem is vast and cannot be solved in a day. It is, however, gratifying to find our National Government trying to do its bit. Let everyone of us fight this the greatest enemy of mankind and see that every man gets work to do and earns a living in return.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Kashmir Issue Today

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, November, 1955 :

There is a striking parallel between the involvements of the UN in two perennial issues, both of which arose in 1947 : the issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan, and the issue of Palestine between Israel and the Arab states. In both cases the UN failed in the beginning to take a bold position based on the legal realities involved, but tried to solve the problem by well-meant equivocation, without offending either side. In both cases also, the issue having become practically permanent, the UN again failed to take account of realities brought about by the passage of time.

The Kashmir issue had its origin in the Indian Independence Act of 1947, passed by the British Parliament, by which India was partitioned and Pakistan brought into existence. In this act it was enacted that the Indian Princely States—Kashmir, Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Boroda and others—would have the right, by individual voluntary accession, to become parts of India or Pakistan, or to maintain their independent existence.

At first Kashmir chose not to become a part of either India or Pakistan. But, in violation of the Indian Independence Act, all kinds of pressure were used to influence the government of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. When this failed, Kashmir was invaded by the so-called frontier tribesmen, aided by Pakistani arms, ammunitions and regular Pakistani forces. At this point, Kashmir, in due constitutional form, acceded to India and became part of Indian national territory.

Thus it was the Government of India (not Pakistan) which presented the issue before the United Nations. Obviously, the purpose of India was not to ask the United Nations to determine the validity of Kashmir's accession to India, which was brought about legally and in accordance with the Indian Independence Act. India's purpose was to seek United Nations aid against the Pakistani invasion of Indian territory, and thus to expel an aggressor threatening the peace of the world.

Pakistani officials at first denied their responsibility for the invasion, but it was proven beyond doubt by the findings of the United Nations' Dixon Commission and Graham Commission that the Pakistani government planned the invasion and was the aggressor. Thereafter, Sir Zaffrullah Khan (at that time minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan) admitted in a statement before the United Nations, that the then commander-in-chief of Pakistani forces, British General Gracie, had recommended the invasion. Thus, the United Nations had sufficient evidence that in the struggle for Kashmir Pakistan was the aggressor.

But the UN, under the lead of the Western powers, preferred to follow a course similar to that which they adopted in another case of aggression by Moslem powers, the Palestine case. The real issue—the aggression complained of—was never faced by the United Nations; but for some peculiar reason *an extraneous issue* concerning the accession of Kashmir (which was a settled fact and was legally beyond the jurisdiction of the United Nations, as it was an issue already settled between Kashmir and India and thus an internal affair of India) was pressed by Pakistan, supported by Britain, America and other nations in the Security Council of the United Nations. It was urged that there should be a plebiscite on the question of the accession of Kashmir to India. (In the same way, the Arab states continue, without clear contradiction by Western powers in the UN, to interpret UN resolutions on Palestine refugees and boundaries in a way incompatible with Israel's sovereignty). However, the Government of India *unwisely* agreed to the demand with a reservation that the plebiscite should take place in Kashmir after peace was made.

One should not forget that, in actuality, there is no peace between India and Pakistan, but there is an armed truce such as exists between Egypt and Israel. For instance, only a few weeks ago Pakistani forces attacked Indian border guards in Indian territory, killing several of them. Thus, in Kashmir as in Palestine, a political solution of outstanding issues has been prevented by the lack of peace.

Pakistan and the United Nations have been urging India to agree to a plebiscite unconditionally under the supervision of a United Nations Commission. But if there is to be a plebiscite in Kashmir, which is legally Indian territory, it can be carried out only with Indian consent and under Indian control. India has refused to have any plebiscite unless Kashmir first be freed from the presence of the invading army of Pakistan, or at least the strength of the invading army be reduced considerably. One may venture to say that unless Pakistan agrees to Indian demands, there will be no plebiscite in Kashmir; and it is quite unlikely that the United Nations, which has no effective force, would use sanctions against India—unless this were the wish of Britain, America, France and other powers which would have to support the Pakistani invading army with forces, arms and ammunition. But it is unthinkable that the United States would even indirectly favor a conflict between India and Pakistan, because such a conflict could benefit only Soviet Russia and Communist China.

During the last five years, the situation in Kashmir has vastly changed politically and materially. The duly elected democratic legislature of Kashmir, by its virtually unanimous vote, once more settled the question of accession to India by its vote in favor of that action. It seems that as far as India is concerned, the whole issue of a plebiscite in Kashmir is a dead one. Recently, Mr. Panth, the home minister of the Republic of India in his reply during a debate on Kashmir in the House of the of the People (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) made the position of the Government of India absolutely clear. The substance of this speech in this: so far as the Government of India is concerned Kashmir is a part of India and it will remain Indian. Pakistan is an aggressor in Kashmir and Pakistani forces must withdraw from Indian soil. India will defend her territories from any form of attack by all legitimate means.

It should be fully understood by Americans and others that a nation's position on any particular issue is not eternally binding. With a decided change in world politics (especially since Pakistan's repeated refusal to come to an understanding with India by signing a non-aggression pact and the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means while, at the same time, signing an alliance with Turkey and Iran and entering into an arms accord with the United States) India is forced to re-examine and if necessary re-orient her policies with all powers. It is pertinent to recall that the United States of America, Britain or France, as members of the United Nations, did not give up their rights to follow independent and changing policies to suit their own interests. In the same way, India is entitled to pursue policies on all issues, especially on issues involving her territorial integrity, to suit particular circumstances.

Perhaps, it may be worthwhile to remind the advocates of a plebiscite in Kashmir that the United Nations and all the powers in the Security Council of the United Nations have quite discarded their former position regarding Japan. It was agreed solemnly that there would be complete disarmament of Japan. But owing to changed world conditions, Japan with American aid has developed a sizeable army and air force (known as a police force); and she is engaged in developing a navy, on the ground of her right to self-defense. Only the other day, Japan gave notice to the whole world in a speech by her defense minister that for her defense she may use atomic weapons. It is interesting that on the matter of the re-armament of Japan there is no demand from the United Nations and the Anglo-American powers and others that Japan should stick to her constitution and the old terms imposed by the victorious powers. In fact, Japan is urging the victorious nations—the United States and Soviet Russia—to relinquish certain islands now occupied by them.

It may also be recalled that after the conclusion

of World War II, Germany was deprived of her territories and partitioned by the joint action of the Soviet Union, France, Britain and the United States. But now these powers have discarded the famous Potsdam Agreement and are trying to make a settlement on the basis of a united Germany. Dr. Adenauer has given notice that Germany does not relinquish her claims to her former territories, annexed by the neighboring powers. It is reasonable to suppose that within a year or two there may well be a united Germany. The present change of status of Germany is due to changes in world politics. Due to the new world situation in which Pakistan, aided by American arms, has been pursuing anti-Indian policies on a world scale, India, in consideration of her territorial integrity and self-defense, will no longer agree to any measure which would undermine her position that Kashmir is part of Indian territory.

The democratic republic of India is built upon the fundamental principle of a secular state, upholding human rights irrespective of race and religion; Pakistan, on the other hand, is a theocratic dictatorship upholding Pan-Islamism and denying equal rights to the minority communities. To agree to a plebiscite in Kashmir (which is a part of India) so that the Pan-Islamic state of Pakistan would be enabled legally to detach even a small fraction of India would undermine the very existence of the democratic republic. Thus, members of United Nations, especially Britain and the United States which are interested in maintaining friendly relations with India, should not expect that India will give up her hold on Kashmir, a forntier province vital to her national defense.

India wants peace. But if Pakistan, supplied with superior arms, commits any further aggressive act, India will defend her frontiers and rights with all possible means, as she did when Pakistan invaded Kashmir more than five years ago. Future peace or war on the Kashmir issue will be up to Pakistan, because India will not surrender her rights in that province to any form of external pressure.

Garden City of Modern Rome

A new residential quarter is growing up between the old centre of Rome and the sea at Ostia, around the monumental buildings of the E.U.R. (Universal Exhibition of Rome). The new quarter extends over about 1,000 acres and has an abundance of trees and gardens.

Throughout the centuries, in almost every epoch, the City of Rome has continued to expand as a result of increasing population. The expansion has taken place both within the limits of the Roman Walls and beyond them into the surrounding countryside. It has been particularly marked during the past 50 years.

It was, in fact, about 50 years ago that the so-called "Humbertine" quarters, with their agglomerate aspect of monotonous and heavy uniformity, grew up around the centre of Rome. These "popular" quarters included the Prati di Castello, bounded on the north, almost regimented, by the enormous barracks of Viale delle Milizie; the Macao section with the large barracks of Castro Pretorio, and the adjacent "Humbertine" sections of San Giovanni, Esquilino, Nomentano and Salario. Only 50 years ago these quarters were suburban, while today they are part of the centre of Rome. A more dignified aspect was given to the residential area known as "Ludovisi" in the Barberni zone, north-east of the Quirinale Palace. This, in comparison with the previously mentioned "popular" quarters, was planned more in accord with modern conceptions, incorporating to full advantage the wooded grounds of the noble villas which crowned the old centre of Rome with green.

Then, during the first decade of this century there was a change in the concept o expansion which had characterised the construction of the "Humbertine" sections. The new buildings were designed as part of many "garden cities" to provide a setting for the old centre of Rome. Two typical examples are to be found at opposite extremes of the city. These are the Monta Sacro quarter near the Aniene River, and the Monte Verde quarter on the southern slopes of the Gianicolo.

Urban planning now embodies the principle of "green lungs" for city, incorporating small villas with parks and gardens and wide roads between, with dual or triple carriage-ways. The planning has preserved the general view including the monumental features remaining characteristic of the old centre of Rome. So constructed were the quarters Aventino, Italia, Universitario, Trieste, Delle Vittorie, and above all the Parioli with the ample "green lungs" of Villa Borghese, Villa Savoia and Villa Glori.

Before the Second World War there were other building phases in Rome, different and even opposed in characteristics to the preceding ones. They were determined by urgent need to provide accommodation for great numbers of people, and took the form of estates. At first, these estates constituted an outward leap of the city's expansion; and examples include Primavalle, Monteverde Nuovo, Garbatella, Casal Bertone, Tufello, and Tiburtino III. Then began intensive construction of huge blocks of flats containing a large number of small dwellings. These flats soon took up the space between the urban centre and the suburban "popular" quarters.

The expansion of Rome continues to be a pressing problem because of the continually increasing population (the annual figure is 20,000 persons), and because Rome is becoming more and more a cultural and political centre attracting increasing numbers of visitors and tourists.

ORIGIN OF THE GARDEN CITY OF E.U.R.

To meet new and urgent needs it has been found necessary to bring into use the monumental buildings of the E.U.R. site. It will be recalled that construction of these splendid buildings was started before the war, and that it was planned to hold there, in 1942, an "Olympic of Civilization" together with a universal exhibition. The Second World War intervened. The monumental buildings were left incompleted; and damaged as a result of the war they assumed the aspect of the ruins of a dead city.

The zone called Three Fountains, half way between Rome and Ostia, was excellent for this development, directing the city's expansion towards the sea. And thus, before the war, the great military centre of Cecchignola was constructed in the zone; while in the region of the shores of Ostia Anntea there arose a fine new town, the popular and much frequented Lido di Roma. Meanwhile, in the same direction, to the the south of the Tiber, all the area between Rome and the sea was being developed. Among these new centres are Vitinia, Risaro, and Acilia.

As a result of the success of this building development the project for a garden city in the E.U.R. zone, after the parenthesis of the war, has received fresh impulse and its realisation may now be considered certain. Characteristics of this new residential quarter

of Rome are the magnificence of its monumental centre, the abundance of trees, parks and gardens, the modern public services, the plentiful supply of water and the numerous fountains and ponds. Maximum practical harmony is being achieved in the development of the area, and there are ample roads and excellent public transport.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MONUMENTAL AREA

The E.U.R. monumental centre, which continues to attract visitors and tourists, consists of many magnificent buildings, some of which at present are being used as ministries and offices and for exhibition purposes. Others are not yet in use. The centre includes the following:

(a) *Conference Building*: with an area of 10,150 square metres and a total volume of 216,500 cubic metres. It has a hall 40 metres in both length and height; and its total volume is greater than that of the Pantheon in Rome. The part intended for congresses has a seating capacity of more than 1,000, with adjoining rooms for the Press and for secretarial and postal services and so on.

(b) *Italian Civilization Palace*: six storeys constructed as a series of arches of which there are a total of 216 on the four sides. Each side is 51 metres high; and the height of the structure from ground level is 68 metres. Its volume is 205,000 cubic metres, and it has an area of 8,400 square metres.

(c) *Office Building*: of four storeys, L shape, covering an area of about 6,000 square metres, with a total volume of 117,000 cubic metres. It has rooms and offices for 800 people, and a hall with an area of 1,210 square metres.

(d) *The Church of S. Peter and S. Paul*: designed on the plan of a Greek Cross, and 72 metres high. It has a dominating position, overlooking the lower Tiber area. The cupola, of 28 metres internal diameter and 31.75 metres external, is the second largest in Rome. The monumental church covers an area of 6,000 square metres and has a volume of 105,000 cubic metres.

Other notable monuments already being built, some in advanced stage of construction, include the *Palace of Ancient Art, the Palace of Modern Art, the Palace of Science* joined to the symmetrical *Palace of Folk Traditions*, the *Museum of Roman Civilization*, the *Armed Forces Building*, the *Sports Palace* and the *Forestry Palace*.

The principal public buildings of the new district include the following:

(a) *Open air theatres* to seat about 6,000, built on circular plan with seating in tiers, covering a surface of 115×70 metres, and with a very large area of stage.

(b) *Cinema*: to seat 1,000, in the I.N.P.S. Building (National Institute for Social Welfare) which is admired by visitors for its architecture and which borders the piazza at the entrance to the E.U.R. grounds from Via Cristoforo Colombo.

(c) *Sports buildings and grounds*: under construction or planned in view of the Olympic Games to be held in Rome during 1960, and will be in the area of the largest hill and those nearby. Work already has been started on a Sports Building which will accommodate 15,000 spectators. It will have a gymnasium and also facilities for boxing, wrestling, fencing, skating and so on. In addition, there will be a stadium for athletics and cycle and motor cycle racing, and a course for horse racing. The stadium will accommodate 20,000 spectators, and will have 200 Press seats, 15 radio receiver rooms, and lockers for 170 competitors.

(d) *Fairs and Exhibitions*: facilities extend over an area of 64,000 square metres. They will be on the west shore of a large lake which is in project. Fairs and exhibitions of national and international interest have already been held on these grounds during the past few years.

(e) *Communications Building*: post, telephone and telegraph, situated near the church, and has a covered area of 2,200 square metres and a volume of 23,300 cubic metres.

(f) *The Restaurant*: is near the Office Building, already is open to the public. It has a covered area of 3,000 square metres and a volume of 26,000 cubic metres. In addition to three large and beautifully furnished rooms the extensive terraces also are in use.

(g) *Underground passages for services*: 17 of the planned 19 kilometres have been completed. They are for carrying services including water, electricity, telephone lines and express mail. Of a planned 25 kilometres of sewers, 23 kilometres have been completed. Their total network is greater than that of any other district of the city.

Drinking water has been assured for the area by linking it to the Rome water system. In addition there will be an adequate supply of water for the fountains which adorn the area. Plans have been completed for construction of *a lake one kilometre long and 100 metres wide at the narrowest point*. It will extend at right angles to Via Cristoforo Colombo which branches at this point and so will divide the lake into three.

The whole area of the E.U.R. has been conceived as a true garden city, where in the open spaces amid the abundance of trees will be added gardens and flower beds. The area already has about 28,000 trees of various size, and it is expected that this number will be increased in the future.

Wide roads and bridges facilitate communications between *Rome and the New E.U.R.* district. *Via Cristoforo Colombo*, which crosses the *E.U.R.*, links Rome with Castel Porziano on the sea.

Within the new district there is *a net-work of fine roads* with numerous squares. The principal square, *Piazza Italia, is larger than S. Peter's square*. In the centre of the piazza the obelisk commemorating Mardoni rises to a height of 40 metres.

Public transport for the area includes a special bus service, the electric railway from Rome to Ostia, and the *new underground railway* which begins at the E.U.R. grounds. This underground, which was inaugurated in February of this year, offers the most economical and rapid transport on a route including the Basilica of S. Paul, Porta Ostiense, Circo Massimo and the Colosseum, ending at Rome's main railway station, Termini. It is 11 kilometres long, with five surface stations and five underground. There is a daily service with trains every three minutes, and the complete journey from the E.U.R. grounds to Termini takes 11 minutes.

There are already numerous private houses around the E.U.R. area, and these are an example of the latest urban planning, with their modern lines and surroundings of trees and gardens.

Rome is expanding towards the sea, and it is now enriched by a new quarter, the garden city of the E.U.R. whose main characteristic is a harmony between its splendid but severe monuments and the modernity of its villas and gardens.—*Italian Affairs*, September, 1955.

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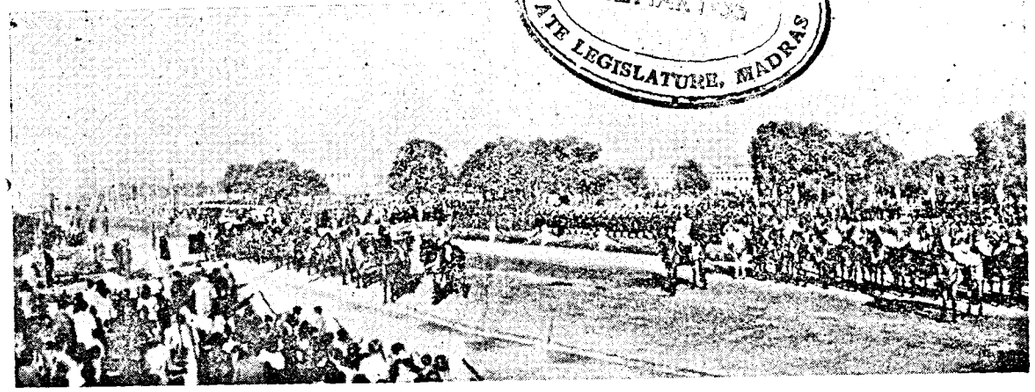
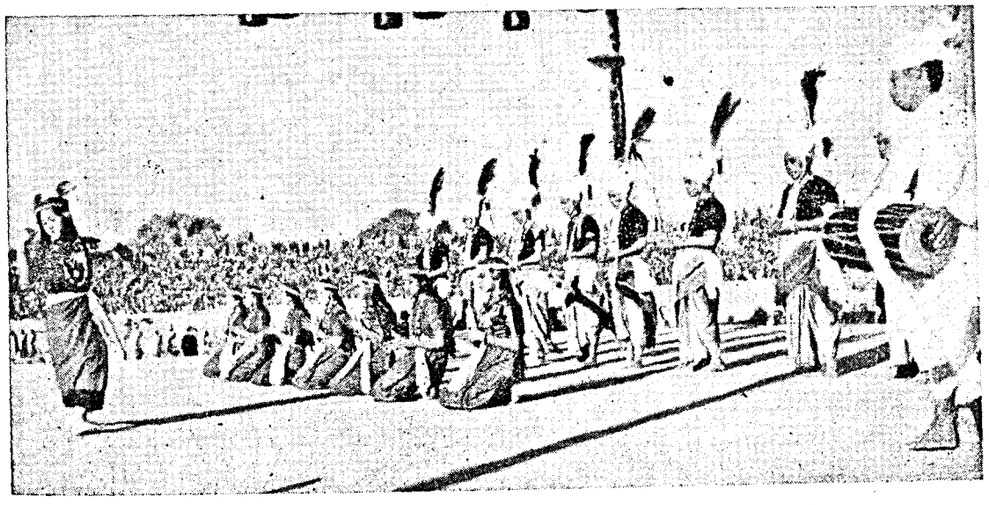
STATE LEGISLATURE, MADRAS

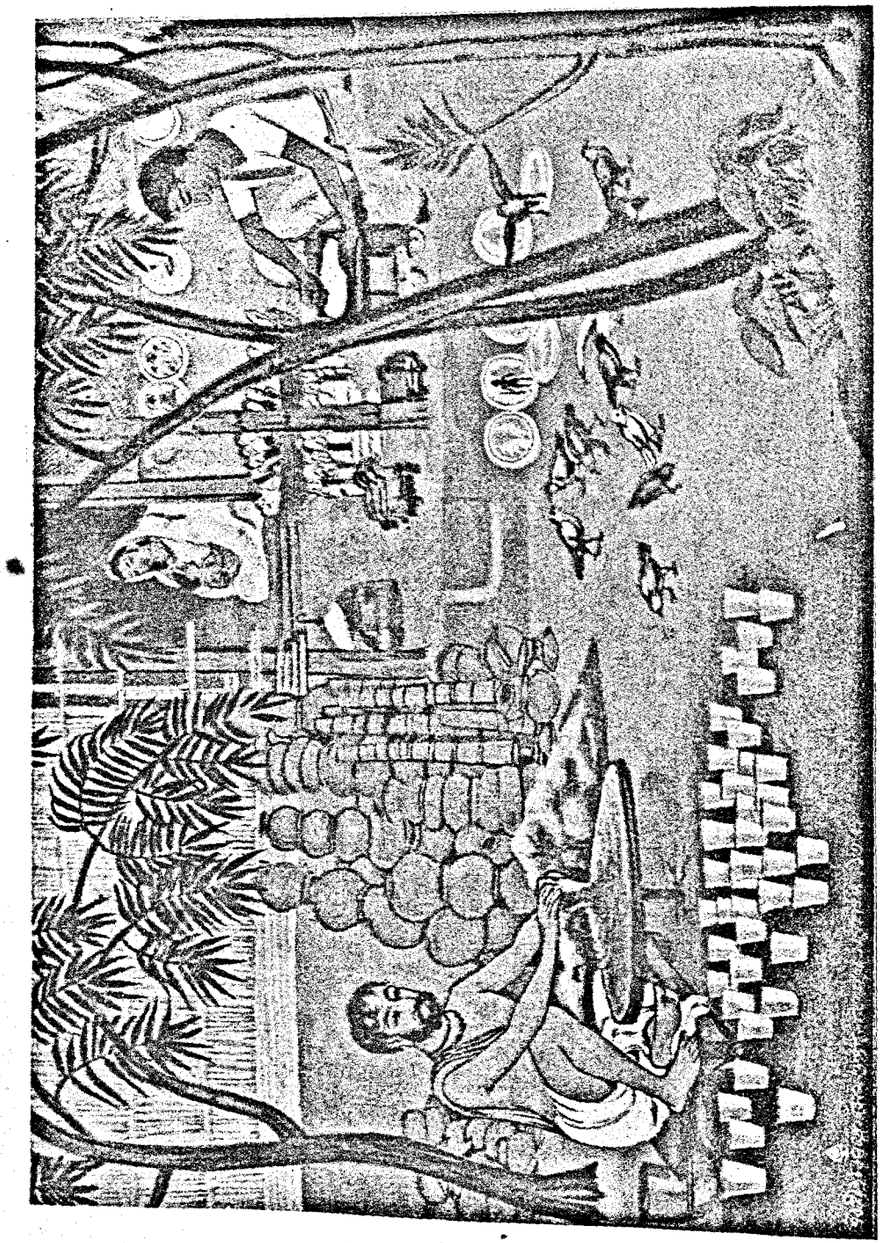


Republic Day Parade in New Delhi



Republic Day Celebration. The Manipur folk-dancers perform Laipou Chongba

On the occasion of the Indian Republic Day folk-dancers march past the Presidential dais



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NOTES

The Whirlwind

The agitations and disturbances that followed the Central Government and Congress decisions on the S.R.C. Report, has left a bitter taste in the mouth of those who were dreaming of national solidarity and the democratic way of life. Pandit Nehru has been uttering jeremiads, punctuated by fulminations, ever since and the 61st session of the Congress at Amritsar was held under the shadow of that ominous apprehension of internal strife generated by the happenings at Bombay and Orissa.

Disruptionists have had a short, but intensely exciting, season of Saturnalia in Bombay and Puri and almost a field-day in Calcutta, on the 24th of February, when the West Bengal Government hastily abdicated for the day, under the threat of the riots that follow an uncontrolled *hartal*, if an attempt is made by the authorities to protect the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of that unhappy city who wish to carry on with their work.

We have given the extracts from the speeches of Pandit Nehru and the Congress President, with comments, elsewhere in these columns. We have studied them very carefully and as a result we have to come to the painful conclusion that the higher executive of the so-called Indian National Congress is becoming as estranged from its peoples as the Central and State Governments of India, and is—or pretends to be—as oblivious of realities as our bureaucratic Ministries. Indeed, it is becoming more and more apparent that the Congress is now playing only a second fiddle in the governmental orchestra.

The bonds that held the Congress close to the public in India were forged over a period of over six decades. Gandhiji not only strengthened them but he also extended it wide amongst the masses. In less than a decade the Congress has snapped most of the strands and there is now but a few thin strings left. Today the Congress as well as the Ministries at the Centre and the States is composed in the majority by self-seekers and carcerists, who have neither the time nor the inclination to get into close contact with the public—excepting of course at election times when money and empty promises are broadcast over the electorate. As a result those that are at the head of affairs, have no means of ascertaining the real causes of unrest and strife, surrounded as they are by sycophants and claequers.

The Congress President seems to be as ignorant of the malady and malaise with which

the public mind has been afflicted. He and Pandit Nehru both have exhorted the people and pointed out the dangers ahead, but neither of them have displayed any inclination to grapple with the real problems.

Why is it so easy for the trouble-maker and the disruptionists to raise the whirlwind? Why do the law-abiding—who are in the vast majority—refrain from helping the maintenance of Law and Order, even though they are the principal sufferers in the havoc caused by disturbances? How is it possible for so few to terrorise into submission so many? Has Pandit Nehru even tried to ask himself this question seriously? He cannot get the answer from those who surround him, because they neither know, nor do they care.

We do not pretend to be prophets or seers, but it is patent to all who try to mix with the various strata that go to make the complex of a nation that the main cause is loss of faith in the government. The public, by and large, does not believe that the government is able to maintain a fair standard of justice in its dealing with the common man, irrespective of his creed, status and racial sub-division.

Parochialism and party-favouritism is rife in all the circles of governmental administration. The favoured few get the plums, the rest do not even get a hearing. This is the consequence of men of little integrity and strength of character, and of poor ethical outlook, who make sycophants *par excellence*, being awarded high office and positions of consequence in the government and in the political caucus. As a result intrigue and jockeying for power and the "fruits" of office, is the order of the day.

Take the case of the Bengal-Bihar merger. The entire approach to the question has been hasty and ill-advised, both by the Chief Ministers and by their opposition. The one has offered it as a panacea for all evils, without taking into account the real problems that have to be provided against, the other has condemned it as a virulent poison, without reckoning the multiple benefits that might come out of it.

The whole affair is now in such a state that no reasonable man can even approach the subject in a decent fashion. And therefore he is inclined to declare "Plague on both thy camps" and retire.

There is no protection for the law-abiding in these cases. Indeed, on the contrary.

Pandit Nehru in referring to the disturbances termed them as "this whirlwind," as the following extracts from his speeches at Amritsar indicate:

"Prime Minister Nehru made a moving appeal to the Maharashtrians and Gujeratis and others living in Bombay City to 'shake hands again and make friends.'

"The real problem today," said Mr. Nehru, "was to heal the wounds that Bombay had suffered."

"He called upon all to 'get to grips with this whirlwind and put an end to it and to come together again.' He appealed to them to remember that 'every question is easy to solve if it is approached in a temperate and friendly way and every question becomes terribly difficult if it is sought to be solved by violence and coercive methods and threats.'

"If any Government is going to be threatened and coerced by these riots, it had better resign and go home and do something else. Certainly, our Government is not going to do that. It has no intention of resigning and no intention of being hustled into any action which it disapproves. But it has every intention of trying to win the goodwill of the people whom it has the honour to represent."

"The events that had happened recently, and the reaction to these events, said Mr. Nehru, 'made one feel that some people attached greater importance to State boundaries than to the unity of India. Quite rightly, Kaka Saheb Gadgil had said something about their not being able to control the strong feeling that had been aroused on the issue. 'I can understand that,' said Mr. Nehru, 'if you sow the wind, you have to reap the whirlwind. You cannot run away from it. You are either sucked away by the whirlwind or you fight it and control it. There is no other way.'

"Perhaps many of us, all of us, have made mistakes in dealing with this question. May be, those mistakes were made in a *bona fide* way, but certain situations have arisen from them and there is the whirlwind. This resolution, and the call to the nation issued by the Working Committee some two weeks ago or so, is respectfully offered to you and to the Congress as a challenge

to this whirlwind. And we shall fight it and control it and not give in to it (cheers). Giving in to the whirlwind and beng swept away by it means you surrender to chaos. That is the basic position that you have to face.

"The basic position that faces the country today is not that of deciding a particular matter rightly or wrongly. We can right a wrong.

"After all the country does not run away and we do not run away, but it does matter a great deal if we allow a situation in this country to deteriorate when neither good sense nor wisdom can play any part and violence takes the field. I say that is the question before the country, not the question of Bombay or Maharashtra or Bengal and Orissa or any other place. And so long as we do not settle that question clearly, the other questions do not arise. I do not care very much if this question is postponed except for the very valid reason that might make people think we are afraid and, therefore, we are postponing the issue. There is no sense of fear, I can tell you, only a sense of sorrow in our hearts that we should have been driven into these unhappy circumstances."

But the point that Pandit Nehru missed is that whether the decision is right or wrong, there must not be any suspicion in the minds of the people that the wrong decision was *deliberate* and that justice has been denied through unfair machinations. A genuine mistake, made in good faith, can be excused but not a series of wrongs unjustly contrived for *justice* must be apparent, which it is not in the S.R.C decisions.

President Dhebar also spoke in the same strain, first laying stress on Hindi as a State language and finally, at the end of his speech, coming to essentials.

"Referring to the need for a common language, Mr. Dehbar said: How can we think of a united India unless we understand one another? The spread of Hindi and the development of other languages in which the people speak and express themselves become inevitable for that purpose. We are apt to place too much reliance upon 'one-language one-State' formula. Switzerland, one of the most peaceful and prosperous countries in the world, has three languages. It is interesting to note that while the French, the Germans and the Italians having their own linguistic States have been quarrelling and even fighting with one another off and on, the Swiss having all the three languages in one State have always remained unaffected. It is the love and respect which we show to a language or languages that is the kernel of the unity of a nation."

"Concluding, Mr. Dhebar said: Our leaders in the Government are trying to exert themselves to the utmost to see that the maximum effort is made. I have only pointed out the three fundamental needs for the success of planning, a correct social approach, the urgent need for reorientation of our political and social institutions, and the need on the part of the Congress organisation to rise to the occasion by dragging itself out from the ruts of easy political propaganda to an organised constructive effort. Last time we considered the question of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation. You know that a Standing Committee was appointed and it has worked out a programme. It was no part of my intention nor that of the Working Committee to approach the problem of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation from a negative angle. We are earnestly trying to shift the emphasis from power to service. from expediency to fundamentals, and from mere routinal politics to constructive work. It is going to be a difficult going. But go he must. For it is only our organisation that stands to-day between ordered development and chaos and disruption of this country. Unless the direction is changed, we shall not be able to eliminate pettiness, individual and group loyalties and other ills that beset our organisation.

"We are entering into a crucial period of our history. Whether it is the Second Five-Year Plan, whether it is the States Reorganisation, whether it is the forthcoming elections or whether it is the goal of socialism, the deciding factors ultimately will be a trustworthy leadership, and efficient and an incorruptible administration, and a live, active and zealous organisation, firm in its faith, clear in its objective and loyal to its fundamentals. No revolution in the world has succeeded that has not given to the people these three things. We have the good fortune to posess in Panditji a leader who has carried with him and is still carrying with him the trust of our people, perhaps unequalled anywhere."

undistributed profits, tax on registered partnership firms with income above Rs. 40,000 will be levied at 9 pies per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 75,000, at 1 anna per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 1,50,000, and 1½ annas on incomes above this figure.

Non-essential vegetable oils, on which the Finance Minister proposes to impose an excise duty of half-an-anna per pound include castor oil, groundnut oil, linseed oil, kardi oil, mustard oil, coconut oil, and sesamum oil. This duty which is expected to yield an estimated Rs. 5½ crores, would be levied only on factories operated by power, and the first 125 tons per year cleared for home consumption from any factory will be exempted from the duty. We are, however, at a loss to understand how mustard oil or coconut oil could be regarded as non-essential oils. Mustard oil is used by the Bengali people as the only cooking fat and so also is the coconut oil in South India. The levy of 1 anna per seer does not apparently seem much, but in reality it will make a great difference. This will give an opportunity to the dealers to raise the price of such oils by a much larger margin so as to reap higher profits. In this respect the consumers will be helplessly at the mercy of the dealers, the Government remaining a mute spectator.

The effect of the taxation proposals will be to raise Rs. 25 crores by new and increased excise duties, Rs. 10 crores by changes in income tax and Rs. 95 lakhs by enhancement of postal rates. The tea industry has suffered a setback in recent months in exports, the industry is practically facing a crisis with large accumulated stocks. It is regretted that the relief now being proposed to be given to the industry has not come a day earlier. The moral of the fable that you should not kill the hen that lays golden eggs is often forgotten in practical life and it brings hazards when it is overlooked by the Government. The higher rates of export duty on jute manufactures once brought a spell of disaster to the export trade of jute manufactures. Again, the Government ignored the impact of world competitive forces in tea export trade and the result is almost a slump in our tea trade. The depression in tea exports is partly attributable to the higher export duties, and partly to the closing of the London auction. Tea occupies the second place in our export trade and it is unfortunate that the authorities misjudged (or did not judge at all) the world market in tea. Ceylon and Indonesia are the close rivals of India in tea exports and the raising of export duties by India on tea favoured the tea exports of these countries. The relief will have little effect in stepping up exports, as its effect on prices will be insignificant.

Referring to the balance of payments, the Finance Minister observed that on the trends of the first nine months' figures (1955), the year as a whole might show a surplus of about Rs. 35 crores as compared with the deficit of Rs. 4 crores in the previous year. The sterling balances stood at Rs. 735 crores at the end of 1955 as compared to Rs. 731 crores at the beginning of the year. The dollar position has also improved and India made a net contribution of $53 million to the Central Reserve in 1955 as compared with the net withdrawal of $15 million in 1954. The projected increase in the pace of development contemplated in the second Plan would impose a heavy strain on our payments position in future. In urging a note of caution, the Finance Minister observed that if the second Plan were to proceed according to schedule, "not only shall we not be able to achieve any surplus in our external account but we are also likely to be faced with fairly substantial deficits." It is, therefore, necessary to promote exports by taking urgent and effective steps to modernize and rationalize major industries like jute and cotton textiles so as to make them capable of withstanding foreign competition. All-out efforts, the Finance Minister urged, were required to encourage export industries and otherwise to save or earn foreign exchange.

We may, however, point out that since 1947 India has been suffering trade deficits, with the exception of 1950 when there was a small surplus. Even in 1955, India had trade deficits on current account. Exports during 1955 were valued at Rs. 604 crores as against Rs. 563 crores during 1954. Imports rose to Rs. 644 crores from Rs. 616 crores in the previous year. The overall trade deficit declined from Rs. 53 crores in 1954 to Rs. 40 crores in 1955. The Government always cite the balance of payments position, and in one sense that is correct because it reflects the total outgoings and incomings of a country. But it must not be forgotten that in our balance of payments position there are various items which are not at all earned by India by her trade, but constitute a great liability being mostly loans from international bodies like the IMF and other institutions and countries.

The deficit in the balance of payments is balanced by what is known as the compensatory official financing and to that extent the picture of the external payments is misleading, at least it does not reveal correctly the balance on account of current trade.

In the next budget, Capital expenditure is estimated at Rs. 316.7 crores, of which Rs. 113 crores were for Railways, Rs. 26.3 crores for Defence, Rs. 44 crores for the three new Steel Plants, Rs. 20 crores for cash compensation to displaced persons, Rs. 9.5 crores for Government trading schemes mostly for purchase of foodgrains and Rs. 5 crores for the Life Insurance Corporation. In addition, the estimates include, against the original estimate of Rs. 355 crores, Rs. 327 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 386 crores in 1956-57 for loans to State Government and others mostly for the execution of projects in the Plan.

During the next year the overall deficit is estimated at Rs. 390 crores, the whole of which is expected to be met by expansion of Treasury Bills. Regarding the Ways and Means position, the Government needs Rs. 52 crores for meeting the revenue deficit and Rs. 703 crores for financing the Capital Outlay and loan requirements. Against this, they hoped to raise Rs. 100 crores from the Market Loan, Rs. 70 crores from small savings, Rs. 85 crores from foreign aid and Rs. 110 crores from other miscellaneous debt and remittance transaction. This would leave a gap of about Rs. 390 crores to balance the budget. In other words, deficit financing shall have to be resorted to during the next financial year. Considering the result of deficit financing during the period of the first Five-Year Plan, it can be taken that deficit financing in such small doses can safely be absorbed by the system. In an underdeveloped economy like that of ours, deficit financing undertaken on productive purposes backed with the expansion of employment does not create inflationary conditions, provided of course there is higher taxation and continued flow of consumer goods. The high taxation is already there and the authorities should see that the country has an adequate supply of consumer goods and imports need be directed towards checking inflationary tendecnies.

Dearer credit structure is another deterrent to inflationary tendencies, and the Reserve Bank has already taken timely action in raising the advance rate against usance bills under the bill market scheme. If need be, the Bank rate may also be raised to make short-term borrowing, that is, speculation, a costly affair. As regards foreign assistance India has received economic assistance from friendly countries, mainly from the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The total aid authorized from April 1951 to date is of the order of Rs. 300 crores, of which Rs. 200 crores are expected to be utilised by the end of March 1956.

All-India Rural Credit Survey

The General Report of the all-India Rural Credit Survey Committee has now been for about a year before the public. Some of the more important of the many recommendations made in this report have gained added significance by reason of their substantial acceptance, as the basis of future policy in the sphere of rural credit, by the Central and State Governments, by the Reserve Bank itself and by various all-India bodies representative of official and non-official co-operative opinion. Plans for co-operative development in the various States, are being formulated on the basis of the integrated scheme recommended in the Report, and will be incorporated into the Second Five-Year Plan.

There has been a demand for a shorter version of the Report, not so short, however, as to obscure the argument or be a bare summary of facts and recommendations. An abridged edition has, therefore, been prepared by the Reserve Bank to meet that demand and also to make available the main contents of the full Report to as large a body of the public and co-operative and other institutions as possible. It is also hoped by the Reserve Bank that the abridged edition will serve as a convenient text for purposes of translation into the regional languages of the country.

The Committee made detailed studies regarding our agricultural economy and suggested various means for future development. The Report of the Committee made recommendations for the integrated development of the co-operative movement under the aegis of State partnership. The prescription for the reorganization of co-operative credit hitherto made or tried may be described as attempts to rectify the internal weaknesses of the credit structure without taking into account the weaknesses of the rural structure as a whole, much less its maladjustment to the external mechanism of urban trade and finance.

Most reforms of the co-operative movement, attempted or effected, have therefore been in the nature of inevitably futile attempts to combine the weak against the strong in conditions in which the weak have had no chance. Thus, efforts have been concentrated on thrift, better living, multipurpose activity, etc., without the prior preparation needed for correcting the maladjustment between the two economies. The Committee maintains that conditions must first be created in which co-operation can properly function. No criticism of the functioning is likely to be useful or fundamental unless those conditions are first created. The choice before co-operation is, therefore, indefinitely to continue in various degrees to be unable to help itself or to be helped in order that eventually it may not only help itself but need no other outside help.

That initial help, the Committee thinks, can only come from the State if it is to be of the requisite magnitude and of a type which will enable the co-operative organization to withstand the pressure of opposition of vested interests. The manner of the help, therefore cannot be administrative. The State's way of help hitherto has been to over-administer and under-finance. But that is no remedy for a total problem which may now be seen to be one, not of rural-minded credit alone, but of rural-minded credit in conjunction with rural-minded development of agriculture and rural-minded organization of marketing, processing, etc.

The total programme needed may be described as one of rural reorientation of the operative forces of the country's administrative and financial organization. It implies a combination of rural conscience, rural will and rural direction. Such a combination strong enough to be an over-riding factor in the situation has to come from Government and the more powerful institutions of Government. In Co-operation we have what may be described as a combination of the weak at the bottom. The State is or ought to be a combination for the weak at the top. An effective programme is possible only if the State at one end joins hands with Co-operatives at the other in an effort to bring about the rural-mindedness that is needed. The process of collaboration hitherto may be described not so much as the joining of hands as the occasional and ceremonial shaking of hands, the Committee observes.

Thus, through one important part of the Committee's recommendations runs the theme, not only of State guidance and State aid, but also of State partnership with co-operatives in credit, processing, marketing, etc. Since the operations of the banking mechanism as a whole have an important bearing on the first of these aspects. *viz.*, processing, marketing, etc., two other basic considerations which underline different but connected parts of the recommendations are the need for positive State association with a defined sector of commercial banking and the need for State initiative and State participation in the creation of suitable institutional means for the promotion of storage and warehousing on an all-India scale.

The Committee has recommended that the Reserve Bank of India should establish two funds, namely, the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Reserve Bank should contribute not less than Rs. 5 crores per annum to the former and not less than Rs. 1 crore per annum to the latter Fund. The position in regard to these contributions will be reviewed at the end of five years. In addition, there should be an initial non-recurring allotment of Rs. 5 crores to the Long-term Operations Fund. The operations of these Funds and the planning and execution (within the Reserve Bank's own sphere) of the programmes and policies for which they are intended to be utilized should remain the responsibility of the Reserve Bank and its Board, in their normal functioning, and should not be vested in a separate body, statutory or other.

The Committee has suggested that out of the Long-term Operations Fund, the Reserve Bank should be enabled to make long-term loans to State Government for the purpose of their subscribing, directly or indirectly, to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions, whether these are institutions which give short-term and medium-term credit (State co-operative banks, central co-operative banks, larger sized primary credit societies, etc.) or long-term credit (central land mortgage banks, primary land mortgage banks, etc.), provided the institution is one mainly designed for giving rural credit, either in the sphere of agricultural and ancillary activities or of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Government of India have accepted these recommendations of the all-India Rural Credit Survey and the Reserve Bank Act has been amended accordingly in 1955. Under new provisions, the Reserve Bank is required to establish two Funds—the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Long-term Operations Fund has already been credited with a sum of Rs. 10 crores, while the latter has not yet been provided with any credit. Under the terms of amendment, the Reserve Bank is required to contribute annually, commencing from the year ended June 30, 1956, a sum of Rs. 1 crore for a period of five years. The Government of India, however, can authorise the Reserve Bank to reduce or increase the amount of its annual contributions to these Funds.

The purpose of the Long-term Operations Fund is fourfold: (1) to give loans and advances to State Governments for subscribing, directly or indirectly, to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies. The State Governments should repay these loans on the expiry of fixed periods not exceeding twenty years from the date of making such loans; (2) to give loans to State co-operative banks for agricultural purposes. These are to be medium-term loans and are required to be repaid not before 15 months and not exceeding 5 years; (3) to give loans to central land mortgage banks for a period not exceeding 20 years; and (4) to purchase debentures of central land mortgage banks. Loans and advances made to the co-operative banks and central land mortgage banks are subject to guarantee of repayment of both principal and interest by the State Governments concerned.

The increase in the share-capital of State co-operative banks will enable such banks to increase the volume of short-term agricultural credit now supplied by the Reserve Bank. The National Agricultural Credit Stabilization Fund will be utilised by the Reserve Bank for the purpose of granting medium-term loans to State co-operative banks, etc., in circumstances in which it is satisfied that short-term loans of which repayment to it has become due by the State co-operative banks, etc., cannot without serious dislocation to the credit structure of the State's co-operative system, be repaid in due time on account of famine, drought, etc., and consequently that repayment of such loans, or part thereof, may justifiably be allowed to be deferred. The short-term loan will be technically treated as repaid to the Banking Department, but in effect converted into a medium-term loan from the Reserve Bank's Stabilization Fund.

The recommendations of the all-India Rural Credit Survey Committee attached high priority to warehouse construction as an integral part of its scheme for establishing institutional system of establishing rural credit in India. To promote the planned development, on a country-wide basis, of facilities for the storage and warehousing of agricultural commodities (including commodities ancillary to agriculture or otherwise of importance to the rural economy of the country), with the object, among other things, of expeditiously bringing about conditions in which increased institutional credit will be available for agriculture and, ultimately of bringing about the ownership on a co-operative basis of as wide a network of godowns and licensed warehouses as possible, the Committee has suggested for the establishment of the National Development and Warehousing Board. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations and have decided to set up an all-India Warehousing Corporation and a series of State Warehousing Corporations. The Agricultural Ministry will set up no less than 1,700 warehouses and godowns in the principal mandis and markets of the country. These godowns will be owned by large-sized credit co-operatives which would cater to the needs of five villages in irrigated areas. Warehouses will facilitate proper grading of commodities. The Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, in his inaugural address at the meeting of the Agricultural and Food Products Division Council of the Indian Standards Institution held at New Delhi on February 18, emphasised the need for compulsory regulation, according to specified grades and standards of commodities, especially those meant for export.

State Trading in Food

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture recently came out with a statement contradicting some of the charges of wastage against the Food Ministry made in a pamphlet entitled *State Trading in Food*, published by the Employers' Association, Calcutta. The main charges made in the abovementioned pamphlet were that the Government had incurred a loss of Rs. 277.4 crores during the 10 years 1944-53 which could have been avoided if there was private trading instead of State trading; there had been unduly large waste in Government storage of foodgrains; and the handling charges incurred by the Government had been much higher than what would have been incurred by the trade.

The Government statement pointed out that strictly speaking food transactions of the Government between 1943 and 1953 could not be called State trading as they did not fulfil the basic characteristics of such trading, *viz.*, purchase of products by the State-owned or State-controlled agency at the cheapest market with a view to their commercial resale at the dearest. "Procurement prices were fair prices and not the cheapest prices. Similarly, ration prices were also fair prices and not the highest prices that could be extorted from the consumer."

The statement continued to point out that much of the so-called loss of Rs. 277.4 crores over food transactions was accounted for by subsidies, bonuses and loss incurred as a result of decontrol. Subsidies had to be given to enable the ordinary consumer buy the imported foodgrains, procured at much higher cost, at a reasonable price. The subsidies had been granted in pursuance of a definite policy "firstly, to keep the prices within easy reach of the consumer and, secondly, to encourage procurement with a view to ensuring a fair distribution of available supplies. To describe the expenditures thus incurred a loss is, therefore, travesty of truth."

It pointed out further that the Government had agreed on the decontrol of foodgrains in the public interest as a matter of deliberate policy though they could easily have continued controls and thus avoided the loss incurred on decontrol.

"Thus," the statement added, "if subsidies, bonuses and the loss incurred on decontrol are taken as deliberate expenditure undertaken in the interest of the consumer, then not only was there no trading loss but, as will appear from the published accounts, a net profit of about Rs. 39 crores over a transaction of about Rs. 1,000 crores was made by the Government in the course of these ten years. This works out to a profit of about 4 per cent and shows how wide of the mark the conclusions reached in the pamphlet are." If Government had been guided by the profit motive they could easily have made a much larger profit.

Referring to the charge of unduly large wastage in Government storage the statement pointed out that compared with 1 per cent loss [illegible] in such progressive countries as Australia and Belgium, and the average ... per cent allowed by private traders in In... for storage of foodgrains, the loss sustained ... the Government of India during the per... 1946 to 1954 had never exceeded 10 per cent. "In fact in 8 out of the 9 years the loss varied from 00.28 per cent to .73 per cent. By any standard this must be regarded as a very good record."

"The administration of food was undertaken by the Government at a time when the country was threatened with acute shortage of food supply and when there was no dearth of anti-social elements in the country. The main consideration for the Government at that time was not the price of foodstuffs but how to avoid a repetition of the tragedies of the Bengal Famine. The grant of subsidies, the fixation of issue prices, procurement prices, etc., were all based on a deliberate policy designed to protect the interests of the poorer section of the population. Private trade could never have obtained the urgently needed foodstuffs on the same terms as they were arranged by the Government," the statement added.

Hindi and non-Hindi Areas' Demand

In the September, 1955 session of the Madras Legislature the State Government had introduced a resolution for consideration of the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission appointed by the Government of India. In the Upper House of the Legislature an amendment had been moved to the resolution adding, "and, on such consideration, this Council resolves to request the Government of Madras, in framing their replies to the Questionnaire, to incorporate the following principles and suggestions in their reply:

(1) That, for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspondence between the Central Government or any other State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose ... language or languages mentioned in the ... nstitution and to fix quotas according to ... number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required, after their selection to such services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi-speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother-tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother-tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

The Minister-in-charge Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam said: "In this connection, Sir, I would like to pay a tribute to the manner in which Madras University had prepared their considered replies to the various points raised in the questionnaire. I could say at once that I generally agree with the opinions expressed by the Madras University and I see that the amendment moved by the Hon. Member, Shri Raza Khan more or less embodies the reply given by the University. I can also say that I generally agree with the broad views expressed in the amendment . . ."

The amendment had, however, been withdrawn at the request of Government.

Referring to the aforementioned proceedings in the Madras Legislature Shri Maganbhai P. Desai points out in an article in the *Harijan*, February 18, that the amendment, though not approved by the Assembly, represented, in general, the considered opinion of the University, the Legislature and the Government of Madras. "Shortly understood, we might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its affairs—educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc."

Shri Desai writes, the points made in the aforesaid amendment were quite reasonable and must be implemented as part of an all-India policy together with the introduction of compulsory study of Hindi in all schools and colleges with a view to equipping the citizens with a knowledge of Hindi, the medium for all-India and inter-State relations.

Bengal-Bihar Merger

The proposal for merging West Bengal and Bihar into a new State was endorsed by the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress. It appeared that though generally the Congress leaders were unanimous in commending the idea of merger in the case of West Bengal and Bihar many of them were not prepared to extend the principle of bilingual States to their own regions.

The Communist Party of India opposed the proposal for merger on principle and reiterated its demand for the formation of States on linguistic basis. The attitude of other parties were varied and often self-contradictory.

The Bihar Assembly approved the pro-

posal for merger of Bihar and West Bengal by 156 votes to 35 on February 25.

In West Bengal, the Government was to introduce the motion for the approval of the merger plan on Friday, the 24th February but did not do so by interpreting the vote on an opposition amendment, on the motion of thanks to the Governor for his opening address to the Legislature, as an expression of support for the proposed union of West Bengal and Bihar.

The Opposition objected to such an interpretation by the Government and the Speaker ruled that the Government interpretation was not correct and that the rejection of an opposition amendment to the motion of thanks to the Governor could not be taken as a verdict in favour of the union of West Bengal and Bihar, so that the West Bengal Assembly was yet to decide its attitude on the merger proposal.

Meanwhile on February 24, when the motion for merger was originally scheduled to be introduced in the Assembly, Calcutta had a complete and 24-hour *hartal*.

States Reorganization and Unity

In an article entitled "Whither Swaraj" in the *Harijan* for February 11, 1956, the editor Shri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai makes some comments on the developments following the publication of the report of the States' Reorganization Commission.

The reorganization of States on linguistic basis, writes Shri Desai, was "as important and consequential as the merger of Indian States of the British regime" and this "was and is surely one of the first few things that should be achieved under Swaraj."

The measure was already too long delayed and now to postpone or put it in cold storage out of despair "would be another mistake." If the idea of partitioning the country into five or six zones had been put forward as an alternative of reorganization of States out of a weakness and fear to face the issues squarely as an escapist move, Shri Desai avers, "then we might take it that it will hardly profit us by delivering the goods."

People were asking for reorganisation of States with a view to securing better conditions for the establishment of true Swaraj in the country and the problem should consequently be viewed from the fundamental point of the interest of the masses. "It is necessary that all administration under Swaraj should be conducted in their language. If we let go this chief points of approach, then what else is the principle on the basis of which we might guide curselves when thinking out the reorganization?" Shri Desai asks.

The question of linguistic redistribution of States had got mixed up with the politics of industrial and economic development and therefore it was hanging too heavily on the minds of the politicians or the diplomats, he adds.

Comintern under fire

The Communists always claim to be right. And woe betide a man who dares to oppose the accepted views of the Communists on any question. The position of such a man becomes unenviable if he happens to be one of their members or is living in a country under Communist domination. The current Communist idea of right or wrong, especially in matters concerning the Party's political analysis and assessment of party personalities, is interesting indeed. When Tito is denounced as a deviationist and an agent-provocateur in the ranks of the party the Party is right and when Tito is afterwards restored to grace and is acclaimed a Champion of the proletariat the Party is right. Not only that notwithstanding such *volte face* the Party's stand must be considered to have always been right. In our country the Communists, frequent admissions of mistakes by adopting equally mistaken policies are quite well known. The Tito affair has apparently shaken the Communist world to the foundations and admissions of mistakes even on the part of the all-righteous Soviet Communist Party are also being made.

During the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a statement was issued under the joint authority of five European Communist Parties (of Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and USSR) to the effect that the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the charge that the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland had been extensively infiltrated by enemy agents had been quite unjustified.

The Polish Communist organ *Trybuna Luda* in a leading article on February 19, 1956 on the matter writes that the charge of enemy infiltration of the Communist party leadership in Poland was wholly trumped-up. "The evidence for it had been faked by a gang of saboteurs and provocateurs whose real role was only brought to light after Beria was unmasked. The spuriousness of the accusations then made against many of the most loyal comrades from the C. P. P. leadership, comrades who were highly appreciated by the party, has now been irrefutably established. The party honour of these comrades has been re-established, and they have been fully rehabilitated."

But the tragic irony is that many of those leaders are no longer alive to be physically "rehabilitated." The "rehabilitation" is on paper only.

The statement issued by the five Communist parties have deeper implications and may portend a change of inter-party relationship.

Secondly, the revelations in the statement coming so soon after the admission of mistakes in the treatment of Yugoslav Communist party bring to light the sordid depth to which even some internationally hallowed Communist luminaries may descend to prop up their personal leadership.

Mountaineer Spies

Some time back two Welsh climbers, Sidney Wignald and John Harrop, had been arrested by the Chinese authorities for illegally entering into Tibet. However, subsequently they were let off by the Chinese authorities through the intervention of the Government of Nepal. However, the two climbers did not apparently consider it necessary to explain their position and reasons for entry into Tibet to the Government of Nepal through whose efforts their release had been secured.

In a note to the British Embassy at Kathmandu, the Nepalese Foreign Office lodged a protest at the conduct of the two men and demanded an "unstinted apology" from the Welsh Expedition. The Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain which had backed the six-member Welsh Expedition was also sent a copy of the Note.

The conduct of the two Welshmen was queer to say the least and would tend to confirm the suspicion held in many quarters that the spate of recent expeditions to the Himalayan region was not wholly prompted by considerations of genuine geographical and scientific interest and there was great political motive behind those expeditions. The Government of Nepal had already indicated their approval of these expeditions. But the Government of India also had some responsibility to see that her relations with her neighbours did not get strained through the activities of unscrupulous foreigners at her border areas.

Ceylonese Chauvinism

So long both the Sinhalese and Tamil languages were accorded equal status. But now under pressure from Sinhalese fanatics the ruling United National Party of Sir John Kotelawala unanimously adopted a resolution to make Sinhalese the only official language of Ceylon. The claims of the minority Tamils to give their language an equal status was totally ignored. The Parliament of Ceylon was dissolved to give the people an opportunity to indicate their attitude to the issue of an official language.

In a leading article on February 25, the *Hitavada* writes: "The economic condition of Ceylon requires the full co-operation of every section of the population to make any progress and it will be the height of folly to antagonise a substantial part of the population for satisfying the linguistic variety of the majority. Sir John Kotelawala was long known as a moderating influence on Sinhalese extremism and it is a tragic development for the unity of the island that he has been swept along by the current of linguistic fanaticism."

The decision of the Ceylon Government to hold fresh elections on the issue of the official language was commendable and it spoke for Sir John Kotelawala's regard for constitutional proprieties, the newspaper notes. "But it must also be pointed out here that the present time is particularly convenient to the ruling party to make a good show at the polls, as several lakhs of Ceylon Indians are without franchise rights, still struggling to meet the stringent requirements of the citizenship Act and the vexatious demands of officialdom. It is also stated that the election may not be held for registered citizens of Indian origin, who are

World Population.

According to the estimate made by the Statistical Officer of the United Nations Organization, world population as of mid-year 1954 stood at 265.5 crores. Some of the breakdowns were: Africa 214,000,000; Asia 1,451,000,000; North America 233,000,000 and the USSR 214,500,000.

Free Honours and Titles

While in India, Marshal Bulganin, the Soviet Premier and Mr. Khruschev, the Soviet Communist Party Secretary, had been offered honorary doctorate degrees by the University of Delhi but they had gently refused to accept the honours saying that in their country such honours had to be earned and, therefore, they could not take them gratis.

Referring to that incident Shri Maganbhai Desai writes in *Harijan*, February 4: "Does not the incident . . . give us a wholesome lesson when we are falling an easy prey to the monarchical tradition?"

Shri Desai points out that the system of showing respect to persons by conferring honours and titles on them "we have learnt and adopted from the British. Our Universities have started conferring doctorates with unseemly haste! And Government, too, is creating Padma . . . and Bharat . . . every six months or year . . ."

He adds that while honours and titles might have a place in monarchical Britain such apish imitation of the imperialist British by Republican India did her little credit.

Assembly Proceedings Annulled

On February 24, when West Bengal observed a 24-hour hartal, some of the Congress members attended the Assembly and the Government got the Premises Tentancy Bill passed in the absence of the Opposition members. On the following day Opposition members challenged the validity of the proceedings of the Assembly on February 24. According to the report published in the *Statesman*: "The Opposition directed their attack mainly on two points. They alleged that the Speaker had lowered the dignity of the Chair and of the House by allowing, at the suggestion of Dr. Roy, the Government, to 'rush through' the contentious Premises Tenancy Bill on Friday in the absence of the Opposition. It was contended that Friday's proceedings were *ultra vires*. Mr. Jyoti Basu (Communist) moved a resolution suggesting that the Tenancy Bill and the acceptance of the motion for consideration of the Panchayat Bill be rescinded.

"They also alleged that the Speaker had violated his own ruling given only three days ago by allowing a Government member to call a division on an amendment which had been moved by a member from the other side of the House.

"The second attack was led by Mr. Bankim Mukherjee and Mr. Bibhuti Ghosh who alleged that the Speaker had, 'under the influence of the Chief Minister' changed the ruling he had originally decided to give on the question of privilege over display in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Jugantar* of the news of the Assembly voting on Monday on an amendment to the motion of thanks to the Governor criticizing the Government's failure to take measures to counter the move to amalgamate West Bengal and Bihar.

"The Speaker categorically stated that the charge made by Mr. Mukherjee and Mr. Ghosh was 'untrue and mischievous.' He explained the circumstances in which he had accepted the Government's suggestion to proceed with the Tenancy Bill on Friday and said he had adjourned the House after a 35-minute sitting in the interest of the Opposition. On Mr. Basu's resolution, he said it deserved careful consideration and added he would give his ruling on a subsequent day.

"During the discussion, Dr. Roy also came in for a good deal of criticism. His presence in the House was demanded repeatedly and he was described as 'a despot, a dictator who has reduced democracy in West Bengal to a mockery.'

"He was charged with contempt of the House for a statement which, according to the unrevised verbatim proceedings of Friday, he had made saying: 'The Opposition members do not come. They do not take things seriously. The other day they came and asked us to have the House adjourned on account of the death of Dr. Meghnad Saha.'

"Mr. Joyti Basu said this was a reflection on the Opposition and on the House itself. Moreover, Dr. Roy's reference to the adjournment on account of Dr. Saha's death amounted to a reflection on the Chair. There was, Mr. Basu said, no difference of opinion about that adjournment and the Speaker had acted according to the desires of the members.

"Mr. P. C. Sen, Deputy Leader of the Congress party, said the report from which the Opposition were quoting was an unrevised version.

"Mr. Basu then moved his resolution demanding cancellation of the decision and quoted from May's Parliamentary Practice to support his contention that this was admissible under parliamentary procedure. He believed that such a step had been taken in the Lok Sabha on the Constitution Bill. The matter raised by him was very serious and he thought that 'democracy is in jeopardy in West Bengal'."

Giving his ruling on February 28, on the points raised by the Opposition, the Speaker admitted that the proceedings of the Assembly on Friday, the 24th February, had not been in order. The *Statesman* report says:

"Giving his ruling on Tuesday the Speaker said that it was a rule of general application in all Parliaments that no question should be offered in the same session that was substantially the same as one on which a verdict had already been given by the House.

"This rule, however, applied only when a question substantially the same as one on which a previous decision was given was proposed. This rule did not apply, and had not been applied to the case of an open rescission of a previous decision of the House because a motion that a decision be rescinded could not be said to be the same as that a Bill be passed.

"May, he continued, had, in his *Parliamentary Practice* expressed the same proposition. Lord Asquith also, when Prime Minister, had moved a motion for the rescission of a previous decision taken in the same session and cited two previous precedents in which the House of Commons had rescinded its previous decisions.

"Speaking on that occasion, Lord Asquith had said: 'To say that this House is not able, if it is so minded, under any circumstances whatever, to rescind a resolution which upon reconsideration it thinks ought not to have been passed, is to deny to the House the first quality of a really deliberative assembly.'

"Declaring that under the circumstances Mr. Basu's motions were in order, the Speaker placed them before the House and requested the members to come to a unanimous decision on them.

"Rising immediately after the ruling had been given, Dr. Roy said that the members from his side of the House were willing to accept the rescission motions. He hoped that this acceptance would not be regarded as a precedent.

"The Government was prepared to reopen discussion on the Bill from Clause 17 and also take up the third reading of the Bill when the clause-by-clause discussion was concluded. He pointed out, however, that it was necessary to have this measure placed on the Statute Book before March 31 when the present Tenancy Act would lapse.

"The Government had no desire to stifle legitimate discussion but a serious situation would have arisen if after March 31 there was no legislation to govern relations between landlords and tenants."

Henry Heras

The great historian, Father Dr. Henry Heras, S.J., breathed his last on 15th December, 1955, at the age of sixty-eight. Born in Spain, Father Heras received his higher education in the U.S.A. On his return to the homeland he was appointed Principal of a college there.

After a year, at the age of thirty-four, Father Heras came to India and got an appointment in the teaching staff at Bombay St. Xaviers College. He was a lover of Indian culture, and was much influenced and inspired by the teachings of Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. As a Jesuit he took up the vow of celibacy and resolved to pass his days in love and service to humanity. As a professor of history Father Heras gradually came to know and realise what was best in Indian thought and culture. He engaged himself seriously to historical researches, and the result was his many important papers and treatises on various aspects of Indian history. His *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture* stands as a monument to his long-continued researches. This book has transformed the current beliefs and ideas of rela-

tion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

To carry on systematic researches Father Heras founded the Bombay Historical Research Institute, where bands of scholars conducted research-work under the guidance of Father Heras. The Institute celebrated its Silver Jubilee only recently. Heras was the Director of the Institute at the time of his death.

Haridas Bhattacharya

In the death of Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya at sixty-five we have lost a sincere friend and a valued contributor to our *Review*. He died on 20th January last at his Calcutta residence, and, we may say, almost in harness. Because since his retirement from the Philosophy Chair of the Dacca University, he worshipped in the temple of learning in various capacities, sometimes as a professor of Philosophy in the Banaras Hindu University, and later as the accredited Editor of the *Cultural Heritage of India Series*, published under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission Cultural Institute, Calcutta.

Prof. Bhattacharya began his academic career as a lecturer of the Calcutta University. But he joined the Dacca University soon after its start and served it for about a quarter of this century. While holding the University Chair of Philosophy, Prof. Bhattacharya was in later years the Provost of the Jagannath Hall and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He once presided over the All-India Philosophical Congress. He was also the Stephens Nirmalendu Professor of the Calcutta University. As an advisor to the West Bengal Secondary Education Board and as a Secretary to the studies of the I.A.S. examinees conducted by the Calcutta University, Professor Bhattacharya made his mark. His lucid exposition of abstruse philosophical and theological subjects revealed his wonderful mastery over them.

Prabodh Chandra Bagchi

Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, passed away on 19th January last. He was a savant of a high order. His researches in ancient history have revealed to the world the intimate cultural relations between India, Central Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East, including China and Japan. He followed the path chalked out by scholars of international repute like Sylvain Levi and added to the treasures of knowledge hitherto unknown to the educated world.

Born in Jessore, Dr. Bagchi completed his academic studies by passing the M.A. examination in Ancient History and Culture with unusual credit in 1920. His successful career and his inclination to research-work attracted the notice of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who appointed him lecturer in the Department of Ancient History and Culture. Dr. Bagchi took leave of the University for a year, and with the permission of Sir Ashutosh went to Santiniketan for collaboration with Prof. Levi in his researches in oriental studies. Here he took up Buddhism and Buddhist literature as his subject of research. He travelled in the Far East and the South-East Asia to make himself acquainted first-hand with the language, literature, religion, culture as also the people of each of those countries. The new archaeological findings in Central Asia opened a new avenue for research, and Prof. Bagchi ardently engaged himself in their studies.

Prabodh Chandra was deputed to Paris to carry on further research in the subject. Here again he was fortunate entough to work in close co-operation with Prof. Levi. Prabodh Chandra's compilation of the Chinese-Indian Dictionary and editing a rare Chinese MS. with a learned preface at once gained him recognition of his scholarship by the Orientalists in Europe and Asia. He won the Doctorate degree of the Paris University and returned to India to join his post in the Calcutta University.

Dr. Bagchi continued his researches with wonderful success for decades. He served his Alma Mater up till 1945, after which he joined the Cheena-Bhavan of Visva-Bharati, as a professor. While Visva-Bharati turned into a regular University under the charge of the Central Government in 1951, Prof. Bagchi became the Principal of the Vidya-Bhavan, or the Research Academy. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor in 1954. Dr. Bagchi joined the Indian Cultural Mission to China under the leadership of Sja. Vijayalakshmi Pandit some time in 1952.

Jnananjan Neogi

On 13th February last the veteran social worker Jnananjan Neogi died in a very tragic circumstance. The melancholy event took

place while he was speaking on the vexed question of 'Merger' in the evening of that day. His loss will be felt by his countrymen for a long time to come.

Born at Gaya Jnananjan spent his boyhood at Patna where he came in contact with Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the State of West Bengal. Jnananjan was inspired with a love of service even in his young days. He joined the Swadeshi Movement while he was still within his teens. The Social Service League of Dr. D. N. Maitra had a special attraction for him, and it was in its work that he found his life's mission of service.

He toured the U.S.A. in 1923, and he was allowed for the first time amongst the Indians to address the American Senators on the condition of India and her people. On his return he started the Working Men's Institute, which is still doing useful service amongst the workers in various ways. As organiser of the Commercial Museum, run by the Corporation of Calcutta, he gave sufficient proof of constructive genius. His *Desher Katha* compiled after the model of the book of the same name by Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, was proscribed, and he served several terms of imprisonment for his active connection with the struggle for Indian Independence. He organised the famous All-India Exhibition in Calcutta in 1948. He was a friend of the poor and the down-trodden. May his soul rest in peace in heaven.

Meghanad Saha

A scientist of international reputation and a patriot of a very high order, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., breathed his last in Delhi on the 17th February last under tragic circumstances. He felt very uneasy while going to attend the sessions of the Planning Commission, and was found in an unconscious state near the gate of its office. He was immediately taken to the nearest hospital, but, alas, succumbed before any medical aid could be administered to him. He was sixty-three.

Being the son of very poor parents Dr. Saha had to struggle hard since his boyhood in order to build up his academic career. He secured many scholarships and stipends due to his merits. After passing his Entrance and I.Sc. from Dacca, he came to Calcutta and joined the Presidency College as a B.Sc. student. His brilliant academic career and humble behaviour at once endeared him to Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray and Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee was then organising the Post-Graduate Department in Science and he picked up Dr. Saha as a junior professor of Physics though he got his M.Sc. degree in Applied Mathematics. Dr. Saha did not fail to make his mark as a researcher, and obtained the D.Sc. and the Premchand Raychand Scholarship in 1918 and 1919 respectively. He went on an educational tour in Europe and remained there for two years, conducting researches in Physics in the laboratories of eminent scientists as Prof. Fowler.

On his return from Europe, Dr. Saha was appointed the Khaira Professor of Physics. But after some time, in 1923, he accepted the post of the Head of the Department of Physics of the Allahabad University. He remained there for fifteen years, after which he returned to his *Alma Mater* as the Palit Professor of Physics. It was here for the last fifteen years that Dr. Saha devoted all his attention to the opening of new avenues of research in Physics. He was instrumental in establishing the Institute of Nuclear Physics in the University Science College and the remodelling of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Dr. Saha's original research in the different branches of Astro-Physics established his reputation as a scientist of world-wide eminence and won him recognition from the scientific world, from far and near. He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1927. The French Astronomical Academy and the Boston Academy of Sciences honoured themselves by appointing him an Honorary Fellow. He attended as a representative of his mother country the centenary celebrations of the great scientists of Europe on more occasions than one.

Dr. Saha's researches in Astro-physics brought about a revolution, and his Theory of Thermal Ionisation is regarded as one of the ten epoch-making discoveries since the discovery of Telescope by Galileo. Dr. Saha's reputation was not confined to the scientific world alone. A great patriot, as President of the Science Congress in 1934, he urged his brother-scientists to utilise their discoveries for the development of

the country's resources. As a result of his advocacy the National Institute of Science was founded. Dr. Saha also pleaded for the establishment of the River-physics Department by the Government to control the rivers in Bengal so that the havocs created by their inundation might be averted. For regular treatment of scientific and cultural subjects Dr. Saha founded the *Science and Culture* monthly conjointly with his brother-scientists. As President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Saha adopted various measures for energising this oldest institution of Science and Arts. He also revitalised the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and as its Director he turned it into a first class research institute. Dr. Saha was the Chairman of the Calendar Reform Committee instituted by the Central Government.

His services to the cause of the country in capacities other than the scientist's should also be recalled with gratitude. As a Member of Parliament of India, he did yeoman's service to give succour and relief to the uprooted humanity from East Bengal, to guide the Planning Commission by his sound advice and by organising scientific institutions under the auspices of the Government. He utilised to the full his experiences of the Tenessey Valley Corporation after his return from the Scientific Mission sent by the Government of India in 1944-45. The Damodar Valley and other Corporations of this sort owe not a little to him.

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee, born of a famous Brahmin family of Navadwip in 1891, shone brilliantly in the sphere of law, and from a briefless advocate in early years, rose to be a prominent lawyer with roaring practice at the Calcutta High Court. He joined the Bench in 1936 and remained in that post till 1948, when he was transferred to Delhi as a Judge of the Federal Court, later called the Supreme Court of India. He rose to be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was forced to retire in January this year owing to failing health. Mr. Mukherjee was a legal luminary, and his exposition of the Hindu Law in the Calcutta High Court as also in the Supreme Court gained for him great reputation as a profound master of Law. He was the Tagore Lecturer of the Calcutta University. He is the learned author of some very authoritative treatises on legal subjects including *Hindu Law of Religious and Charitable Trust*. Mr. Mukherjee was a votary of Sanskrit culture. He brought out considerable reforms in the study of Sanskrit as President of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. The Sanskrita Parishad of Calcutta owed much to him for its present important status in the cultural life of Calcutta and Bengal.

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, the Speaker of the Parliament of Indian Union, passed off on 27th February last after suffering from protracted illness. He was sixty-eight. Mavlankar made a name in all the fields to which he devoted himself—as a practising lawyer, a patriotic social worker, a parliamentarian and as a constructive thinker. He started his career as a lawyer in 1913 in Ahmedabad. He joined most of the nation-buildoing activities there. He was drawn into politics in 1917. As a member of the Gujarat Sabha he made his mark as a political worker. In the various freedom movements Mavlankar threw himself heart and soul and suffered incarcerations. He was President of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1937-40 and carried on his duties very creditably. In 1946, Mavlankar was elected to the Central Legislature. His past creditable work as President of the Bombay Legislative Council gained him the Speakership of the Central Legislative Assembly. Mavlankar's services were fully recognized in Free India, and he served as Speaker of the Parliament of India.

As an ardent educationist he pioneered many educational activities in Ahmedabad. He was one of the moving spirits of the Ahmedabad Education Society which today runs about eight colleges in Ahmedabad. The Gujarat University was established mainly through his efforts. The offices he held as Chairman of several educational institutions including 108-year old Gujarati Vidya Sabha, was itself a recognition by the people of his contribution to education. As a parliamentarian and Speaker of the Parliament, Mavlankar did much to instil a new sense of duties and responsibilities in his colleagues.

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY AND WORLD PEACE

By Dr. J. EDWARDS, M.A. (Cal), A.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (N.Y.U.)

Gandhiji's Experiment with Truth

Gandhiji dedicated his life to making an experiment with Truth. This self-dedication is the first and foremost condition of truly moral and spiritual growth. His sincerity of purpose made him give up all sectarianism and impressed upon him the fact that genuine truth-finding is possible only for him who is able and willing to welcome it from whatever quarter it comes. He, thus, opened for himself the flood-gates of all religions for he really loved them all with the result that his life became a living sermon, an abiding source of inspiration for all those who care to make God-consciousness focal and dynamic. Like the honey-bee he frequented all parts of the garden of truth. If his pursuit was relentless, his product was genuine spiritual honey.

Gandhiji's Philosophy of Non-violence

Gandhiji realised that those who use the sword perish with the sword, as Christ warned Peter in the garden of Gethsemene in the hour of his mortal peril.[1] He drew the happy conclusion that "non-violence is the law of our species (and how one wishes that this were true) as violence is the law of the brute."[2] In his book, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, he is nearer truth when he says:

"The white art of non-violence is the law of the regenerate man."[3]

When, therefore, he designed the Tri-Colour, he expected it to stand, in the first instance, for non-violence, the other two standing for "unity . . . and identification through the 'charkha' of the highest with the lowliest in the land."[4] How great is the challenge for everyone who is privileged to stand under it! He must be regenerate, be born again, to use Christ's expression, be a new person spiritually, so that the white art of non-violence might become the law of life. Non-violence challenges us to tarry no longer in ancient ruins for it is capable of calling in a new world that will redress the balance of the old.

It is said of Gandhiji that he could not intentionally hurt anything that lived, much less fellow human beings even though they might do the greatest wrong to him and his.[5] The reason is not far to seek. He himself gives the answer when he says:

"Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus' suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions worldly and temporal . . . Jesus lived and died in vain, if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love."[6]

It was this eternal law of love whose practice, to the extent that Gandhiji was able, to represent love in his life in thought, word and deed brought him a realisation of 'peace that passeth all understanding." The non-violence of "Jesus who set the seal of his own blood upon his precepts, 'love thine enemy,' 'resist not evil'"[7] as Gandhiji points out, is "non-violence par excellence."[8] For the practice of this non-violence he felt the inner call. He says:

"I have imagined that He has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills."[9]

The concept of non-violence is by no means new to India. But it will be readily conceded that Gandhiji greatly enriched it, particularly by its use in the political and social fields on a scale unprecedented in history. India's political freedom, Zemindari abolition, liquidation of Indian States, abolition of untouchability, providing a sound basis for Panch-Shila, all owe a debt in varying proportions to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence. Non-violence in the international field today is termed as non-aggression and non-interference. It is up to each one of us to keep flying India's Tri-Colour symbolising Non-Violence which represents a process of self-purification" on the spiritual level, and a practical contribution to world peace on the international level from India's cultural heritage.

1. Matt. 26 : 52.
2. Jog Pervesh Chandra : *Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 439.
3. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 282.
4. Jog Pervesh Chandra : *Op. Cit.*, p. 356.
5. *Ibid*, p. 63.
6. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.
7. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *The Nation's Voice*, p. 237.
8. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 136.
9. Tendulkar and Dhareri : *Mahatma*, Vol. VII, p. 168.
10. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.
11. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 113.

Is Non-Violence a Virtue of Necessity?

Gandhiji calls non-violence the Moral Equivalent of War. His opponents dubbed non-violence as cowardly. Let us see how he who knew no diplomacy save that of Truth[12] defends himself against the charge. He points out :

"Europe mistook the bold and brave resistance full of wisdom by Jesus of Nazareth, as if it was of the weak. I detected no passivity, no weakness about Jesus as depicted in the four Gospels."[13]

He considers Jesus as "the most active resister known perhaps to history," and rates his non-violence as "non-violence par excellence."[14] He calls him a Prince among passive resisters who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees.[15] With such understanding of Christ's non-violence, fear and cowardice hypothesis is hardly tenable. Gandhiji who considered the example of Christ's suffering as a factor in the composition of his undying faith in non-violence, offered non-violence as the weapon of the morally strong. If non-violence was a virtue of necessity, Gandhiji the very foundation of whose life was Truth,[16] would have to be put down as a hypocrite which is absurd.

Non-Violence as Moral Equivalent of War

A careful analysis shows that non-violence is a real moral equivalent of war. It proceeds from returning good for evil which Gandhiji considers as the true way.[17] He, therefore, advises the follower of Truth and *Ahimsa* to conquer the tyrant by love . . . not to carry out the tyrant's will but suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.[18] This policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict[19] is obviously moral through and through. Gandhiji himself offers a psychological analysis of the moral equivalent in these words :

"Passive Resistance is an all-sided sword : it can be used anyhow: it blesses him who uses it, and also him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood. It produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. The sword of Passive Resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it."[20]

In the domain of morals non-violence is an ultimate, a method at once civilised and civilising, the main secret of Christ's conquest of the world through love, or non-violence. The great Napoleon did homage to this moral ultimate when he said :

"I built my empire on the sword. It shall perish. But Christ built his Empire on love and it shall survive."

The way to genuine peace is the way of Gandhi, the Prophet of Peace and of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Brotherhood of Man Requires the Use of Non-Violence

Gandhiji says, "A living faith in God means the acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind."[21] Christ stated brotherhood proposition thus: "You have one Father and all of you are brethren." Gandhiji's understanding and practising of the brotherhood principle, the acme of spiritual life, is worthy of our attention. He says :

"There is no Christianity or Christ in the West, or there should have been no war. That is how I understand the message of Christ."[22]

Do we realise that Christianity and War are contradictory terms ? Gandhiji who says, "Jesus would own me as a true Christian,"[23] offers a criticism which the Christian world unfortunately fully deserves. He says, "I hear the living Christ saying: These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain for they disobey the central command of my Father."[24] What is that central command ? That central command is to love God with heart, soul, mind and strength, as Christ stated and then added a second like unto the first, to love one's fellowman as himself. Gandhiji rightly concludes that Jesus lived and died in vain if he

12. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 27.
13. M. K. Gandhi : *Communal Unity*, p. 857.
14. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 168.
15. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 387.
16. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 124.
17. M. K. Gandhi : *Communal Unity*, p. 762.
18. *Mahatma Gandhi* : *The Man and His Mission*, p. 191.
19. *Ibid*, p. 18, Gilbert Murray's Appreciation.
20. C. F. Andrews : *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, including Selections from His Writings, p. 192.
21. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 482.
22. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 282.
23. *Ibid.*
24. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 357.

did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love,[25] as quoted earlier. If Einstein's testimony: "The ideal of achieving military security through national armaments is a disastrous illusion"[26] is a true reading of the world situation, we have got to listen to Gandhiji who "more than any other man since Jesus . . . manifests the spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save[27] us." In fact, if we are to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations"[28] as envisaged in Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, Gandhian brotherhood of mankind is the only moral solution. Love imparts reality to the concept of the brotherhood of mankind.

The Value, of Gandhiji's Insistence on Truth, for World Peace

In Gandhiji's philosophy Truth is God. Gandhiji decides to realise this God who is truth. He says :

"I am impatient to realise the presence of my Maker, Who to me embodies Truth . . . if I am to realise Truth, I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of love."[29]

Notice the need for obeying the law of love for achieving God-realisation. Love is the central core of the religion of Jesus, which makes Christianity the Marg of Bhakti. Elsewhere Gandhiji calls this 'relentless search for truth and a determination to reach it'[30] as Soul Force. Dedication to this Soul Force had begun to manifest itself in Gandhiji's life while he was yet at school and would not deceive the inspector by writing the spelling of a word as secretly prompted by his teacher, much to the teacher's disappointment. The Hound of Heaven had already started pursuing him. At a mature age he arrived, among other truths fundamental to religion, at 'Truth is God' through the following logical process :

"In the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence, I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme God."[31]

If you turn to the Gospels you hear the Living Christ say, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life."[32] Whoever dedicates his life to be lived in the light of truth puts himself on the way to an increasing release from superstition, unfounded beliefs, propaganda, lies which play so important a part in initiating wars and rumours of wars. If interested parties did not arrange for truth to be the first casualty, how many wars could have been started at all?

Truth and International Diplomacy

Gandhi's diplomacy of truth has a lesson for diplomats of the world in general and of India in particular. It has potency for changing world history by killing war outright and for harnessing the world's greatest industry, the war industry, in the service of peace, prosperity, and plenty for all. That diplomacy abroad is symbolised in a conversation between Lord Irwin and Gandhiji when the former says: "Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word."[33] Can foreign diplomats say that they can repose complete trust in the diplomats of India? Is it not India's mission to create conditions in the international field through the diplomacy of truth so that mutual trust and confidence will make all secret treaties unnecessary? That diplomacy at home is reflected in Nehru's considering Gandhiji the symbol of uncompromising truth, all the time pulling the Congress people up and shaming them into truth.[33] India's Flag must stand for truth at home and abroad. Truth must be insisted upon in all our dealings with nations and peoples if we are to realise our dreams of the moral leadership of the world. In truth lies the secret of gentleman's peace, abolition of war and dispensing with military expenditures, outright. Without diplomacy of truth, genuine collaboration, mutual trust and confidence are impossible. Colossal military expenditures and peace amount to immoral means for securing moral ends, making the act immoral, leading us to untruth, darkness and death. "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword (goes the way of the world), she may gain momentary victory." Then, says Gandhiji, "India shall cease to be the pride of

25. *Ibid*, p. 181.
26. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 4. 1. 56.
27. *Mahatma Gandhi* : *The Man and His Mission*, p. 25. Nagendra Nath Gupta's Appreciation.
28. *The World Almanack and Book of Facts*, 1952, p. 724.
29. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 237.
30. C. F. Andrews : *Op. Cit.*, p. 326.
31. M. K. Gandhi : *The Story of My Experiment with Truth*, Vol. I, p. 7.
32. *Mahatma Gandhi* : *The Man and His Mission*, p. 167.
33. J. L. Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 312.

my heart"[39] and shall forfeit all claims to moral leadership of the world by being guilty of hypocrisy of talking the language of peace but secretly preparing for war. Will India too prove untrue to her divine mission of leading herself and others from untruth to truth, from darkness to light like the European nations the sum-total of whose activities, Gandhiji points out, "is a denial of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount?"[40] It is Gandhiji's conviction that those who today call themselves Christians do not know the true message of Jesus," and is confident that Christ would claim him to be a true Christian. Gandhiji has unquestioned right to the assurance of being a true Christian for he had sincerely come to the conclusion that 'the lessons that Jesus Christ gave belonged to the whole world'[41] and not to any community.

THE PRICE OF FOLLOWING THE PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

It does not take long to discover that following truth demands a price which may be as big as one's own life. But the more you are drawn to truth the more willing you are to pay the price without counting the cost. Such is the divine nature of man and the inmost longing of his spirit. This longing may differ in degree but not in kind. To some it may come early, to others late but come it must to all sometimes or the other. To Gandhiji the call of truth came early as already noted. By the time he wrote his book *Self-Restraint* vs. *Self-Control*, he could say in retrospect, "Truth has been the sure foundation of my life."[42] With what dogged tenacity he stuck to truth is already a matter of history and there is none to question his consistency even though critics have pointed out his lack of self-consistency. His explanation of apparent inconsistency is his 'responsiveness to varying circumstances.'[43] He, however, ventured to bear testimony to truth even at the risk of being forsaken by all confident that though his might be the voice in the wilderness for the time being yet it would be heard when all other voices were silenced provided his was the voice of truth." Christ who came to bear witness unto truth died a felon's death at the hands of an unthinking mob in the third year of his public ministry. At the time of Gandhiji's incarceration by the British people's thoughts naturally turned to Christ. They said, "A Christ is being crucified," 'a Gethsemene is being enacted.' Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's was one of the most touching expressions. She said:

"My thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manger furnished the only true parallel in history to this invincible apostle of Indian liberty."[44]

After several unsuccessful attempts an assasin's bullets finally ended the life of Gandhiji, showing how little orthodoxy can understand or love truth. Gandhiji paid the price of truth with his own blood.

THE VALUE OF TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE TO WORLD PEACE

Truth and Non-Violence are the two legs on which Gandhian Philosophy is destined to go round the world to eternity, drawing nations and peoples by its irresistible force and transporting them into a realm of civilisation and culture of the highest spiritual significance. The term 'Non-Violence' has a negative appearance and is in so far rather unfortunate. The sense in which Gandhiji uses it constantly, it really means active love of the sublime variety similar to 'agape' in Christian theology. That love provides a firm foundation for the Kingdom of Heaven and is, in the realm of the spirit, an ultimate beyond the peradventure of a doubt. It is that love on which the Prince of Peace based his kingdom. The Prophet of Peace equates it with God for verily God is Love. It is a necessary condition of God-consciousness expressing itself in genuine brotherhood of man making war unthinkable. On it alone can be reared the edifice of Peace. In the final analysis it is the Truth of Truths and is co-extensive with truth. Non-Violence and Truth are very aptly called the 'faces of the same coin'![45] The two between them nullify every possibility of war once truth and non-violence are accepted as the law of life, and

39. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 2.
40. *Ibid*, p. 69.
41. *Ibid*, p. 358.
42. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 242.
43. *Ibid*, p. 136.
44. Quoted by K. L. Seshagiri, *The Worlds Scheme*, p. 69.
45. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 312.

unless they are so accepted there is no hope for peace. History shows how foolish man has been and is to think that peace can be secured by preparing for war. The inevitable result of preparing for war has been war. From the bitterest experience we are happily learning that peace can be obtained only through methods of peace, through arbitration, discussion, compromise, co-operation, judicial decision and other similar peaceful procedures. World Peace, thus, inevitably depends upon truth and non-violence which to Gandhiji stand for the highest and the only revelation of God.[46] "Gandhiji likened his faith in non-violence to that of the witnesses in the Second Coming of Christ. It was to take place in the lifetime of the witnesses, though it had taken two thousand years and yet remained a distant dream."[47] Peaceful co-existence can be legitimately expected only from Truth and Non-Violence, a moral end from moral means.

ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE USE OF MORAL MEANS ONLY

The greatest discipline that Gandhiji imposed upon himself and his followers was his insistence on the use of moral means only for the achievement of moral ends. Means provide the axis on which revolves the highest moral act, as we shall see presently. He says:

"Means are after all everything. As the means so the end."[48]

It is the latter part: as the means, so the end, that is most likely to be overlooked by those who think: 'All is well that ends well.' Some things that seem to end well, are only apparently well and may be actually immoral. But Gandhiji got hold of the act at the proper end, the secret of his growth in spiritual life. In the world of action moral means give one the best start and contribute to the deepening of spiritual life as nothing else can. As an inevitable by-product of maintaining the purity of means, one builds up profound self-confidence, an essential ingredient in the building up of personality, and this is magnificently combined with complete resignation to the will of God, fittingly in keeping with the exalted teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. Notice the confidence of Gandhiji. He says:

"So long as my cause is truthful and the means clean and non-violent, all is well."[49]

But the consequent: 'all is well' is well only when its antecedents are truthful cause, clean and non-violent means.

If you examine a truly moral act, you will find that it consists of four essential factors: (1) A Moral Aim, (2) A Moral End, (3) Moral Motive, and (4) Moral Means. In pre-independence days our aim was Self-Government. That aim was perfectly legitimate and moral. We pursued that aim consistently through many painful decades and finally achieved freedom which is so clearly a moral end. The motive underlying our struggle for freedom was not only to free ourselves but to work for the freedom of all downtrodden and exploited nations of the world. Let us not forget this noble motive in our hour of success. The call of the spirit is to offer ourselves as a living sacrifice for the freedom of the world still unfree. Our manner of achieving freedom was learnt in the moral school of Gandhian Philosophy whose schoolmaster was Gandhiji himself, the symbol of uncompromising truth who was always there to pull the Congress people up and to shame them into truth" and to pin them down to the use of moral means only for achieving India's political freedom. India's use of the moral means will go down in the political history of the world as the greatest achievement of the human spirit in its attempt to realise the Divine, the use of Non-Violence, the Moral Equivalent of War. The greater the use of the moral means, the greater the chances of a more durable and lasting World Peace.

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY EMPASISES FREEDOM OF SPIRIT

The Gandhian Way emphasises the need of expanding the area of human freedom so that man everywhere might use effectively the process of mutual give and take, of free communication and conference, of consultation and exchange, of unhampered intellectual initiative, of unrestricted and independent observation and of all other disinfectants of human thought. This is precisely Christ's Way of knowing the truth and enlarging the area of human freedom and of deepening of spiritual life for all without

41. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission* (Appreciation), pp. 18-19.
42. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.
43. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.
44. *Ibid*, p. 284.
45. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 869.
46. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 140.
47. J. L. Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 512.

exception. Christ did not hesitate to reconstruct and his reconstructions which followed "but I say unto you" have proved to be the very breath of moral and spiritual life. Gandhiji who said, "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution" and there are many such, the Caste System, Untouchability, Suttee, Female Infanticide, declined to be bound by any interpretation however learned if it was repugnant to reason or to moral sense.[48] He valued freedom and was willing to pay any price for its purchase because it is the breath of man's life.[49] He laid down the golden rule of testing everything in the light of reason and experience no matter from whom it came.[50] He declined to be a slave of precedents or practice he could not understand or defend on a moral basis,[51] and opined that the court of conscience superseded all other courts and that the only tyrant he accepted in the world was the still small voice within.[52] By fearing no man no matter how high-placed he might be, but only fearing God,[53] he once again signed the declaration of independence of the human soul as was done by the Upanishads of yore.

This large freedom, as large as the world itself, must be the portion of man the world over if truth in the highest sense is to be loved and cherished and its cause advanced to the maximum. This outlook must put a curb on laws restricting the freedom of the press in India and elsewhere and keep freedom inviolable and inviolate as the most sacred tool for finding truth. Governments exist for making good life possible for all besides their own people and this is possible only when we recognise the right of every man to live up to truth as he sees it. Otherwise there will be no peaceful coexistence.

Tolerance, India's Greatest Cultural Heritage, Offers A Way to World Peace

Tolerance, India's greatest cultural heritage, which gave to India a culture which "is neither Hindu, Islamic or any other, wholly but a fusion of all,"[54] is the only basis for world peace. It gave to India six less recognised and six well-recognised systems of philosophy which could co-exist peacefully. It helped us to keep the doors and windows of our minds open letting in the fresh breeze of cultures, philosophies, beliefs of all other lands freely into them, making the philosophy of 'Live and Let Live' the breath of our nostrils. Our slips, even as terrible as untouchability, were not because of but in spite of our philosophy of tolerance.

This tolerance expresses itself in Gandhiji's advice that 'a liberal education should include . . . a reverent study of all other faiths.'[55] He states this still more emphatically when he says, "I hold that it is the duty of every cultured man and woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world,"[56] and "points out that intolerance is a taboo in all good society and is contrary to the spirit of democracy."[57] He told the educator point blank that he regards it as fatal to the growth of friendly spirit among children belonging to different faiths if they were taught either that their religion was superior to every other or that it was the only true religion.[58] Sectarianism of any type breeds intolerance so inimical to peace. As a remedy India has resorted to a secular state. It is a big job to practise secularism for the majority Hindu community. Yet peaceful conditions cannot be created except through dogged and persistent reorientation to a life of genuine toleration.

Tolerance of a lower variety is practised sometimes by a superior with reference to a subordinate or inferior so that the superior is not called upon to approve of what he tolerates. It involves gratuitous assumption of inferiority of the person or belief tolerated. Even this lower level variety of tolerance makes possible 'live and let live' or just co-exist peacefully. Gandhiji moved from this lower level to a higher one, the appreciative level so that he could say, "I have advanced from toleration to equal respect for all religions."[59] Tolerance at the appreciative level marks a higher stage in social relations and cordiality. It calls for co-

48. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission* (Appreciation), p. 30 (by Upton Close).
49. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 226.
50. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 58.
51. Quoted by J. L. Nehru, *Op. Cit.*, p. 315.
52. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 144.
53. *Ibid*, p. 217.
54. J. L. Nehru : *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.
55. C. F. Andrews : *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.
56. M. K. Gandhi : *Christian Missions*, p. 48.
57. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 133-4.
58. T. N. Sequeira : *The Education of India*, p. 177.
59. *Op. Cit.*, p. 333.

operation and sharing, urges one to look dispassionately upon other points of view, and to appreciate what may be good in view-points different from one's own. Such toleration which proceeds from real appreciation indicates culture, or civilisation of a higher order and "enables us to rise above the level of mere brutish existence and makes us truly human, cultured and enlightened."[60] This toleration is the law of civilised life. It teaches mutual forbearance. Gandhiji claims to have learnt this lesson "from the Qoran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta and the Gita."[61] The practice of this appreciative level toleration made Gandhiji the Prophet of Peace, whose message of toleration seems to express itself in Non-Interference and Mutual Cooperation as embodied in Panch Shila. Christ, the Prince of Peace, whose Sermon on the Mount Gandhiji loved so dearly, must be blessing India saying, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God,"[62] and Gandhiji must be rejoicing somewhere in the unseen realms to know that India continues to be the pride of his heart by virtue of eschewing the doctrine of the sword and following with unflinching devotion the path of peace.*

60. *One Step Forward*, p. 235.
61. *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.
62. Matt. 5 : 4.

* An address before the Gandhi Prarthana Samaj, E.C.C., Allahabad, January 6, 1956.

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RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

By Prof. C. B. Mamoria, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

II

Factors Leading to Decay of Towns

Side by side with the increasing urbanisation must be noticed the tendency of the older towns to be depopulated.

Firstly, changes in regional values and diversion of trade routes in many cases brought about the decline of towns which previously owed their prosperity to the command of river and road traffic, and now superseded owing to railway extensions, *e.g.*, Mirzapur on the Ganga, Patna, Saugor, etc. The engineer cannot always contrive to construct in such a way that railway line should pass by the old urban centres, so that on being left alone away from the main line, some of them have naturally dwindled in importance. Many old towns in Lower Bengal were thus ruined on account of the changes in the course of the Ganga.

Secondly, the decay of urban handicrafts, following the disappearance of the old Royal courts, the rise of European competition, the influx of foreign education and the creation of Indian bourgeoisie, has brought about a decrease in the population in old towns like Tanjore, Amritsar, Murshidabad, etc. Even the sacred towns like Gaya and Banaras are losing their importance as a result of the fall in demand for the products of the old industries of these towns.

Taking into account the two opposite tendencies of the growth and decline of towns, we reach the conclusion that they have so far just balanced each other, though in recent years the tendency to urbanization is slightly gaining the upper hand.

In this connection two things may be noticed. First, that in India the growth of industries has been taking place very slowly. Whatever little growth in towns there has been is due much more to the growth of commerce than industry. Secondly, there is a complete absence from India of any big town-aggregates or what Prof. Geddes calls, "conurbations." The only town aggregate at all resembling the big town groups in Western countries is the group of jute towns on the river Hooghly, along with the city of Calcutta. It consists of six cities (Calcuttta, Howrah, Tollygunge, Bhatpara, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs), twenty one major towns and eight minor towns. Delhi consists of two cities, three major towns and one minor town.

Growth of Cities in India

Raymond Pearl has remarked:

"The process of urbanisation down through the ages has led to the formation of great metropolitan centres . . . in which so large a proportion of present-day men live out their allotted spans. They represent one of the many quaint ways in which mankind is coming to resemble more and more clearly the termites in modes of life and social philosophy."[13]

The great significance of large cities (*i.e.*, cities with a population of one lakh and over) was stressed by A. F. Weber at the end of the last century.[14] Since then such units, known as great cities, have attracted special attention as typical of urbanization.

Of such cities, India has 75 according to the Census Report of 1951. Of these four are really the suburbs of the metropolis of Calcutta and of Delhi. Till 1941, the Delhi extension of Sahadara and even the growing town of New Delhi were included under Delhi. Similarly, not only Tollyganj and the South Suburban towns but also the great city of Howrah were discussed as a single unit alone with Calcutta by the Commissioners of Census of 1921 and 1931. Garden Reach, Tollyganj, and the South Suburbs are all extensions of Calcutta on the south and south-east. Contrary to the current foreign practice in this respect, I have treated Delhi and New Delhi as one great city and Calcutta along with Howrah, Tollyganj, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs as another. India has, therefore, seventy great cities each with a population of one lakh or more. This number compared with the number of similar units in other countries is by no means sufficient for the integrative, economic and cultural needs of a vast country and of a great population like that of India.

Even if the number of great cities may be relatively small they can, if their territorial distribution is well adjusted, discharge their socio-economic functions and thus serve their country more or less properly, as for example, the French cities do for France. In the following table is presented an analysis of the territorial distribution of the great cities during the previous six Census years:

Number and Territorial Distribution of the Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941	1951
India	18	22*	23*	29*	47*	70**
Bihar	1	1	1	1	3	5
Bombay	4	5	5	5	6	8
Hyderabad	1	1	1	1	1	2
Madhya Bharat	Nil	1	Nil	2	2	3
Madhya Pradesh	Nil	1	1	2	2	2
Madras	1	1	3	4	6	13†
Mysore	1	1	1	2	3	3
Orissa	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Punjab	1	1	1	1	3	3
Rajasthan-Ajmer	1	1	2	2	4	4
Saurashtra	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	3
Travancore-Cochin	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	2
Uttar Pradesh	6	7	6	7	12	16
West Bengal	1	1	1	1	2	3
Delhi	1	1	1	1	1	1

* Srinagar had to be omitted for want of data in 1951.

** Srinagar omitted. Howrah, Tollygunge, Garden Reach, and the South Suburbs are grouped with Calcutta as one city. New Delhi, too, is grouped with Delhi as one unit. Bhopal included in the total.

† Of which 4 are in Andhra.

With 1881 begins the era of reliable census returns. Many of the railways, particularly in Northern India, had already been laid down. And India began with 18 great cities. From the above table it will be seen that five of the large territorial units were without a single great city. U.P. led with six great cities to its credit, Bombay followed with four and the other territories had one each. The preponderance of great cities in C.P. was partly due to the larger railway system already introduced and partly also to the military contingency. The next decade proved to be a fairly progressive one. In consequence, in 1891, there were 21 great cities. The disparity in their territorial distribution was both reduced and enhanced. Two of the territories which had been without any great city threw up one great city each. On the other hand, U.P. and Bombay each added one great city to their previous total.

With 1891 begins the era of bubonic plague which, in various parts of the country, affected the cities till 1911 and even later. The epidemics of influenza and cholera did their worst in 1918-19. The Census Year of 1921 dawned

13. R. Pearl: *Natural History of Population*, p. 267.
14. A. F. Weber: *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 16.

fairly clean and propitious. From that date till 1951 India may be said to have been free from major epidemics. This happy situtation is very well reflected in the steady but continuous increase in the number and size of the great cities during the period between 1921 and 1951. The territorial distribution for 1931 reveals that the process of levelling the imbalance had hardly begun. Madras had thrown up 4 great cities to vie with Bombay with its 5 great cities. Four other territories participated in the process by adding one great city each to their previous singletons. This is the period in which the national struggle for freedom began to be militant. Better distribution of great cities reflects the pulsation of this creative impulse. The nascent impulse, however, materialises in the next period.

1941 opens with a big addition to the number of great cities. 47 great cities, much better distributed than the 29 of the previous decade, is a record advance, not even equalled by the progress of the next decade. Looking to the 70 cities of 1951, one finds that none of the 15 major territories is now without a great city. In spite of territorial accretions, Bombay has yielded its second place in respect of great cities to Madras which now vies with U.P. in this respect. It is very significant that U.P. should have managed to keep its lead by two wide jumps in two successive decades. It added to its total 5 great cities in 1941 and 4 in 1951. Leaving aside the case of Delhi territory which is special, we find that Orissa is the only major territory which has a single great city, whereas it had no great city before 1951. Assam has none even today. It may be concluded that as against 1881 the situation of 1951 in respect of the territorial distribution of great cities is a distinctive advance. India today has her comparatively small number of great cities fairly well placed for the discharge of the administrative, economic and social functions, *i.e.*, the integrative functions of great cities.

The following table gives the distribution of the great cities on the basis of area and population:

Distribution of Great Cities on the Basis of Area and Population (1951)

Territory	*One great city per so many sq. miles*	*One great city per so many persons (in 000)*
India	17,738	5,098
Bihar	14,066	8,045
Bombay	13,929	4,495
Hyderabad	41,084	9,328
Madhya Pradesh	65,136	10,624
Madras	9,830	4,386
Mysore	9,829	3,025
Punjab	12,454	4,214
Rajasthan-Ajmer	33,156	3,996
Uttar Pradesh	7,088	3,951
West Bengal	10,258	8,270

It will be seen from this table that in India as a whole there is one great city for about 18,000 sq. miles and for about 51 lakhs of people. Lewis Mumford opines that in American conditions of life a city of one million persons is necessary to support a university.[15] Though Indian life has not yet attained the stage of development to be met with in America it may be safely said that one great city per 50 lakhs of persons is not an adequate provision for socio-economic integration. The area, too, to be served by such a centre is rather large. Mysore with one great city for 30 lakh people and for less than 10,000 sq. miles is about the best in the prevalent conditions. But even in this case one cannot consider the situation as ideal or sound. M.P. with one great city for 65,000 sq. miles and for 106 lakhs of persons has to make much lee-way to provide an adequate number of great cities for proper services of integrative and cultural kind.

The inadequacy of the number of great cities for the needs of the area and the people can further be judged by reference to the percentage which the population of its great cities forms to the total population of the territory. These data are provided in the table below for the last two census years for which alone strictly comparable figures are available. Of the total Indian population of 1951, only 6.8 per cent was resident in such cities, as against 5.3 per cent in 1941. The 1951 percentage, being about 28 per cent higher than that of 1941, is an advance. West Bengal has one city for nearly 83 lakhs of people and thus ranks very low in the matter of provision of great cities for its population. Because of the size of Calcutta, it ranks first in respect of the percentage which the population of its great cities bears to its total population, *i.e.*, 14.6 per cent of the total population living in great cities. Bombay

15. L. Mumford: *Culture of Cities*, p. 487.

comes next with 14.1 per cent followed by Mysore with 13 per cent. Rajasthan has one great city for about 49 lakhs of people and Bihar for a little over 80 lakhs of people have only 3.6 and 2.1 per cent respectively of their population living in great cities.

Percentage of Total Territorial Population formed by the Population of Great Cities

Territory	1941	1951
India	5.3	6.8
Bihar	1.3	2.1
Bombay	10.6	14.1
Hyderabad	4.5	6.5
Madhya Pradesh	2.4	3.3
Madras	3.1	5.9
Mysore	9.4	13.0
Punjab	5.0	5.1
Rajasthan-Ajmer	4.1	3.6
Uttar Pradesh	4.7	6.2
West Bengal	12.9	14.6

The total population living in these great cities amounted to a little over 2.4 millions in 1951. Naturally it is differentially distributed in the various major territories. In addition to the variation in the number of great cities the differences in size are taken into account when we study the percentage distribution of the total population of great cities in the different major territories. Its significance may be realised by a look at the table given below :

Percentage distribution of Total Population of Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941	1951
Bihar	3.8	3.2	1.9	1.9	3.1	3.6
Bombay	24.6	28.5	28.3	23.3	20.8	21.0
Hyderabad	8.1	8.2	6.3	5.7	4.9	5.1
Madhya Pradesh	...	2.3	2.2	3.9	3.2	2.9
Madras	9.0	9.0	12.3	13.0	10.5	14.0
Mysore	3.4	3.6	3.7	5.0	4.7	4.9
Punjab	3.3	2.7	1.1	3.2	4.3	2.7
Rajasthan-Ajmer	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.2	3.8	2.4
Uttar Pradesh	23.4	23.6	16.0	15.7	17.6	16.2
West Bengal	17.4	17.5	20.0	17.2	18.9	14.9

Bombay, which in respect of the number of great cities, is third among the territories, and in respect of the proportion formed by the population of its great cities to its total population only second, leads in this percentage distribution by a large margin. 21 per cent of the population of the seventy great cities of India lives in the great cities of Bombay. U.P. comes next but it accommodates in its great cities only 16.2 per cent of the total population of the seventy great cities. West Bengal with 14.9 per cent follows U.P. much more closely than the latter does Bombay. The great cities of Madras account for 14 per cent of the total population of the great cities of India. These four territories are the great giants.

It is interesting to note that the picture in the previous census years revealed by the above table is hardly different from that of 1951. For example, both in 1881 and 1891 the ranking of major territories in respect of the percentage distribution of the total population of great cities, was, with only two exceptions in the latter year, the same. Only the size of differences has changed. But even here the relative difference between Hyderabad, which has always figured next to Madras, and the latter is now very much greater, while Mysore which was next to Hyderabad by a very large margin now shows only the slight difference of 2 per cent. The widened difference between Madras and Hyderabad established by the figure of 1951 lifts the four major regions of Bombay, U.P., West Bengal and Madras into a category by themselves as the resorts of great city-dwellers. The order in respect of percentage distribution in 1891 as Rajasthan-Ajmer, Punjab and M.P., has changed to one of M.P., Punjab and Rajasthan-Ajmer.

The following table gives the differential increase in the population living in great cities as between different major territories:

(See Table on next page)

It is seen that the largest percentage increase in the population living in great cities of India as a whole occurred in the decade 1931-41. The percentage increase is larger by 193 per cent than the percentage increase of 1921-31. The percentage increase of 1941-51, is only about 75 per cent of that of 1931-41. In harmony with the behaviour of the great cities of India as a whole, have moved Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan-Ajmer, U.P. and Bengal, all of them showing the greatest percentage increase in population living in their great cities in the decade 1931-41. Madras, Hyderabad and Bombay preferred to lag behind and achieve their highest percentages of increase in the next decade. The difference between percentage increases of the last two are fairly small and may be credited to political events. Madras had a percentage increase of 154 per cent; this shows that the State of Madras is well set on the path of urbanization since 1941.

Percentage Variation in Population Living in Great Cities

Territory	1881-91	1891-1921	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51
India	+21.7	+19.0	+28.1	+82.2	+61.9
Bihar	− 3.2	−27.4	+33.1	+192.4	+83.4
Bombay	+37.6	+20.5	+ 4.2	+60.8	+64.1
Hyderabad	+17.0	+ 2.6	+15.5	+58.3	+64.9
Madhya Pradesh	....	+24.1	+120.0	+50.3	+47.0
Madras	+11.5	+73.7	+36.4	+45.7	+116.2
Mysore	+15.7	+32.2	+73.4	+67.1	+71.1
Punjab	− 7.8	+15.9	+67.6	+142.4	+ 1.6
Rajasthan-Ajmer	+11.4	+42.2	+12.8	+111.3	+ 1.5
Uttar Pradesh	+19.7	−18.3	+25.0	+102.3	+49.1
West Bengal	+12.2	+43.8	+11.7	+98.3	+28.4

The behaviour of the two States, M.P. and Mysore, distinguishes them as early starters, both of them having registered their percentage increase in the decade 1921-31. The percentage increase in M.P. is simply phenomenal, the percentage increase of 1921-31 being nearly five times that of the previous decade and 2.4 times that of the succeeding one but now it appears to be on the wane. Mysore has registered only a small decrease in the percentage increase of the next two decades.

The rate in the growth of great cities can be judged from the percentage variation in the population of individual cities given below:

(See Table on next page)

To give a more generalised idea it may be pointed out that the 21 great cities of 1891 (leaving Meerut which ceased to be a great city from 1911 to 1941) increased by 16.6 per cent, 17.6 per cent, 54.1 per cent and 45.6 per cent during the periods of 1891-1921, 1921-31, 1931-41 and 1941-51 respectively. It is seen that the percentage increase of one single decade, 1921-31, is greater than the percentage increase of what occurred during the previous 30 years. The percentage increase of the last decade though only 84 per cent of the greatest percentage increase, which occurred during 1931-41, is about 158 per cent greater than that of the decade 1921-31. We may conclude that the bigger and the older of the great cities are becoming larger and larger at a more rapid pace, than the newer and the smaller ones, for in 1941 there were 17 units which became great cities ; they increased by 48.4 per cent during the decade 1931-41, whereas they had increased in the previous decade of 1921-31 by only 24.5 per cent, though all of them had already been smaller cities (or Class II towns as the Census Reports designate them). The 23 units which became great cities in 1951 had increased only by 29.1 per cent during 1931-41. We may, therefore, conclude that Class II towns very much quicken their pace of growth when they arrive at their last reach for quality as great cities.

The growth of population in cities can hardly be regarded as due to natural increase. The city population has a lower birth rate than the rural population. The death rate in cities is likewise higher than in rural areas. This is to be expected when we remember that cities are insanitary and the diet is poorer than that in the country. We can only conclude that the growth of population in the cities is largely due to migration. We have no satisfactory statistics of such migration. The Census every ten years is our only guide, unsatisfactory as these returns are. The Census of 1931 lists the percentage of city residents in different provinces who were born outside the cities. Davis gives us an average of 37.3 per cent born outside the cities on an analysis of figures of the total population of 26 cities. "More than a third of the inhabitants of India's major cities are born outside the city in which they live." The refugee movement during the last 7 years must naturally increase the percentage to a phenomenal extent. Generally speaking, it is only economic pressure that induces the rural population to migrate. The peasant's traditions and associations make him prefer to remain in the village rather than in the city, with its slums, its absence of sanitary conveniences and its scarcity of good food. He is tempted to stay

Percentage Variation in the Population of ten largest cities since 1872-1881[18]

Cities	Population (1951) (in lakhs)	1872-81	1881-91	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51
Calcutta (with Howrah)	45.78	— 3.1	+12.5	+22.9	+11.0	+ 4.3	+11.9	+67.4	+19.9
Bombay	25.39	+20.0	+ 6.3	— 5.6	+26.2	+20.0	— 1.2	+46.0	+67.5
Madras	14.16	+ 2.1	+11.5	+12.6	+ 1.8	+ 1.6	+22.8	+20.1	+47.0
Delhi	13.83	+12.3	+11.1	+ 8.3	+11.6	+30.7	+47.0	+37.8	+93.3
Hyderabad	10.86	....	+13.0	+ 8.0	+12.0	—19.0	+16.0	+58.0	+47.0
Ahmedabad	7.94	+ 6.6	+16.3	+25.3	+16.6	+26.4	+14.5	+88.2	+33.3
Bangalore	7.79	....	+15.7	—11.8	+19.1	+25.3	+29.0	+32.4	+92.3
Kanpur	7.65	+23.4	+21.9	+ 4.5	—12.0	+21.2	+12.6	+100.0	+44.8
Poona	5.89	....	+25.8	....	+ 5.3	+23.9	+16.5	+11.2	+73.0
Lucknow	4.97	— 8.2	+ 4.4	— 3.3	— 1.6	— 4.6	+14.2	+40.8	+28.4

in the city, away from his family, for only a period till he gets an opportunity to return to his village.

Characteristics of Urbanization

The growth of urbanization and the imposition of a competitive system on a self-subsistent type of production have disturbed the economic isolation of the villages, and created a capitalist system involving a seasonal labour market and the exploitation of the masses. Whilst we have not enjoyed so far the benefits of industrialism to any great extent, we have produced in our cities all the evils associated with overcrowding, slums and unemployment. In cities housing and working conditions, recreation facilities and sanitary conveniences have all been incredibly bad, and food has been scarce and unwholesome." An analysis of census returns throws some light on this problem, though it does not reveal the whole picture. The outstanding facts are:

(1) Some of the cities have greater densities than is known even in the heavy industrial countries of the world, *e.g.*, in 1931 Bombay had 45,400 persons per sq. mile, and Calcutta 24,400, Madras 22,300, Jaipur 48,100 and Amritsar 24,800 persons per sq. mile as against only 24,900 persons per sq. mile in New York, 18,600 in Chicago, and 15,100 in Philadelphia in 1940.

(2) These densities are achieved despite an absence of tall buildings, for the bulk of population live in houses of one or two stories. Most of the tenements contain only one room with one or more families living huddled together in this space despite the fact that the size of these tenements is normally between 10 × 10 and 12 × 15 feet.[18] If an average of 2½ persons per room be taken as an indication of overcrowding, then houses sheltering 96 per cent of the population of Bombay will be considered to be overcrowded and this population is housed so inadequately that the streets have to be used to supplement the sleeping accommodation. In fact, overcrowding is so great in Bombay that men have to sleep out wherever possible, and during the monsoon, when it is impossible to lie on the pavement, varandahs, alley-ways and stairs are all crowded with persons sleeping there.[19] Certain sections of Bombay show the worst form of overcrowding. Byculla with 99 per cent of the families living in single-room tenements, Sewri with 89 per cent, Mazagaon and Parel with 88 per cent and Second Nagbada with 87 per cent are the worst examples. The extent to which the slums have been created in India by the process of urbanization may be illustrated by the 1931 figures of congestion in Bombay city, Kanpur and Lucknow:

Cities	1 Room Tenement	2 Room Tenements	3 Room Tenements	4 Room Tenements	5 Room & over
Bombay	81	11	3	2	3
Kanpur	62.5	24.8	7.5	2.9	2.3
Lucknow	50.4	28.9	10.7	5.2	4.8

The census publishes figures of an average number of persons per house. The figures of

17. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 72; 1941 Census, p. 10 and *Census of India*, Paper No. 1 (1951), pp. 24-25.
18. M. Read: *The Indian Peasant Uprooted*, 1931.
19. *Census of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.
19. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.

one census are not strictly comparable to those of another, because of changing definitions.[20]

The average number of persons per house was 5.8 in 1881. It was 5.4 in 1891, 5.2 in 1901 and 4.9 in 1911. The figures have been more or less constant up to 1921 after which there appears to have been an increase in the number of persons per house. The figures were 4.9 in 1921; 5.0 in 1931; 5.1 in 1941 and 5.8 in 1951. This shows that the number of houses is not increasing as fast as the number of people. The condition of housing has become acute. It has worsened during the past few years due to increasing population influx of refugees from Pakistan and a slowing down of the construction of new houses because of high prices of land, steel and building materials.

The Planning Commission has made a rough estimate of housing shortage in industrial towns by collecting information from 37 towns with a total population of 1¾ million working in large-scale industries. It has come to the conclusion that there is an immediate need of housing accommodation for 4½ lakh industrial workers. According to another estimate there is a shortage of 18½ lakh houses in urban areas in addition to 10 lakh houses for displaced persons from Pakistan. Whatever may be the actual extent of the shortage, there is no doubt that there is acute shortage of housing accommodation.

The houses are not only scarce but the housing conditions are appalling both in the cities and the rural areas. The single-room ramshackle *bustees*, *ahatas*, *chawls*, *cherries* and *dowras* have all been built by private landlords and employers. In the busiest centres the houses are built close together, eave touching eave, and frequently back to back in order to use all the available space. Neglect of sanitation is often evident from heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines increases the general pollution of air and soil. Many of the houses are without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation. They usually consist of a single small room, the only opening being a doorway often too low to enter without stooping. In order to secure some privacy, old kerosene tins and gunnny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air. In dwellings such as these, human beings are born, grow up, sleep and eat, live and die.[21] Though this was written over two decades ago, yet the general features of houses in every industrial centre remain the same. The same sort of overcrowding, congestion, lack of sanitation and ventilation, absence of latrines and water-taps, dark, damp, filthy tenements with little arrangement for privacy are to be met with even now. Cooking and sleeping in the same room are common. The whole thing is awfully disgusting and it is simply surprising how human beings live under such conditions. The same story about appalling housing conditions in Madras, Ahmedabad, Bihar and Kanpur has been repeated by the respective Committees.[22]

Even with a bare 17 per cent people living in towns, the congestion in some of them is terrible. Rickets in children, and anæmia, dyspepsia and lassitude in grown-up people are characteristic of such houses whose air is vitiated by overcrowding; inhalation of such air results in the lowering of the power of resistance against all maladies in general and phthisis, bronchitis, diptheria, pneumonia, enteric fever, parasitic diseases, etc., in particular. These diseases are common in all labour *bustees*. Epidemics also take a heavier toll in cities than in the open countryside. As Mr. Yeats remarked, "This urbanization has all the draw-backs of lack of control and general squalor." Approaches to very big cities like Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, are hideous. Thousands of homeless squatters are found camping in the outskirts. Brick-kilns are another hideous sight. Delhi with its "ribbon development" along with roads

20. Census of 1921 says, "Formerly a house was defined as the residence of one or more family having a separate independent entrance from the common way. But now it has been defined as the home of commensal family with its resident dependents and servants." (p. 46). This definition, though used in 1931, could not be applied universally in all parts of India, because of variation in family customs and reference to food and residence.

The 1951 Census attempted to follow a single system throughout the country. It defined a 'house' and a 'household' separately: 'A household' is a group of people who live together and take their food from a common kitchen. Whereas a 'house' is a building within which people live; provided that if different parts of the building is structurally separated and provided with separate main entrances so as to give independent access to each part (Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 48).

21. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931, pp. 271-72.
22. *Census of India*, Vol. 14 (Madras, Pt. I, p. 69); *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, p. 277; *The Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee Report* (1940), p. 88; and *The Kanpur Labour Enquiry Committee Report* (1938), p. 78.

going out of the city is an eye-sore. Calcutta is "an octopus with more than eight tentacles." Amritsar present an ugly, repulsive look.[23]

The following table shows the density of occupation in dwellings of different sizes in a few towns. It will be noticed that the average number of occupants per room is the highest in one-room tenements:[24]

Density of Occupancy (No. of persons per room) in dwellings of different sizes

	1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	All dwellings
Madras				
Sugar Mills	4.9	3.2	2.7	4.2
Tramways	5.0	2.2	—	4.6
Tanneries	5.9	3.2	3.0	4.8
Bombay				
Employers' Houses	4.5	3.2	—	4.4
Private Houses	5.8	2.7	—	5.2
Printing Presses	4.8	4.3	—	4.7
Kanpur				
Employers Houses	4.0	3.1	—	3.9
Private Houses	3.8	2.4	—	3.2

(3) The absence of adequate housing accomodation has brought in a serious disparity between the proportions of sexes. The costly city life, the absence of work for women and the restrictions on child and female labour reduce the possibility of bringing the family to the city. This makes the city all the more unattractive to the worker as a place of residence and increases the worker's desire to get back to his village home as soon as possible. The sex disparity is most marked in the age groups 25-30 and 30-35. This is responsible for the spread of prostitution and of venereal diseases from the industrial centres to the villages. While the man-worker leading single life comes back to the village tainted and diseased, "the woman workers lose their self-respect and virtue and are looked down by the village population." In the thousands of slums of the Indian industrial centres, manhood is, unquestionably, brutalised, womanhood dishonoured, and childhood poisoned at its very source.[25] The following table gives sex ratio of the towns and cities :[26]

Sex Ratio in the Towns and Cities, 1881-1941
Cities under 5,000

Class of towns	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
persons	110	110	111	111	113	118	N.a.
5,000 to 10,000	105	104	105	107	108	111	N.a.
10,000 to 20,000	105	106	106	108	110	113	N.a.
20,000 to 50,000	106	109	110	115	121	121	N.a.
50,000 to 100,000	111	114	111	118	120	120	N.a.
100,000 to 500,000	111	115	116	122	131	128	127
500,000 and over	162	178	156	171	175	173	164

Although India has been traditionally rural, there are undeniable evidences that a change is coming on. The acceleration in the growth of cities, the trend towards industrial and commercial expansion, the potential development of females in the urban industrial centres and the consequent normalisation of the sex ratio, all point to the fact that urbanization in India is likely to gain momentum as it goes forward, and that within the coming decades the pace may became extremely rapid.

But in India, we do not advocate piling up of people in big cities, blindly following the West. We are anxious not to repeat the mistakes of the West. We should have a scientifically planned development of our cities so that all evils associated with congested areas are prevented from appearing. Scientific town-planning would mean the equitable distribution of the available land according to the various needs of the community including the provision for residential and industrial areas, space for broad throughfares, dustless macadamised tar roads, and avenues, gardens, parks and pools and civic amenities like a protected water supply, hygienic sewage disposal and adequate lighting. For future we should have medium-sized, open, airy and healthy towns. What is needed is the urbanization of the rural and ruralisation of the urban centres.

(Concluded)

23. Yeats : *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. I, Pt. I.
24. Summarised from *Rege Committee's Report*, Table 137, p. 313.
25. R. K. Mukerjee : *The Indian Working Class* (1951), p. 320.
26. From *Census of India*, 1891, 1901, 1931, 1941.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISED INSURANCE

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Introduction

With the promulgation of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, 1956 on the 20th January which came into force immediately, the management and control of all the life insurance companies, Indian and non-Indian, was vested in the Government. The business community in India was taken by surprise and leaders in the field came out with various statements branding the government action as retrograde step in the field of life insurance in India, although the measure was hailed by the employees of insurance companies. It is in this context that it is considered necessary to make an analytical study of life insurance in its varied perspective. This is likely to provide food for thought in connection with the proposed system of nationalised insurance in this country.

Present Position

The number of insurers registered under the Insurance Act, 1938 on 31st October, 1955 was 317. Detailed Statistics of insurance companies are available only up to 1954 and hence observations will be confined to the published data only.

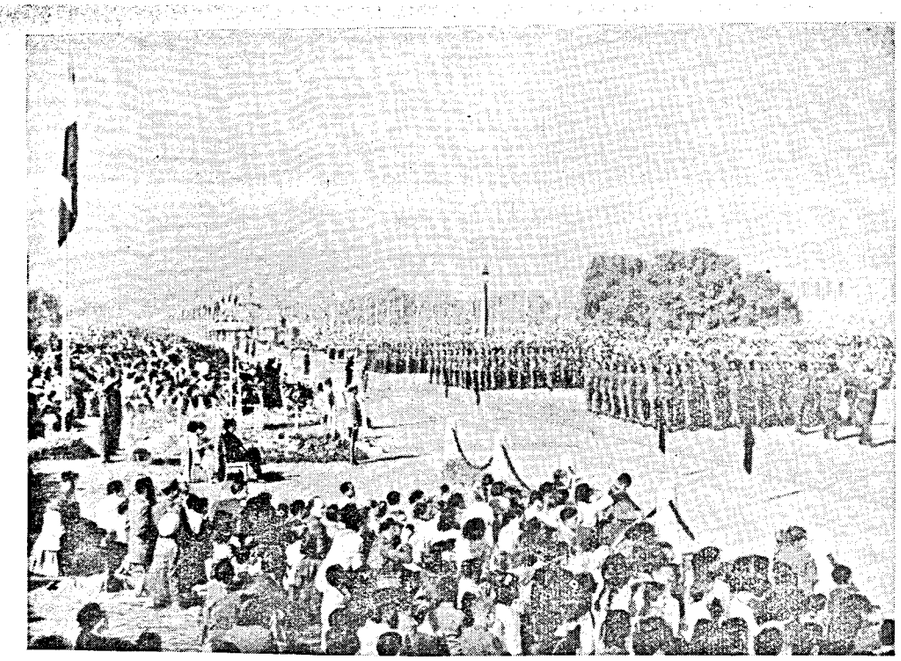
In December 1954 there were 210 Indian and 107 non-Indian insurers. Of the Indian insurers, 109 were dealing with life insurance only, 40 with life and general insurance and 61 with general insurance only. Of 107 non-Indian insurers, three were dealing with life insurance only, 13 with life and general and 91 with general insurance only. Thus the total number of insurers concerned with life insurance either wholly or partially was 149 Indian and 16 non-Indian as shown below :

	No. of insurers registered	
	Indian	*Non-Indian*
Life only	109	3
Life and other classes	40	13
Other classes only	61	91
Total	210	107

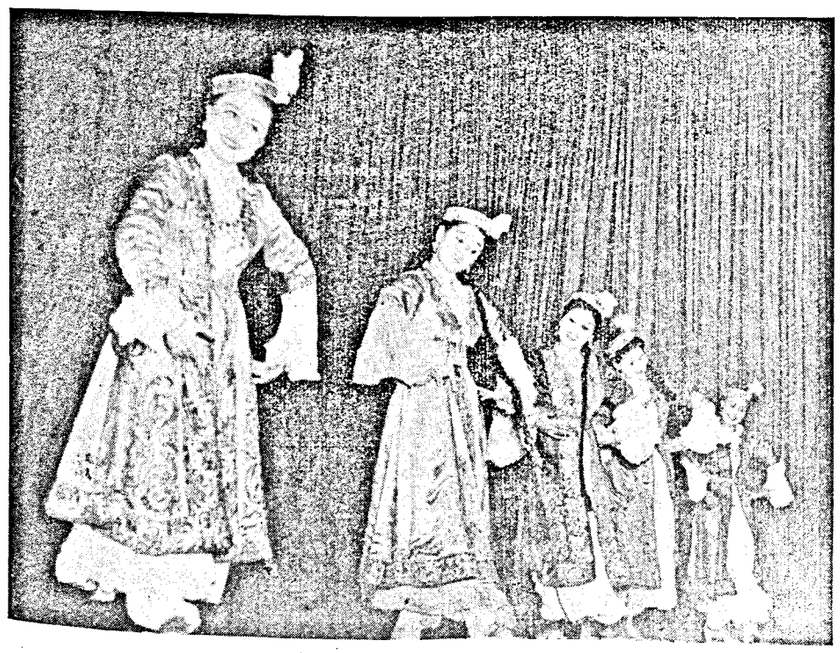
From the above table it is clear that in the field of life insurance, the Indian insurers have played a far greater role than the non-Indian insurers. For example, the number of non-Indian fire insurers is 86 as against 69 Indian insurers. Further, there are 63 marine and 54 miscellaneous non-Indian insurers as against 66 marine and 84 miscellaneous Indian insurers. It is for some time past that the role of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease as far as life insurance is concerned. This is evident from Table 1 which reveals that 17.5 per cent of total business was in non-Indian hands in 1945 as against 13.0 per cent in 1954. It may be due to the fact that public opinion is in favour of giving patronage to Indian firms rather than non-Indian firms or Indian capital has found the field of insurance sufficiently remunerative and hence adequate capital has been diverted to this business.

TABLE I

Year	Business in force in crore Rupees			% of total Business to		New Business in crore Rs.	
	Total	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind Ins.
1945	557	462	95	82.5	17.5	123.7	12.6
1946	651	550	101	84.5	15.5	140.9	12.9
1947	706	603	103	85.4	14.6	126.5	13.1
1948	724	621	103	85.8	14.2	121.7	12.9
1949	765	662	103	86.8	13.4	130.0	12.2
1950	780	671	109	86.0	14.0	125.8	13.7
1951	873	755	118	86.5	13.5	131.4	16.5
1952	922	796	126	86.3	13.7	130.3	16.4
1953	966	833	133	86.2	13.8	138.2	17.0
1954	1059	922	137	87.0	13.0	213.3	16.2



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad takes the salute as detachments of the Indian Air Force, led by Wing Commander Mukerjee, march past the saluting dais on the Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26



A dance performance by Uzbek folk-artists

Table 2 showing Assets of Life Business of Indian and Non-Indian Insurers in 1954

Type of Assets	Indian Insurers		Non-Indian Insurers	
	Assets (crore Rupees)	% of total	Assets (crore Rupees)	%of total
Central Government Securities	123.5	41.0	26.7	52.5
Securities of Part A and B States	22.8	7.6	1.1	2.2
British Colonial and Foreign Government Securities	3.7	1.2	7.2	14.2
Municipal, Port Trust, Improvement Trust Securities	18.2	6.2	2.3	4.5
Mortgage on Property	15.1	5.0	0.6	1.2
Loans on Policies	26.6	8.8	5.1	10.1
Loans on Stocks and Shares	0.1	—	—	—
Other Loans	1.5	0.5	—	—
Debentures of Indian Companies, etc.	19.4	6.5	4.3	8.4
Preference Shares of Indian Companies etc.	10.0	3.3	1.0	1.9
Ordinary Shares of Indian Companies	19.1	6.3	1.4	2.7
Land and House Property	75.9	5.3	0.7	1.4
Agents' balances, outstanding premiums, interests, etc.	7.3	2.4	—	—
Deposits, cash and stamps	13.5	4.5	0.4	0.8
Miscellaneous	4.7	1.6	—	0.1
Total	301.3	100.0	50.9	100.0

rance Act and appropriates funds in a way detrimental to the interests of policy-holders.

It is true that undesirable elements are found in every walk of life and many people may say that this does not create circumstances which should necessitate nationalisation; only strict control should prove adequate to bring about the desired results. If the solution were as simple as envisaged here there would never have been any question of nationalisation. But when as many as 51 cases of misappropriation of funds from among 165 companies have already been detected the situation is evidently far froom satisfactory which if allowed to continue might make things still worse. There are weighty reasons to doubt the honesty and integrity of private enterprise in life insurance. This of course does not cast any aspersion on such companies which have always championed the cause of policy-holders admirably and thereby furthered national interest.

It may be said that the method adopted by the Government in connection with nationalisation of life insurance is far from satisfactory. It is true that the Governmet instead of announcing its decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance and afterwards bringing forward a bill before the Parliament to give effect to this decision has adopted a tactical method of promulgating an ordinance for immediate transfer of management as a first step to be followed by a more elaborate action, *viz.*, 'complete nationalisation' at a later date. But after having taken a decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance the best way to do things with grace and also not to jeopardise the interests of policy holders was no other than to promulgate an ordinance. In this action the Government seems to be motivated by a sense of urgency for the change and by the interests of policy-holders and shareholders in general.

Nationalisation in Foreign Countries

Life insurance is very vital to the life of every nation wherever a full-fledged scheme of social insurance is not in operation. But it does not mean that life insurance is absent in countries with a highly developed system of social insurance. The field of life insurance is so large that the Government in many countries found it difficult to undertake so gigantic and complicated a task. The British Labour Party in 1949 proposed the nationalisation of life insurance for reasons of undesirable investments, high profits, over-trading and high administrative expenses but it failed to make a valid case for nationlisation and finally abandoned the plan altogether. Partial nationalisation of insurance was adopted in France in 1946 and State Departments of Insurance were started in countries like New Zealand, Brazil, Japan and Mexico. But nowhere they seem to have been able to compete successfully with private enterprise. A postal insurance scheme was started in Great Britain in 1864 and was in force till 1928 when it was abandoned on the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee.

Expense Ratio

The expense ratio *i.e.*, the percentage of expenses of management to the premium income in respect of Indian and non-Indian insurers as given in the following table reveals that during 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 the expense ratio of all the Indian insurers was high as 28.9, 27.2, 27.2, 27.4 and 29.2 per cent respectively as against 21.8, 23.0, 22.4, 20.7 and 21.4 per cent in the case of non-Indian insurers. The average expense ratio of Indian insurers does not tell the whole story. Among the various insurers

Expense Ratio of Insurers

Year	Indian all	Indian other than big six	Non-Indian
1950	28.9	32.5	21.8
1951	27.2	28.2	23.0
1952	27.2	27.8	22.4
1953	27.4	28.3	20.7
1954	29.3	29.6	21.4

some had low expense ratio, others high and still others very high as given below:

Name of Insurer	*Expense ratio*
Oriental	25.4
Bombay Life	25.9
Bombay Mutual	30.6
Dig Vijaya	36.4
Bhasker	41.2
Ideal Mutual	43.2
Crescent	68.7

Similar picture is painted by the renewal expense ratio of various Indian insurers, e.g., it is 9.7 per cent in the case of Commercial Insurance

Name of Insurer	*Renewal of Expense Ratio*
Commercial	9.7
Oriental	11.7
United India	14.9
Bombay Life	15.6
Bombay Mutual	15.9
Bombay Zoroastrian	30.6
Central India	38.9
Home Security	46.0
Crescent	64.7

company as against 64.7 per cent in Crescent Insurance company. There is much disparity between the various units of life insurance in India not only between the Indian and non-Indian insurers but between the Indian insurers themselves which has been the root cause of so many evils.

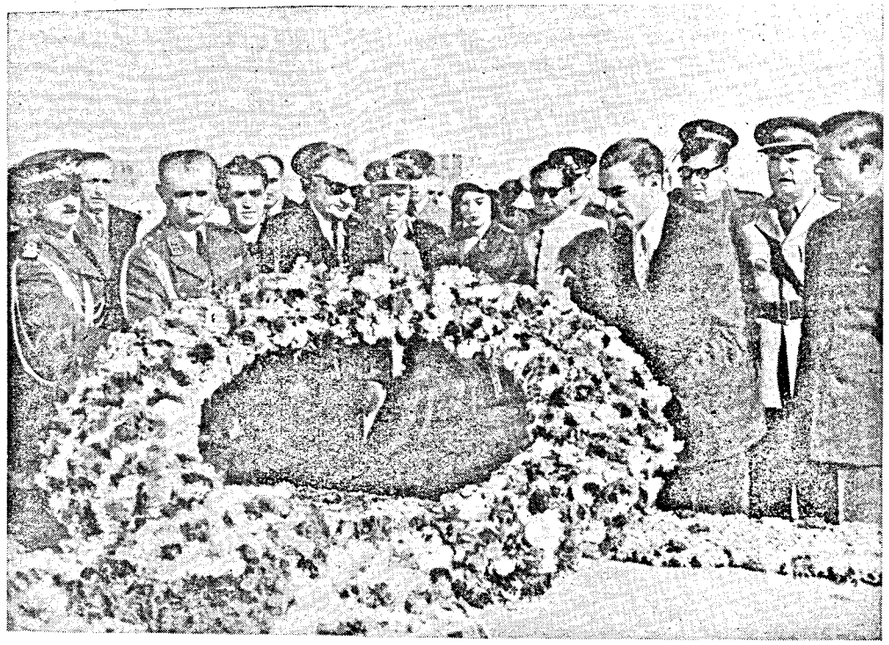
Investment Pattern

Table II showing the distributing of assets of the various insurers reveals that in 1954, Rs. 164.5 crores or 54.8 per cent of total investment was made in the securities of public authorities in India by Indian insurers as against Rs. 30.1 crores or 59.2 per cent of the total investment by non-Indian insurers. The investment in British Colonial and Foreign Government Securities was Rs. 22.8 crores (7.6 per cent of the total investment) by non-Indian insurers. Investment in the private industries in India by Indian insurers was Rs. 48.5 crores (16.1 per cent of the total) and by non-Indian insurers Rs. 6.7 crores (13.0 per cent of the total). Taking into consideration both the Indian and non-Indian insurers, the investment in the public sector and private industries in India was Rs. 194.6 crores and Rs. 55.2 crores, *i.e.*, 55.3 and 15.7 per cent respectively of the total investment.

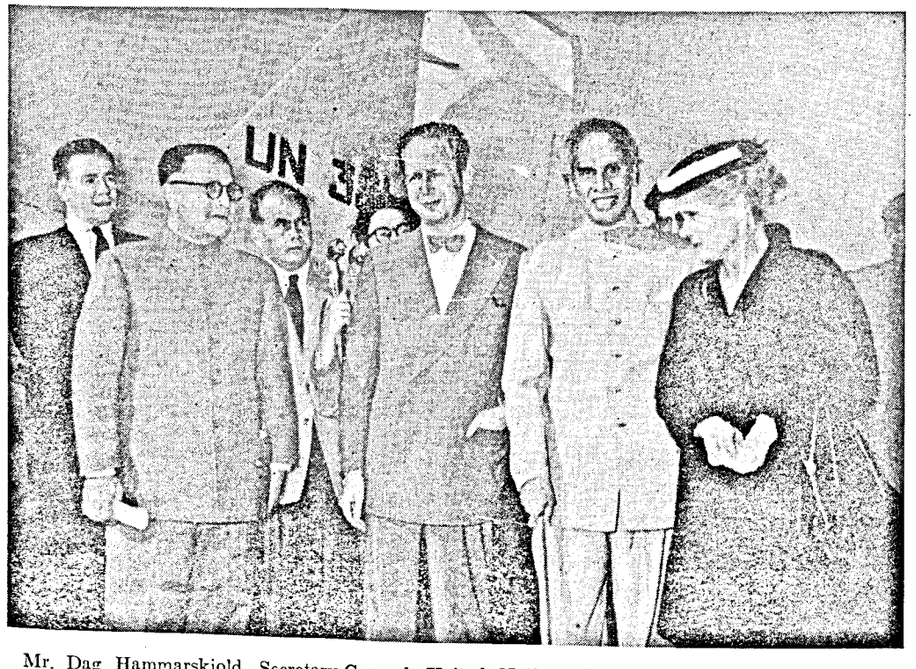
Nationalisation

In spite of strict provisions in the Insurance Act of 1938 and its subsequent amendments, malpractices in the management of life insurance in India could not be eliminated. Several times the interests of shareholders and policy-holders were jeopardised. During the last decade as many as 25 companies came to grief and another 25 had so frittered away their resources that their business had to be transferred to other companies at a loss to the policy-holders and administrators had to be appointed in seven cases.* Besides, a number of cases of embezzlement are being detected at present when custodians are taking over charge of management and control of various insurance companies. In the light of these instances there is nothing wrong if an impression was created in the mind of the public and the Government that in the majority of cases the private enterprise, in spite of various safeguards provided by the Insurance Act, does not miss to take a mean advantage of any lacuna in the Insu-

* These are: East and West Insurance Co. Ltd., Empire of India Life Assurance Co. Ltd., Jupiter General Insurance Co. Ltd., Servant of India Insurance Co. Ltd., Tropical Co. Ltd., Union Life and General Insurance Co. Ltd., and Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd.



The Shahanshah and Empress of Iran visited Rajghat, Delhi, on February 17 to lay floral wreaths on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi



Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General, United Nations, is seen with Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, who received him at the Safdarjang airport, New Delhi

This may be for the fact that a particular set-up, climate and incentive necessary for the success of private enterprise may not be adequate to the success of public enterprise in the same field. Public enterprise by its very nature needs special climate, set-up and incentive in the absence of which any experiment is bound to be less successful than private enterprise. It does not indicate the failure of public enterprise but only lack of proper incentives. Given a proper atmosphere there is no reason why public enterprise should not be a success.

Postal Insurance in India

The share of the Postal Insurance Scheme in India which has been open so far only to Government servants including members of Defence Services, employees of semi-government institutions like the Universities, District Boards and Municipal Boards and employees of government-owned factories, is quite insignificant. For example, in 1952-53 the life insurance work of Postal Insurance was of Rs. 2.4 crores as against of 154.5 crores of private insurers. Further, during 1939-1953 the total business in force with Postal Department increased from Rs. 189.0 crores to Rs. 962.0 crores. This insignificant progress of Postal Life Insurance may be attributed to (i) certain serious obstacles in the way of postal insurance; (ii) organisational deficiencies and (iii) lack of incentive. Perhaps it is the lack of incentive to the people concerned that the Postal Life Insurance has been marking steps in this country. In spite of various advantages with Postal Life Insurance it has not been able to make headway. Its organisation set-up is such that a large number of people who would have taken advantage of Postal Life Insurance have not done so for the fact that either they do not know about it or that they are approached by the private insurers at the psychological moment while there is none to do this job on behalf of Postal Life Insurance. People in India, not to speak of illiterate or less educated, even highly educated, do not know how to safeguard their interest in the case of life insurance. It is for this reason that they did not bother about the standing of the insurer. It is this reason which explains the sad state of affairs of so many companies. Under these circumstances if Postal Life Insurance is still to be continued it ought to be provided with all those props in the absence of which its progress has been so slow.

Nationalisation and Expense Ratio

There are widespread fears that as a result of nationalisation the expense ratio will go up. The Government should find out ways and means so that every possibility of this kind should be put off permanently. Perhaps the best way of doing it may be to evolve a definite pattern of organisation with a view to increase the efficiency of public sector. If it is intended to spread the gospel of insurance far and wide and allow it to reach beyond the more advanced urban areas well into the hitherto neglected rural areas, the expense ratio is bound to rise unless it is counterbalanced by an increase in efficiency. But a slight increase in the expense ratio due to increase in life insurance from rural areas is more than justified in the early period.

Socialistic Pattern of Society

At present when we have already accepted socialistic pattern of society as the avowed objective of economic policy, the context of Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 has changed and hence we cannot now swear by that Resolution. An eminent economist, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, in his paper to the members of the National Development Council in January last has emphasized that a distinction must be made between private enterprise and private monopoly, and public sector should expand in those fields where private monopoly exists if the objective of socialistic pattern of society is to be realised early. Looked at from this angle the nationalisation of life insurance, as also stated by the Hon'ble Finance Minister, will be another milestone on the road the country has chosen in order to reach its goal of socialistic pattern of society.

Fear and Suspicion

The promulgation of Ordinance by the Government has created fears in the mind of the business cirle regarding the way in which the objective of socialistic pattern of society shall be realised. It has at the same time to vindicate that wherever the private sector does not fear to misappropriate the funds belonging to the majority of nationals the Government does not lag behind and is prepared to go to the extent of taking the field for itself. There is a vast majority in the private sector who are anxious to play their role in the planned economic development of the country and for this purpose they want that specific contents be given to the notion of socialistic pattern of society so that every one must know the way in which this policy will be pursued. Uncertainty tends to breed fear and suspicion in the minds of the businessmen and their practices in their turn create suspicion in the mind of the Government. This state of mutual suspicion ought to give place to enunciation of clear-cut policies laying down as to what is specifically expected from the private enterprise in different fields. Then the failure of private enterprise would obviously establish a case for Government interference and even nationalisation of private sector in that field.

Foreign Capital

Many predict that nationalisation of insurance has created uncertainty in the minds of foreign investors as well as technical personnel from foreign countries. This point seems to be highly exaggerated. As has been stated earlier the business of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease specially when the work of life insurance has been on the increase during the last several years. There were only three non-Indian insurers before the vesting in the Central Government of their management and control which dealt purely with life insurance. These alone will lose their independent identity after nationalisation. Thirteen other non-Indian insurers which were dealing with general insurance besides life insurance will be affected only to the extent they have been carrying on life insurance work. Hence even after nationalisation these thirteen non-Indian insurers will still continue to carry on their activities in the field of general insurance. If they care, and this they would in all probabilities, they would be able to make up for the loss of life insurance work of non-Indian insurers in the near future specially when in the Second Five-Year Plan period there is possibility of expenditure of Rs. 4800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2300 crores in the private sector on account of which there is bound to be enormous increase in the demand for general insurance.

As regards the investment of foreign capital in India, experience of this country in the recent past has not been very happy. In spite of various possibilities of fair returns from investment, assurances of facilities for remittances of profits and reasonable compensation in case of nationalisation the rate of foreign and specially that of American investment has been very low. It is, therefore, too much to say that the present step of the Government is likely to retard materially the rate of foreign investment in this country

Future of Private Monopolies in the Field of Insurance

In the private sector after the extinction of private insures 109 Indian life insurers dealing with fire, marine or other miscellaneous types of insurance will continue to operate. But in this field they are bound to face keen competition with non-Indian insurers which are on a firm footing and whose number although only slightly more (104) than their Indian counterpart (101) and which carry a major portion of business in this field in India and have a solid organisation of their own. This development in the present context ought to be carefully examined by the Government and wherever possible state patronage be made available to such Indian insurers as are established on sound business lines and are likely to further the cause of planned economic development of the country.

Ordinance and later Developments

As a result of Ordinance the Management and control of life insurance is vested in the Central Government. It authorised the Government to appoint custodians to take charge of the controlled business but till such time as the custodians were appointed, the persons already in charge of the business were to act as agents of the Central Government. But such persons were neither authorised to deviate from the policy normally adopted by them earlier in granting loans or making investment or incurring expenditure other than the payment of wages, salaries and commission or to transfer assets or acquire any immovable property or enter into any central service or agency or business other than that of policy.

The management of the controlled business of an insurer from the time of issue of Ordinance up to the time the management remains vested in the Central Government is entitled for compensation on monthly basis which shall be equal to one-twelfth of that amount of profit declared on the basis of valuation which is allocated to shareholders during the last two years.

But in the case of those insurers which have not declared any profit, the compensation will be at the rate of Re. 1|- per month for every Rs. 2,000|- of the premium income of the insurer from its controlled business in 1954.

By now the Government has announced the names of custodians for different companies and

the new reduced rates of insurance premia which are less than the rates in force in the Oriental Life Insurance Company by Re. 1|- per thousand.

Shape of New Insurance Agency

Before indicating the possible lines of approach to the question as to what should be the shape of nationalised insurance agency, it is necessary that we should have a clear idea of the insurers existing before. As stated earlier there have been both Indian and non-Indian insurers of different sizes, premium rates, expense ratios and varying degrees of efficiency. They have been competing with each other which has resulted in sufficient increase in insurance business. Besides, Postal Life Insurance as a Government Department has been operating side-by-side. Further in the case of Indian insurers some have a widespread network of branch offices all over the country, others confining themselves only to one State or certain areas of a State ; some have sound financial standing while others have grossly mismanaged their affairs and have frittered away a major portion of their funds ; some are well known for their services to the policy-holders in settling their claims promptly when they fall due, while others have shown complete lack of understanding to this most important question. Some have declared very high rates of bonus and dividends and others have had to be put under administrators for misappropriation of funds.

From all these it is obvious that there are certain weaknesses of small-scale units in insurance such as high expense ratio and consequent lower rates of dividends. Hence, in any new set-up uneconomic units should not be allowed to exist. Further, the vantage points of the erstwhile insurers should not only be retained but increased as a result of nationalisation. The new nationalised institution or institutions must have service as its motto and security and efficiency as its watchwords. At no cost they should be sacrificed. But these aims can be realised in both cases when there is one nationalised agency into which all others have merged or few units of economic sizes as a result of amalgamation of small insurers into bigger ones. The latter may supposedly retain the spirit of competition which will disappear in the former.

But is there any sense in having different units when all are being owned by the State, and the rates of premium and bonus are the same, the rules of service of the employees sooner or later will be the same and so also the rates of commission to the agents? In reality there will be no spirit of competition because the agents working under similar conditions will have same data to convass their case and will not be able to compete with each other. Under these circumstances it is but feasible that there should be only one nationalised insurance agency. But for purposes of administration its area of operation should be divided into various zones and in each zone a large number of offices in important towns should be established which should have their dealings with the zonal head office. For each zone there should be an advisory or consultative committee in which all interests should be represented and so also there should be an Advisory Committee at the Head Office.

Acqusition of Proprietory Rights

In order to acquire the proprietory rights of the insurers the Government is likely to bring a Bill before the next session of the Parliament. Besides other things the Bill will provide for payment of compensation to the shareholders on reasonable basis or any other basis as laid down in the Bill. But what can be reasonable basis for determining such compensation? No single yardstick can serve the purpose. The case of each and evry insurer ought to be examined on it's own merit, in which account should be had of the standing of the insurer in the insurance world, the average value of share during the last two years, the total value of assets and liabilities and the yearly volume of business. There is no doubt that it is difficult to assess the goodwill of different insurance firms and as a result of nationalisation the Government does not stand to gain at all due to this change of hands but still those insurers who helped in building a strong and well-knit insurance system in the country by their work and behaviour and honesty of purpose are entitled for a better deal from the rest of insurers.

Second Five-Year Plan

It is estimated that the increase in the amount of life insurance during the Second Five-Year Plan will be of the order of Rs. 224 crores and the Government may like to use these funds for development purposes. At present annual premiums of life insurance amount to nearly

Rs. 55 crores. But the Government should not merely be satisfied with this increase but should strive for greater increase in the business with a view to attain the target of total insurance of Rs. 8,000 crores when business at present is for Rs. 1059 crores. So far, insurance has spread mostly to the urban and semi-urban areas. Efforts must be made to take the message of insurance to rural areas and raise the *per capita* insurance to a figure which may be comparable with that in other countries of the world.* The percentage of insurance in force to one year's national income is only 9.2 in India as against 17.8 in Japan, 45.6 in Australia, 51.3 in U.K., 70.4 in New Zealand ond 94.8 in U.S.A.

Task Ahead

The nationalised insurance institution is bound to face various problems in its formative period. In order to be able not only to increase its total business but also that from the rural areas it is essential that it should adopt the sound precedents of previous insurers and prove to be a model state-owned-and-operated enterprise. This will not only help in removing suspicion towards State enterprise in general but will foster the cause of socialistic pattern of society. Its failure is not only bound to retard the early realisation of this objective but also to create adverse psychological atmosphere for extension of public sector and achievements of targets in this field in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the changed context as a result of disappearance of competition there does not seem to be the need to allow the old rate of commission to the insurance agents. But increased insurance from rural areas needs greater efforts and greater inducement. Hence it is advisable to allow higher rates of commission on the work from rural areas and lower rates on work from urban areas. The reduction in the rates for work from urban areas should not be such as to sap the initiative and enthusiasm of the agents.

The nationalised insurance agency should not form part of any Government department but should be a statutory body vested with powers to take decisions in all matters in the light of broad outlines of policy laid down by the Parliament. It should be run on a purely commercial basis and hence the general rules of audit for the Government Departments should be adapted to subserve the purpose.

In the years to come the agency must be responsive to the changing needs of the people and their growing and varied requirements of insurance, if it is to assume proportions. For this purpose it would be desirable to have a development department located at the Head Office as well at the zonal offices which should devote itself to the study of this problem. As regards investment it has already been pointed out that 55.3 per cent of the investment is in Government and Municipal securities and 15.7 per cent in the private industries. Nationalisation does not mean that the already available amount of investment will be denied to these industries as announced by the Finance Minister. But the question is whether in the years to come the same percentage of investment will be available to private industries or not. It may be desirable to keep up this percentage invested in private industries as it will enable Government to be indirectly in touch with the progress of such industries. Further there is another question whether there should be any change in the hitherto granted loans by the insurers against mortgages of real estate insurance policies, land and house property. The Government may think of bringing about certain changes, *e.g.*, it may like to grant loans for schemes which have been given priority in the Plan such as construction of houses for middle class and other people in low income-groups and slum clearance. However, any change envisaged in the pattern of investment should not result in the curtailment of facilities already available to policy-holders nor in too much reduction of profits and ultimate reduction in the rate of bonus to the policy-holders. The principles of profitability, safety, service and prompt settlement of claims which are the corner-stones of insurance business ought to be so harmonised by the nationalised insurance agency as to subserve the best interests of the nation and policy-holders and result in the maximum possible economic development of the country.*

* The per capita insurance in India is only Rs. 26 as against Rs. 191 in Japon, Rs. 214 in Brazil, Rs. 1,827 in U.K., Rs. 2037 in Australia, Rs. 3160 in New Zealand and Rs. 9300 in U.S.A.

* The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author. They have nothing to do with his official capacity.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

By Prof. J. B. GANGULY, M.A.

I

The Islamic Republic—A Curious Compromise between the Sacerdotium and the Imperium

The Draft Constitution of Pakistan declares Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. The attribute "Islamic" is justified by two specific provisions embodied in the Constitution. One is that none other than a Muslim shall ever be the Head of the State; and the second one is that "No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the holy Quran and Sunnah . . . . . ." Pakistan is called a "Republic" because the government there will constitute and function, as they claim, on the line of British Parliamentary practice though without a second chamber.

What is "Islam"?

Islam is surrender to God. Surrender implies two concepts. Mentally, one must surrender to the will of God as propounded in the Quran and in outward behaviours, one must follow the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, known as Sunnah. Sunnah is the code of conduct for every follower of Islam.

How Sunnah came to furnish with a body of rules for the guidance of the Muslims? During the time of the Prophet Muhammad the Muslims were united together in the "Brotherhood of the Faithful" by the tie of the common faith. They knew no state in the modern sense. So there cannot be any existence of law to regulate the conduct of the followers of his faith but his own conduct.

In such circumstances, it is incomprehensible that it has become possible for the framers of the Constitution of Pakistan to deliberately limit the sovereign power of the people of Pakistan by making the injunctions of Islam overriding upon the powers of their Parliament to enact laws.

We shall have to find out the answer in the genesis of Pakistan. Pakistan has been founded on the theory of the supremacy of religion as the main political force in the formation of a state, and not nationalism properly understood. Pakistan has been brought to being in the name of the protection of a minority solely based on religion. Originally the move was for asserting certain safeguards, such as separate electorate for the Muslims in the constitutional reform measures initiated by the ruling power. At that time there was no demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims. The late M. A. Jinnah in his speech delivered on Feb. 7, 1935 in the Indian Legislative Assembly said:

". . . . I agree . . . . that religion should not be allowed to come to politics . . . . but . . . . is this a question of religion purely? No Sir, this is a question of minorities and it is a political issue . . . . ."

At a later period the move turned into a demand for a separate sovereign state for the Muslims altogether:

"Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood . . . . Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State . . . . ."—Jinnah's presidential speech, Muslim League Session, Lahore, 1940.

Thus it is clear that Pakistan has been established as a homeland for the Mussalmans. When the State has been set up on the basis of religion it is but natural that this religious bias would be reflected in the organic law or the Constitution of that State. But the matter relating to Pakistan cannot be explained away so simply. Though the demand for Pakistan was conceded to the Muslims they got it by surrendering territorial unity. Pakistan is composed of two wings separated by more than one thousand miles from one another. This territorial non-integrity in itself is not so significant as the consequent changes in language, literature, culture and tradition of the people of the two wings. Of late, the leaders of Pakistan are facing difficulties in binding together the two wings of Pakistan in one state and under one government. A progressive movement has emerged in Pakistan with the demand for a full-fledged democratic and federal State with fuller regional autonomy and full liberty for the people. Pakistan has been facing the vital problem of protecting the newly-born State from going apart and being torn to prices. On the one hand, it became evident that religion was failing to maintain unity and the democratic forces of Pakistan were becoming more and more powerful and influential, on the other hand, Pakistan being ruled by a clique of oligarchs could not find out any force other than religion which can hold the different sections of Pakistan together into one State composed of people of different opinions and cultures.

The trend is not accidental. The different groups of a society develop a schism between themselves which is nothing but the outward expression of "schism in the soul" in Toynbee's words.

> "If people are to feel at one with themselves, and if there is to be harmony among groups, two requirements have to be met. Subjectively human beings must feel that what unites them is superior to what separates them. Objectively, they need some institutional means for organising those feelings." *The Great Issues Of Politics* by Leslie Lipson, p. 148.

In a modern State the common unifying force is nationalism. But in Pakistan they have sought this unifying force in religion in spite of its losing ground in the modern age of secularism. When secularism has definitely replaced ecclesiasticism the attempt at maintaining religion as the main unifying force is certainly a reactionary step. And here lies a great danger for Pakistan.

> "The political process has a characteristic, of which many examples may be noted, that when a trend in one direction has reached a point of excess, it is likely to prove a counteractive in reverse." Lipson, *ibid*, p. 167.

Similarly, too much emphasis on religion will have its reaction in Pak politics and then Pakistan may not find out an alternative force to keep the different sections in Pakistan together—this is the danger which the leaders of Pakistan can overlook at the cost of their own peril.

Thus the apparent contradiction in the Draft Constitition of Pakistan, *viz.*, religious supremacy fiitted in a republican structure merely reflects the conflict between the religious leaders who are not ready to surrender their 'holy' rights to rule and the rising political forces which also asserts the right of the "General Will."

How far religious bias has been deliberately incorporated in the Draft Constitution to supply as a unifying force may be questioned. But it has been strengthened by the vested interests of Pakistan,, who have been gradually losing ground from under their feet and who have been trying to maintain their political power anyhow. The rise of nascent progressivism in the body politic of Pakistan is not solely the result of growing political consciousness but also the result of growing distrust in the corrupt religious leaders.

Where and how far these conflicting forces will lead Pakistan to is very difficult to predict. But this much can safely be said that Pakistan cannot achieve political stability under the proposed constituton which fails to give a correct synthesis of the contradictory forces working in Pakistan.

II

Federal Structure Of Pakistan

Subjectively, the unifying forces in Pakistan has been sought in religion while objectively, the institutional means of federalism has been accepted.

> "A federal State," says Dicey, "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

Pakistan's problem of disintegrating forces has already been discussed. Pakistan would have avoided a federal structure but for the rise of strong opposition parties in East Pakistan which demanded greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Sir Ivor Jennings said on one occasion that

> "Nobody would have federal constitution if he could possibly avoided it."—*Some Characteristics Of The India Constitution*, p. 55.

To stop the bickerings and conflicts between the rival groups in the Punjab (P), N.W.F.P. and Sind all these units of West Pakistan were combined into one province. The centralising policy which was strongly enforced in case of the different units of West Pakistan would have also been extended to the different units of Pakistan as a whole. Such a scheme could not be given effect to in the teeth of violent opposition from East Pakistan. Secondly, constitution is never made, it grows. The Constitution of Pakistan like that of India grew out of the Government of India Act, 1935, wherein the foundations of the federal system were already laid down. That is why the federal structure of Pakistan appears, in many respects, similar to that of India. Like India the Draft provides for a strong Centre having right to proclaim a Governor's rule in any Province in time of emergency.

But in some other respects, the character of federalism in Pakistan is quite different from that of India. The classical definition of a federation runs in the following line:

That there are two types of governments—government for the whole country and the governments for the units comprising the federal union—each legally supreme in its own sphere. But from the very beginning of federalism as form of government, the problem of balancing power between the centre and the units and that between the units themselves have posed itself for many a time.

In all the existing federations, excluding Pakistan of course, the number of member units is more than two where the varied and complex relation between different units and that between the units and the centre ends in a somewhat balancing of claims and counterclaims, conflicts and compromises. But in Pakistan, they are going to have a federation of two wings with parity in the number of representatives to the central legislature. So in Pakistan they will have a federation where the interests of the two wings are so sharply different and where the central government is sure to be dominated by one wing there cannot be any balancing of interests, on the contrary, the conflicts are sure to be very sharp. Bi-cameral legislature has a special significance in a federal system—second chambers are designed to bring a balance and equality in the representation of the different units composing the federation. In Pakistan, they have abandoned any such scheme for a second chamber. *Prima facie* it might appear as progressive but ultimately it is sure to prove to be a wanting factor in the Pak Constitution. A second chamber at the centre, in the Pakistani context, could serve as a balancing factor of opposing interests in the lower house provided the system of representation to the second chamber could be based on well-devised principles.

The observations made above suggest that the exigencies of the circumstances will always keep the federation of Pakistan in a fluid state. Contingency arrangements cannot ensure federalism. So in spite of an outer shape of federation Pakistan cannot truly become a federation of two wings though it can be a confederation of two states with much more autonomy of the member units than that envisaged in the draft under consideration.

The conditions mentioned above may lead Pakistan to a completely opposite direction, namely, centralisation. The governments of the world supply us with ample examples of differences between the law of the constitution and the actual practices of government. Compare *Modern Constitution* by K. C. Wheare, p. 28;

". . . . it is interesting to compare the law of the constitution with the practice of government. Although the powers of veto and disallowance have been exercised by the Government of Canada over provincial legislation, they have been used sparingly and they have done little to contradict in practice the independent status of the provinces. In Australia on the other hand, where the law of the constitution safeguards the independence of the states more strictly, the control of the Commonwealth of Australia over the governments of the states has become so great that some observers would say that in practice the states of Australia are little more than the administrative agencies of the Commonwealth."

The forces that generally condition the affairs of a state are varied. The forces are geographical, historical, economic and technological. But the most important forces are economic and "the tension of military preparedness." The United Front of East Pakistan has after stubborn and continued assertion been able to earn for the provinces "the major say in formulating economic, financial and commercial policies of Pakistan." Yet the greater financial resources of the Central government will ultimately mean a greater reliance of the provinces upon the central assistance. Moreover, the grant of vast American military aid at the central level and Pakistan's entering into several military pacts with different countries, all lead us to conclude that there is already a strong centralising tendency working in Pakistan.

So the conclusion is obvious that Pakistan cannot remain truly federal, it will, in practice, either turn into a confederation or a unitary form of government; the weight of centralising evidences existent in Pakistan, however, indicate a stronger possibility of its turning into the latter.

III

Minority Safeguards

J. S. Mill mentioned in his *On Representative Government* the "danger of class legislation on the part of the numerical majority" as one of the serious "dangers incident to a representative democracy." Pakistan being composed of an overwhelmingly majority community and numerically an absolute minority is naturally all the more subject to the dangers of class legislation. This danger has proved to be a reality since Pakistan has been sought to be modelled as an "Islamic Republic" where the injunctions of Islam and not the will of the people will ultimately prevail. By debarring the non-Muslims from becoming the President or Vice-president of Pakistan they have been relegated to the status of inferior citizenship, in spite of the Draft Constitution's specific, albeit deceiving, declaration that

"Nothing in this article (relating to overriding authority of the injunctions of the Quran) shall affect the personal laws of non-Muslims, the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan . . . ."

Such a discrimination between the citizens of a state on the basis of religion is the very negation of political equality which is the fundamental basis of democracy. If it is claimed that Pakistan is meant to serve as a homeland for the Mussalmans only and the non-Mussalmans cannot claim equal treatment with the Mussalmans, the answer is, this is quite contrary to the professed and declared policy of the builders of Pakistan:

". . . . Mussalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius, and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise . . . . The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create real sense of security among the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence . . . ."

—M. A. Jinnah on the Lahore Resolution, 1940.

The Resolution of the Muslim League, Lahore Ssession, March, 1940 is more specific:

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions (*i.e.*, the regions going to Pakistan—the writer) for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, *political*, *administrative* and other rights and interests in *consultation with them* . . . ."

From the extracts given above it will appear that the leaders of Muslim League in order to establish their right to form a separate state committed themselves to all kinds of safeguards and securities to the minorities who would be living in Pakistan. Whatever the purpose might have been, the commitments clearly recognised the fact that Pakistan was not for the Mussalmans alone but also for the non-Mussalmans. All these show that when religion is adopted as the fundamental basis of state true democracy can hardly be attained in spite of commitments which are sure to remain as scraps of paper.

Equality and liberty are the two pillars of democracy. We have seen that equality of treatment of the citizens of Pakistan is non-existent. What about civil liberty? The most important safeguards of civil liberty is the right to have a share in the administration of the country, in other words, the right to vote and free and fair election. But, here again, religious bigotry lulled all sense of democratic outlook which has been proved by the Drafting Committee's failure to reach a decision on the question of joint electorate. The ruling clique of Pakistan is insisting on a separate electorate for the non-Muslims. Why—not for the reason that the non-Muslims are demanding it, on the contrary, in the teeth of their strong opposition, the rulers are insisting on it for the sake of separating different communities from political unity. The rulers know that their vested interests are secured so long as they can maintain communal ill feelings among the different communities, so it is to their interest that they are to include such provisions in the constitution which will perpetuate their power that they are enjoying at present.

Special safeguards are, no doubt, required for the protection of minority interests, but minorities themselves are the best judges of their own interests. When the minorities demand joint electorate, if the rulers of the majority community really feel for the minority interests, they should try to satisfy the desires of the minorities. Moreover, the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League specifically directed to protect the interests of the minorities "*in consultation with them.*" Thus we see that the minorities are neither equal with the majority in political status nor do they fully enjoy political liberty in Pakistan.

Conclusion

On all these accounts it is very clear that the State of Pakistan as envisaged in the Draft Constitution will essentially be undemocratic notwithstanding its bearing the name of 'Republic.' All attempts at a compromise between theocracy and republicanism may help to supply temporarily, but temporarily only, as a patchwork in unifying the two opposite forces perceptible in Pakistan, *viz.*, the eager wish of the religious, corrupt and top leaders having no connection with the people to secure their political power and influence *versus* the bidding for power of the rising, nascent but growing forces of secularism, progressivism and democratic ideas. This patchwork cannot last long—the state structure of Pakistan is sure to change, exactly when it will, is a mere matter of time.*

* All the extracts from the late Jinnah's speeches or from the Muslim League Resolution have been quoted from *The Making of the Indian Constitution* by Dr. A. C. Banerjee.

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TATANAGAR
The Steel Town of India

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

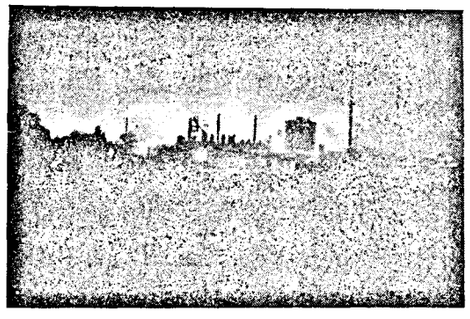
Tatanagar may be called the premier steel town not only of India but of South-east Asia. It is 156 miles from Calcutta and is situated in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. The climate is hot throughout

Tatanagar at dawn

the year except in the winter months which last here from about the middle of November to the end of January. The average maximum temperature of Tatanagar is almost the same as that of Calcutta being in excess by a degree or two. But the average minimum temperature is found to be always less by four to seven degrees than that of Calcutta. The summer months are very hot specially because of the hot blast furnaces and the various rolling and sheet mills working day and night.

The busy industrial town of Tatanagar is very neat and clean and its undulating roads that run in various directions in many a circuit surrounded by overlooking hills, afford very pleasant drives. Bedecked with rows of buildings and quarters Tatanagar wears a very beautiful appearance in the evening when the city lights vie in grandeur with the twinkling stars of the sky above, the visitors' eyes being diverted occasionally by the frequent glows of the blast furnaces.

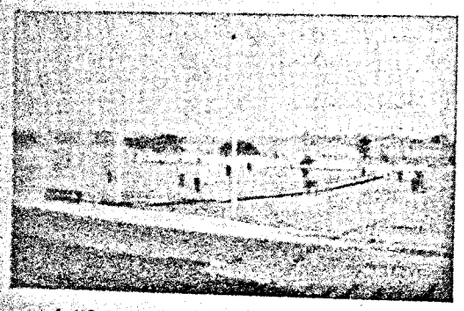
On the night of the 10th November, 1954, when we arrived at Tatanagar at that unearthly hour of 2-41 hrs. the city was under a spell of winter and the giant rolling and puffing mills with the glowing blast furnaces of Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., which know no rest, were still at work and found to be groaning as it were. Our journey from Howrah was a matter of only about six hours. For the night we slept in the bogie detached from the Ranchi Express which left Howrah at 20-45 hrs., though not undisturbed by



Tata Works at night

the not-too-infrequent clashes of shunting wagons. With a cup of very hot tea to cheer us up we sauntered out of the Railway Station and boarded the car

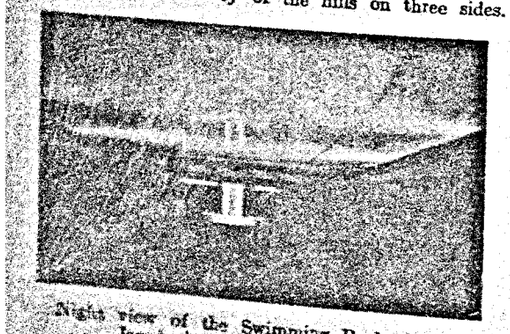
which had been in waiting for us to carry us to our destination. The smiling morning sun greeted us from the East. It was then about the middle of November and mercury stood within the range of 85 to 57 degrees Farenheit. With our overcoat on we had actually to shiver in the morning.



Artificial Lake and Park, Jamshedpur

Until 1905 Jamshedpur was a part of undivided Bengal but it was subsequently integrated with Behar by the then rulers with a view to cripple Bengal which proved to be the hotbed of nationalism.

The river Subernarekha which rises from the Hudru Falls at Ranchi passes through the town of Jamshedpur, the old name of Tatanagar, and divides the district of Singhbhum from the district of Manbhum. The river Kharkai meets the Subernarekha at some distance off Tatanagar. Lately a bridge has been constructed by the Tatas over the river Subernarekha over which runs a fine asphalted road that leads to the beautiful Dimna Naiah, a rain water catchment in the valley of the hills on three sides.



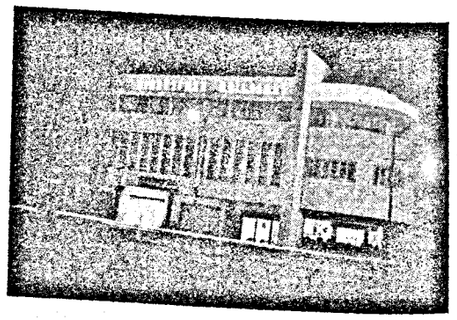
Night view of the Swimming Pool of the Jamshedpur Senior Staff Club

It is a place worthy of visit. There is a Rest House at the top which is very often resorted to as a place for picnic, for which permission has had to be obtained from the Tatas. A levy of rupee one per head is collected at the toll office near the bridge but private cars are exempted from such payments.

The history of the development of Tatanagar is the history of the development of steel industry in India. But the name of a great patriot and industrialist is rightly associated with it. He was the late Jamshedji Tata who had a broad vision of an India industrially free from foreign control. His dream has been fulfilled.

The present city is the ultimate growth of the tiny pretty village known as Sakchi, which is now a suburb of the main town, and was rightly renamed as Jamshedpur by the then Viceroy of India in the year of his visit to the place in 1911.

Until 1902 Sakchi was a village with a few straggling huts when the industrial dreamer, Jamshedji Tata, visited the place along with the great geologist, the late P. N. Bose, Mr. Weld, Mr. Page and others. Its close proximity to the ore-mines of Gua, Nayamundi and Rakha, all discovered by the late P. N. Bose, was the main reason for which Sakchi was selected to be the site for a highly prospective Steel plant and time has proved the justification of the selection.

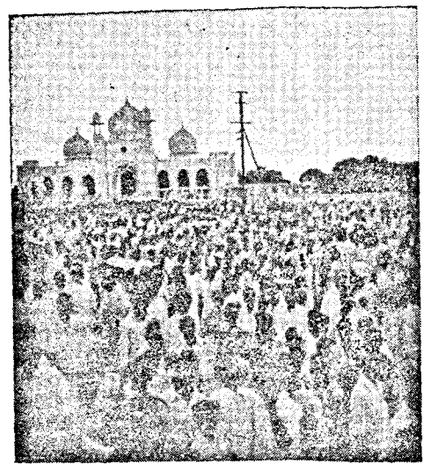


Hindustan Buildings, Jamshedpur

The present population of Tatanagar is 250,000 about 80 per cent of whom are the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Works (TELCO), Indian Steel Wire Products, the Tinplate Co., and various other allied industries. More industries are likely to thrive up in future in this area owing to the availability of steel in close proximity to minerals of the ever-bounteous Chota Nagpur. The civic administration of the city is run by the Tatas themselves through an administrator and that very nicely. The roads are always very clean. Its road system resembles that of Patna, there being about one hundred and seventy-five miles of roadways in and around Tatanagar. The city is served by water mains running to about a hundred and fifty miles, the drainage and sewerage totalling three bundred and thirty miles, as I was told by Sri P. N. Mukherjee of the Public Relations Office of the Tatas, who also provided me with necessary statistics.

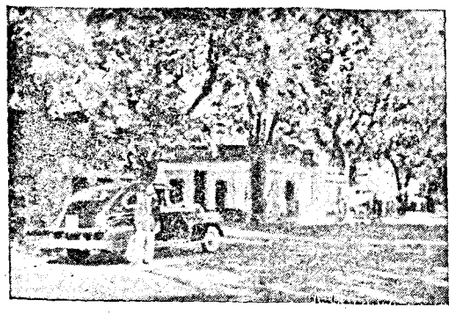
The domestic water-supply per day is about 11

million gallons. The total cost of maintenance of Jamshedpur Proper, I was informed, is over a crore of rupees. The total income including house-rents, land-rents, electric charges, etc., is barely Rs. 43 lakhs.



Central Mosque, Jamshedpur

The deficit is met from the Company's funds allotted for the purpose. Water is supplied free to the citizens, the charge of electricity consumed is only half an anna per unit. It may be noted that Tatanagar got its first electric supply from D.V.C. in August, 1954. Great care is bestowed upon the medical and health services. There is a Class I hospital with 410 beds and 48 doctors, of whom 10 are specialists, 114 nurses and sisters are always busy at the hospital. There are as many as 18 clinics of which one is a T. B. Clinic. The number of dispensaries run by the Tatas is six.



The Tisco Hotel, Tatanagar

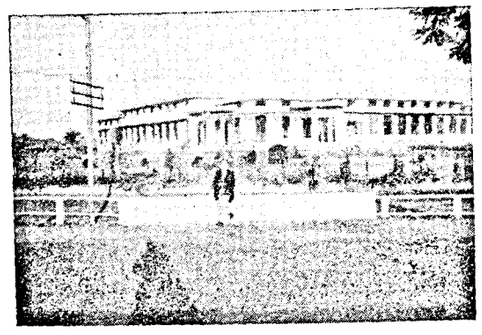
Besides these, there are dispensaries of other Companies as well as of private medical practitioners. Sri Bankim Chandra Bose of the Tinplate Co. is one of the oldest and ablest medical practitioners of Jamshedpur. About Rs. 35.72 lakhs are spent every year for medical and health services by the Tatas alone.

Great attention is also paid to the problem of education to the town. There are forty schools run by the Tatas. There are also thirty-five more run by other private bodies. The table is given below:

Category of school	No. of schools	No. of students on roll on 31.3.52
H. E. School for boys	2	3370
Night High Schools for boys	1	486
High School for girls	1	862
Middle Schools for boys	7	4129
U. P. Schools for boys & girls	9	4278
Lower Primary Schools	16	4033
Middle Schools for girls	4	2121
		19279

All the private schools are recipients of grants-in-aid of the House of Tatas. A table for the number of students studying through different languages media is given below:

Hindi	8959
Urdu	2336
Bengali	6230
Oriya	1485
Telugu	269
	19279



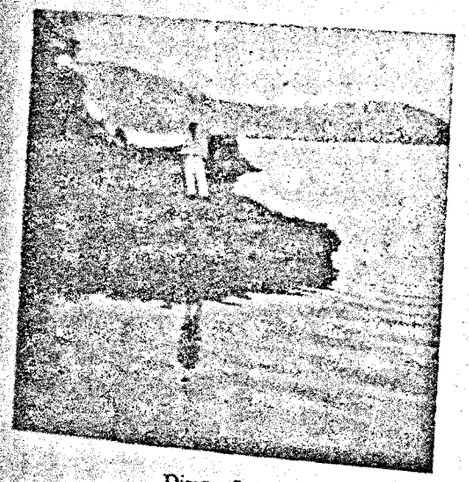
Jamshedpur Club near Sakchi

This excludes the figures of other private schools, majority of which are run by Bengalis.

A great percentage of the profits earned by the Tatas go to the various Trusts created by them for the welfare of the nation and for the furtherance of scientific studies for the industrial development of India. Of the Trusts mention may be made of Sir Dorabji Trust which maintains the Tata Memorial Hospital, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. The huge Sir Ratan Tata Technological Laboratory is due to the munificence of Sir Ratan Tata. There are also the

Sir Ratan Tata Charities, Lady Tata Memorial Trust, J. N. Tata Endowment for higher education, the Indian Institute at Bangalore and several others.

By kind permission of Sri J. L. Sinha, Officer-in-charge of the Works, I had the privilege to go round the works and visit the production plant working at high speed. What impressed me most was the vastness of the Tata Works and the efficiency and skill with which all work is handled. There was perfect discipline amongst the workers. How valiantly the workers were working before the furnaces and great fires simply amazed me. The manner in which the sturdy workers of the Tatas face many a risk is really an example to our youth who should see those works at the first opportunity and learn that discipline and diligence work wonders.

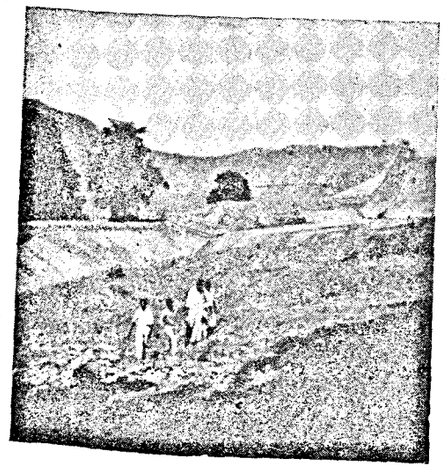


Dimna Lake

A glance through the following items of benefits that a Tata employee is entitled to receive will convince the readers that the Tata employees are really well paid and well cared for. They get: (1) The basic pay, (2) Performance bonus, (3) An incentive bonus, (4) Dearness allowance, (5) Emergency bonus, (6) Good subsidy, (7) Attendance bonus, (8) A profit-sharing bonus, (9) Provident Fund, (10) Retiring gratuity, which is never less than 15 months' wages. The aforesaid benefits are, needless to say, highly attractive to labour and employees in general. With greater advancement of the plant it may be hoped that some day the employees themselves would become co-sharers with the shareholders.

A brief history of the development of steel industry will certainly be of some interest to the readers. Let me now narrate the circumstances that led to the birth of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., and subsequently the development of old Sakchi into the well-designed city of Tatanagar.

Whilst the selfless Indian patriots like the late W. C. Bonnerji and Dadabhai Naoraji had been engaged in devoting all their energies towards the political emancipation of India, another patriot and

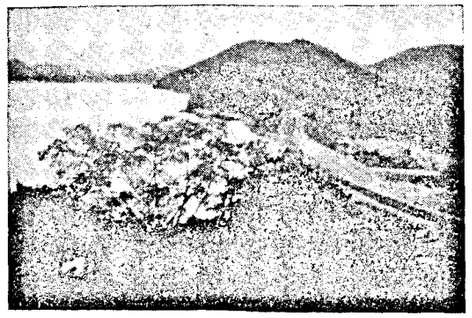


To the Dimna Lake

industrial dreamer, the late Jamshedji Tata, devoted his heart and soul to make India self-sufficient in respect of cotton and steel products. Steel-making had never been unknown in ancient India, but it was a very hard problem for Jamshedji to tackle. A steel plant must needs stand in close proximity to iron ores and limestone mines and must have a reliable source of water supply. He consulted his British industrial colleagues who laughed at the idea. But Jamshedji was the man who would never be deflected from his purpose. He had that stubborn will and untiring perseverance even in the face of heavy odds.

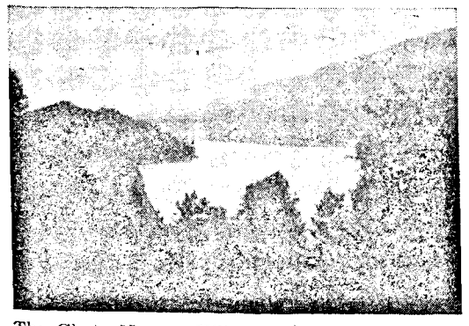
The Dimna Catchment and Falls, Jamshedpur

A silver lining was noticed in the cloud of problems that beset his vision. About the year 1880 a German geologist Ritter Von Schwartz by name submitted a report to the then Government of India on the Chanda ores of Madhya Pradesh. In 1902, Jamshedji secured the expert services of the well-known American geologist, Messrs. Kennedy Sahlin & Co. of America, who deputed to him two technical experts,



The Dimna Reservoir, Jamshedpur

Charles Page Perin and G. M. Weld. Epic search was made by Mr. Weld but all to no purpose. At last Pramatha Nath Bose, a Bengali scientist, not very well-known at the time, who had worked as an officer of the Survey of India Department and had as a protest against racial discrimination resigned for being passed over by a junior British officer, came forward with his vast geological experience of Chota Nagpur mines. He assured Jamshedji that there are iron ore mines at Gua and Nayamundi, and by good luck the mines were actually discovered at those places. The location of limestone deposits in close proximity led to the selection of the little village of Sakchi as the site for the construction of a modern Steel Plant. Thus the first Steel Plant in India came into existence.



The Chota Nagpur Hills and Dimna Catchment near Rest House

It may be noted that P. N. Bose was then in the employ of the Mayurbhanj Raj State and he was the first Indian adviser of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. A statue was erected after his death by the Tatas most reverentially and placed in the Works, which stand in resplendence even to this day.

Sakchi is now a suburb of Tatanagar. A company was floated by Sir Dorabji Tata and his valiant compatriots and appeal for shares was made first in the London Market where it received a poor response. Towards the end of the year 1907 the first Steel Company was floated in Bombay and the entire share capital of two crores was fully subscribed by India's 8,000 patriotic citizens alone.

Construction work began in the year 1908 and the first cast of pig iron, so goes the Company's report, flowed down the runners on the 2nd Dec., 1911. The first ingot of rolled-off iron came out on the 16th Feb., 1912. Today the Company boasts of two great plants, namely, the East plant and the West plant. Now the vast sheet and rolling mills work and groan like giants all day and night and know no rest. The Company is now proud of possessing five big blast furnaces, one Duplex plant, coke ovens and many open hearth furnaces. Besides there are the tool shops of a wide variety.

The Dawn. Sunrise at Bihar

The Tata Research and Control Laboratory was opened by Sir Nawroji Saklatwala, Chairman of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., the foundation stone of the same having been most ceremoniously laid by Sir Ardeshir Dalal on 6th November, 1937. It is housed in a very fine building and stands near the Burmah Mines Gate of the Company in close proximity to the National Metallurgical Laboratory of the Government of India where works in his silent manner, the eminent scientist Mr. Bucknall, the Director of the Laboratory. The Research and Control Laboratory of the Tatas must needs be proud of having the great metallurgist of India, Sri Vatcha Gandhi. A man of vast erudition and humble personality, his very appearance reminded me of the great Indian chemist and savant of India, the late Sir P. C. Roy.

Tatanagar is humming with activity and life today. Of clubs, libraries and cinemas there is no dearth. Besides motor cars, taxis and buses that ply day and night, the continuous flow of cycles, specially, during the busy working hours, led me to believe that Tatanagar has its own speciality.

The Bengali population of Jamshedpur seemed to be very happy. Recently the eleventh Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan of Jamshedpur was held on the 13th and 14th November, 1954. I was privileged to attend some of its sessions presided over by Dr. Kalidas Nag who graced the Sammelan along with a group of Bengali litterateurs from Calcutta. The deliberations were very thoughtful and the amusements and dramatic performances including the music by the Gita Bitan made the function a grand success.

My thanks are due to Sri S. N. Mahalingam, the Chief Inspector of Boilers, and Sri Dilip Hazra of Sakchi for some of the information incorporated in this article. For the photographs published in the body of the article I must thank my friend Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Government of India.

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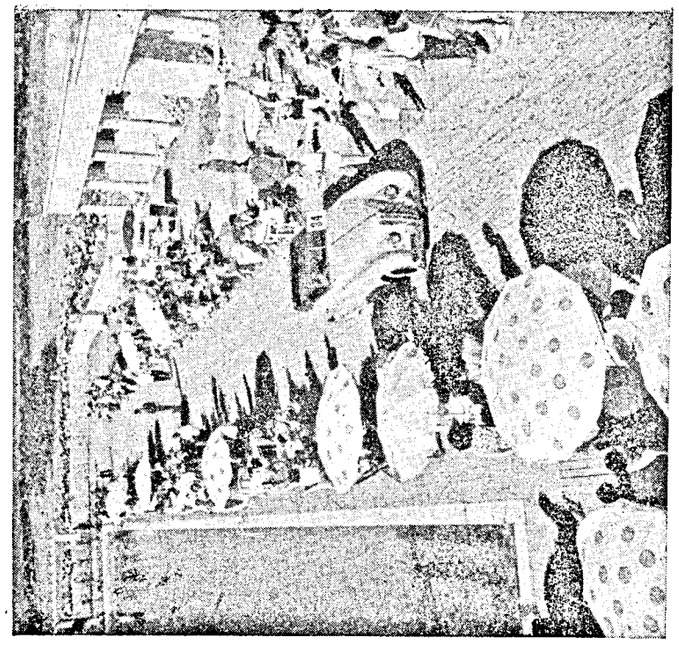
FRENCH SEASIDE RESORTS

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

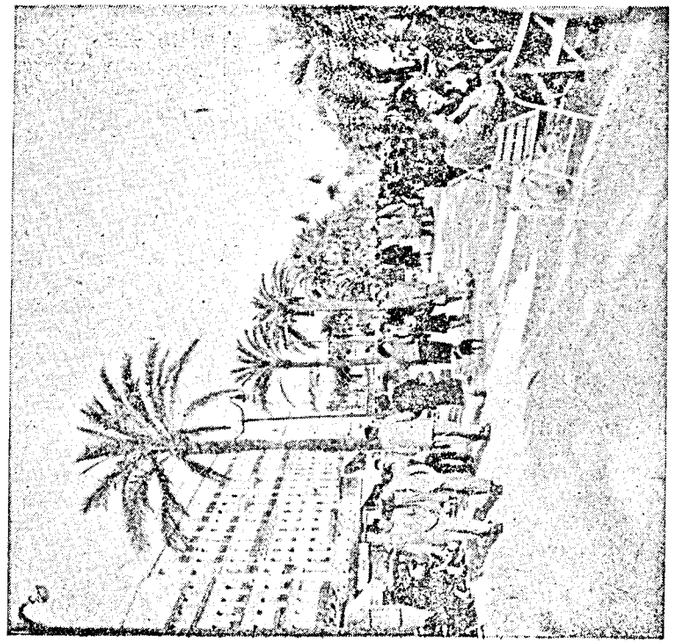
VERY few countries in the world can be so rightly proud of their seaside resorts as France. These fashionable bathing centres are indeed as famous and appealing as the industries, museums and art galleries which have brought endless reputation to France from time immemorial. Earnest and enterprising, the French believe in enjoying *life* in the fullest sense of the term, and their beaches are a mirror of their customs and traditions and their novel way of life. A dreamland of the tourists, France leads the world wth its ever-new fashions and graceful beaches.

The Grand Carnival at Nice, the pride of the Riviera

The 2000-mile-long French coast faces the three mighty oceans, the North Sea, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, each of which has presented something unique to its three hundred and odd seaside resorts. The Mediterranean, hailed ironically as the laziest ocean in the world, washes out the southern coast and graces half-a-hundred resorts with warm climate and tropical vegetation. Since the weather is always pleasant and the sea perfect for bathing the numerous towns and cities here are always crowded and busy with carnivals and programmes throughout the year. The notorious and aggressive tides of the Atlantic have failed to harm Brittany, Gascony and Vendee which are rightly proud of their emerald coasts with prosperous cities facing the ocean. Dinard, Brest, Royan and Biarritz are some of the more popular holiday resorts which are specially attractive in summer when the climate is gentle and the

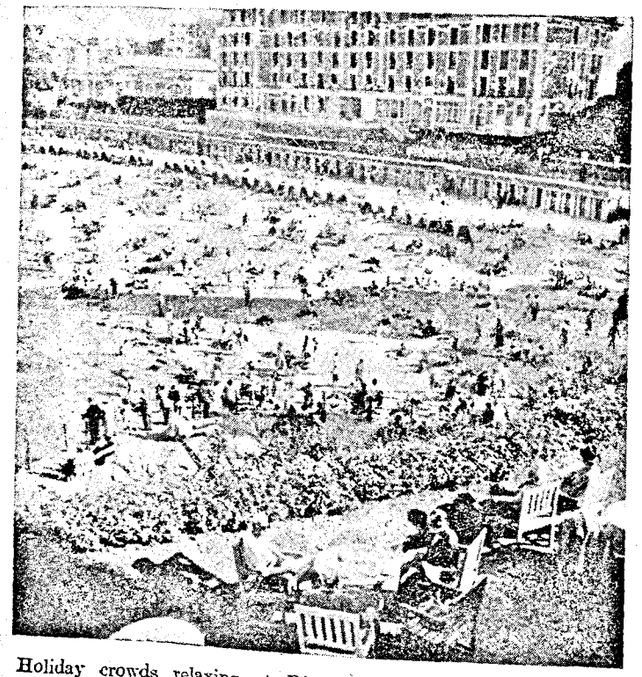


The Automobile Fashion Contest in progress at Biarritz



The view of a busy street in Cannes

sea obliging. Also charming and equally fascinating are the beaches of the North Sea and the English Channel which have bestowed a variety of scenery and beauty. With broad stretches of milk-white sand, the fashionable dwellings of this region, like Le Tonguet, Le Havre and Dunkerque, are perfect for swimming and cast a spell of magic on the visitors from all parts of the breathing world.



Holiday crowds relaxing at Dinard, the leading seaside resort facing the Atlantic Ocean

A brief account of the activities at some of these world-renowned seaside resorts will enable us to appreciate their way of life which is so very different and pleasant. Of all the resorts of the French Riviera, Nice, facing the Mediterranean, is superb. With fetes and fancy-dress competitions, dancing events and carnivals, it looks enchanting at all hours. None can resist going through the year-round schedule at Nice this year. Items like "His Majesty King Carnival," "The Battle of Flowers," "The Night of the International Lions Club" at *Palais de la Mediterrance* and the colourful display of fireworks are all unique in themselves and are sure to create an atmosphere o fun, romance and exhilaration.

Fashionable parties, ballets and musical contests are also a regular feature at Cannes, "The Pearl of the Riviera." With a refreshing climate, beautiful roads bordered by the coconut trees, it is a favourite rendezvous of the film stars. The International Film Festival is the leading attraction of Cannes this year.

Juan-les-Pins, Antibes, Marseilles and Menton are hardly less celebrated than Nice or Cannes and continue to inspire the visitors with their ever-new charms, society life and memorable fetes and a host of other activities.

Fondly cherished as the "Queen of Brittany Resorts," Dinard, with its colourful surroundings, is always fascinating to its holiday crowds. The golden sand is packed up with gay and fun-loving men and women, boys and girls, who enjoy dancing and bathing in bright sunlight. There are all sorts of arrangements for camping, fishing, swimming and enjoying golf, tennis and a variety of sports.

Biarritz is yet another popular resort facing the Atlantic. Here the people assemble from the whole world to laze about in warm waters and indulge in traditional folk-dances and outdoor games. The outstanding event at Biarritz is the Automobile Fashion Contest. The happy onlookers, dressed in their most modern costumes, stand on either side of the road and cheer the contestants as they move in all speed and elegance.

France thus has every sort of shore with unceasing activity in all its resorts at all hours. The less developed towns and villages are fast recovering and they are soon likely to capture the attention of the world trampers. It is these fashionable towns and cities that have contributed to the general prosperity and richness of France. No amount of praise can pay proper tribute to the irresistible charms of these fashion centres and it has rightly been observed that everything is missed if these French resorts are not seen.

YUGOSLAV FOLK DANCE

By JOHN FILCICH

It would be impossible to evaluate appropriately the *kolo and* its music to the lives of millions of Yugoslavs through the centuries. How much joy it has brought the Croatians as their chief entertainment and diversion, how much consolation, courage, faith and national pride it has instilled in the Serbians, especially during the dark days of the Turkish oppression, would indeed be hard to tell. Small justice would it be to say that folk-music and dancing is so much a part of the everyday life of the South Slavs that it is found in very few places on the earth. Through these means they even prayed for rain, begged favours of the Deity, and mourned the dead. Today, with advancements and modernization, the ritual dances have disappeared and are only performed for serious public presentation. No longer is the threat of a Turk near, but the Macedonians nevertheless vow with each deliberate stamp in their *oro* or thrust of the sabre in the *Rusalija* that they will not be subjected to foreign suppression.

The kolos are, for the most part, a combination of Slavic dance traits—especially liveliness, gaiety, quick and often gymnastic footwork coupled with the Turko-Balkan style of dancing, the circle without partners. The Croatians and Serbians migrated to the Balkan peninsula from beyond the Carpathians (present northern Ukraine) which can account for the Slavic style; proof of circle dancing dating as early as the twelfth century lies in a fresco in a Serbian monastery painted at that time depicting a circle of dancers, hands held with one person removed just as today, accompanied by a saint-king playing the ancient lyre and a saint credited to be St. Anne playing a percussion instrument. While the circle form of dancing may have developed in Yugoslavia independently, Turkish influences have been incorporated and are very much in evidence, especially in Southern Serbia and Macedonia.

The name "kolo" which also means circle and wheel in Serbo-Croatian is given collectively to all folk dances of Yugoslavia although not all danced in a circle. There are many pair dances, kolos for threes, *lesa* or line dances, even solos. Influential in establishing the dance forms was the taboo first introduced by the Turks forbidding women to dance alongside the men. Later, married women were permitted, then a married man was allowed to hold the hand of a single girl (followed by other girls); in some places a kolo could be formed if handkerchiefs separated the sexes. Gradually these taboos were removed, but in many cases the traditional form was retained. It is interesting to note that "pair dances"—one man and one woman—are not regarded as "couple dances" as is the case in other countries. We are speaking here of the true folk dances, not the polkas, waltzes, and lately foxtrots, which have invaded the towns and cities.

Few countries have the variety of folk music and dances as Yugoslavia has. This is accountable after studying its geography, foreign rule and mostly influences from its neighbours. Different neighbours and invaders exerted their cultural and folk traits deliberately or involuntarily upon the provinces adjacent to them or under their control; these provinces were usually isolated from other parts by rough mountains and distance made communication very difficult. As a matter of fact, for the most part the people learned to live independently of their neighbouring countrymen and out of this grew individual folk culture often differing greatly within a matter of miles. This disunity of folklore and culture has given Yugoslavia a kaleidoscopic wealth of beautiful and individual costumes, dances, musical instruments, song forms, and folkcrafts in which the nation can indeed justify its pride in its folklore.

Men's Kolo, a Bosnian folk-dance

Starting in the north-westernmost part of the country, Slovenia has two distinct folk-cultures, the Alpine region around and north of Ljubljana, and the Bela Krajina, so called because the native garb is all pure white.

The former region was in centuries past under Austrian influences which has made that region the

article he contended that "the Art of India should be enriched by the advancement in technique and knowledge of the West: but enrichment will be assuredly turned to poverty, if the artists of India allow themselves to be lured away from their own vision and their own method." His career as an art-critic began with a brilliant review of Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*. This was followed by an invitation from Sir John Woodroffe, President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, asking Dr. Cousins to come to Calcutta to see the Eighth Annual Exhibition of the Society and write about it in his own and other papers. His reviews were published—the first—in the *Statesman*, and immediately created a mild sensation in art-circles in Calcutta. On his return to Madras he immediately organized there the first exhibition of Indian paintings and awakened great interest in the new movement in Indian Art. This was followed by other stimulating exhibitions at Bangalore, Mysore and other centres, which became annual fixtures anxiously looked forward to by all lovers of art. In the still waters of Southern Indian culture, Cousins within a short time raised uproarious storms, the echoes of which have not died out yet.

His literary fame brought him an invitation from Japan as a visiting professor in the Keiogijuku University, Tokyo, where he stayed for one year, earning a Doctorate by his lectures on English literature. Mrs. Besant's *New India* having come to grief, Cousins joined the Theosophical College at Madanpalle as Principal. Shortly after this, Cousins induced the Maharaja of Mysore to found an Art Gallery at Mysore which he organised and arranged. In the intervals of teaching-work he used to travel all over India holding exhibitions of Indian paintings at various centres and delivering lectures on Indian Art. In 1928, he went on a world tour lecturing on Indian Art in Italy, Switzerland, France and the United States. In January 1937, Cousins took an active part in the Temple Entry Movement in Travancore and as a "white Brahmin" he was permitted to enter the Temple, and a Hindu name was given to him: "Jayram" (victory to the Light). He was also invested with the title of *Kulapati* (Head of the tribe). In 1931, when the young Maharaja of Travancore was installed on the throne and a new palace was built for him, Cousins appealed to the Maharaja that Indian Art should receive a place of honour in the homes of Indian rulers. This appeal was honoured by a plan to build a State Art Gallery for Travancore, and Cousins was invited too and he arranged and installed a State Gallery, which developed later as the *Sri-Chitralayam* (Palace of Art), one of the most beautiful art-centres of India. On 31st October, 1935, in recognition of his services to Art, the Maharaja of Travancore conferred on Cousins the *Vira Srinkhala* (Bracelet of prowess), an honour formerly conferred by Travancore rulers on heroes of the battlefield. "But you have been a valiant warrior for art and culture, and I have great pleasure in giving you this *Vira Srinkhala* which is the highest decoration of the State. And in order to show that your prowess is for art and culture, I have great pleasure also in giving you this pandit's shawl."—(Maharaja). In June, 1936, a reception was given to Dr. Cousins at the residence of O. C. Gangoly at Calcutta, at which all the distinguished citizens of Calcutta assembled to do honour to a great friend and apostle of Indian Art. To the amazement and delight of every one, who should turn up but Abanindranath Tagore, the first artist of the revived school of Indian painting. The great artist was under medical orders to remain in his bedroom. But something had stirred him to disobey science in the interest of Art. After refreshments an illuminated address, the work of the artist A. P. Banerjee, was presented by Abanindranath to Cousins in an impromptu speech, in which he protested against the ugliness and want of delicacy, then appearing in recent works of Indian painters. He appealed with intense emotion to Cousins to stand up for the artistic qualities that the Bengal revival had maintained. Cousins pledged himself to do all he could to fulfil the artist's passionate desire. The subsequent career of this great champion of Indian Art is a glorious record of the fulfilment of his pledges to Dr. A. N. Tagore. At the invitation of several Universities of India, Cousins had delivered brilliant lectures on various phases of Indian art and culture at the Calcutta, Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir Universities, many of which have not been published. For the last few years of his life, he had acted as the Art Adviser to the Travancore State. Some of his books on various phases of Indian culture are permanent contributions to their subject-matter, of which special mention should be made of *Th. Cultural Unity of Asia* (1922), *Work and Worship* (1922), *The Philosophy of Beauty* (1925), *Samadarsana* (1925), *The Faith of the Artist* (1941), *The Aesthetical Necessity in Life* (1944). High praise is also due to his brilliant study of the *Art of Avitkumar Haldar* (Modern Indian Artist Series II). His career in life has been one of multifaced activities. He has given a good account of himself as a talented poet, as a sincere politician, as a brilliant journalist, as an affectionate teacher, as a militant social reformer, as an art-connoisseur, and as an ardent and educated art-critic of a wide range of sympathies. His services to the cause of Indian Art can never be repaid. For the last few years, owing to certain physical infirmities, he had retired from active work, spending his last days in meditations, in the Brahmacharya Asrama at Adyar. In recognition of his services to the National Culture of India, the Government of Madras had paid him a pension during the last few years. He has died full of years and full of honours, in brilliant service to the cause of Indian nationality. He has left a void in the rich gallery of selfless service, which will be difficult to fill in the near future.

ROLE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN PLANNING

By SURESH RAMABHAI

In his presidential address to the Lucknow session (1936) of the Indian National Congress, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a plea for socialisation of all wealth and means of production in the country it raised a furore in the business circles. A rift between the interests of the big business and of the common man was clearly discernible. But the shame of our subjection and the pressure of political events followed by the breaking up of World War rather narrowed down the difference between the two and both united, more or less, for the attainment of political freedom. Ever since the dawn of independence, however, the said gulf has been getting progressively wider. The deteriorating condition of our handloom-weaver not only showed which way the wind blew but also served as the barometer of the pressure of the rich few over the poor millions. And the publication of the Karve Committee Report and after left no room for doubt in any quarter and even the blind could see the brutality of the same pressure.

Our eight years of Independence may well be looked upon as the speedy formation of a big business class covering an increasingly larger area of public needs and demands. It received, naturally, substantial support from the Government and greater still from the foreign interests entrenched in the country. It did not hesitate to join hands with the latter in partnership. A major consequence of this strange fact is that one can never be sure whether a thing 'Made in India' is made by Indian capital or by mixed capital. Be as it may, the Indian capitalist class is now sure of its ground and looks forward to capture not only the home-field with its manufactures but also the external market. This is why that it resents any attempt to define or demarcate its area and raises the popular bogey of being the cheapest supplier. It is a very amusing situation: the more it exploits the poor man, the 'cheaper' are its products, and the cheaper are its products, the more it exploits the poor man!

As newspaper columnists report, even members of the cabinet of our Union Ministry are not unanimous on the latitude to be given to the growing Indian industry. Had this growth simultaneously helped in the solution of the basic problem of unemployment, all would have cheered it up and wished it ever better. But the terrible reality is that in spite of our accelerating industrial, potential and a well thought-out Five-Year-Plan and ungrudging foreign aid and expert guidance, unemployment in the country is mounting up. What is worse, the Government is not able to keep up its solemn word about its promise of employment in the coming second Five-Year Plan. The Prime Minister is reported to have said in a Congress-party meeting in December that we could not "afford to have unemployment in the country, specially large-scale unemployment. To provide employment is not only a duty but a social necessity." A recourse to cottage industries has, therefore, been taken by the Government in order to check unemployment. An All-India-Khadi and Village Industries Board was set up some three years ago and its schemes are on the rails. Only the future will reveal whether the Big Industry and Khadi Board can work together happily and increase employment, or the Big Industry alone can meet the situation; or if the unemployment situation worsens further, whether the whole thing needs a reorientation both in outlook and practice.

Taking a very optimistic view, let us assume that if the Big Industry prospers well, unemployment is no more, Khadi Board is wound up and heavy machinery pervades the land. What would then our country be like? Apart from all other mechanical equipments, we would be having militarisation on a grand scale as do the advanced nations of Europe and America. The greater our industrialisation, the heavier our militarisation. For, we would require a huge militia not so much to control our internal production as to keep a vigilant eye on our external market. India would then be a mighty power, both economically and militarily. Going forward in this line, we would be when at our best, a sound model resembling the Western countries today, say U.K., U.S.A., or U.S.S.R. Of course, the thing is not so simple as it seems. But we do take it, for a moment, to be so. The question then arises: Whether we would be content to be a country as advanced as any in the West? Is that the be-all and end-all of our existence? Then follows the supplementary: How is it that U.S.A. (or U.S.S.R.) is unhappy, in spite of her almost heavenly wealth? There is abundance, yet fear marks the eyes of their people. There is plenty of everything. Yet there is an emptiness in the heart of their people. There is no dearth of anything, yet there is a nervousness in the mind of their people. How is it that their very affluence is leading them to produce ever more terrific weapons of destruction?

The question then amounts to the objectives of planning. That Americo-European pattern of planning has essentially failed is obvious by the two great wars and the threat of a third one. Its failure

implies a failure of the values it cherished, of the sanctions it hailed as sacred, of the postulates it assumed as axiomatic. Without going into their details, they can be briefly summed up as follows:

(*i*) Private or State ownership of land, wealth and means of production;
(*ii*) Superiority of the intellectual or managerial work to manual labour;
(*iii*) Use of arms in self-defence;
(*iv*) Division of society into classes with their own exclusive (and mutually conflicting) class-interests;
(*v*) Survival of the fittest.

It needs no prophetic vision to state that so long as Indian planning, be it through public or private sector, relies on and honours—as it plainly does today—the aforesaid values, its future is doomed. And because we shall be following a pattern fostered without, we shall always remain in the rear. It connotes that we would ever remain backward as compared to those which serve as our models today. Projected in the military sphere it means that our whole military strength may be reduced to nought—as that of France as against that of Germany, or that of Germany or Japan as against that of U.S.A. in the last war—in the fact of a single superior weapon of the adversary. At any rate working on these lines, we cannot possibly put up a better model. To what end this planning then?

It is high time that we have an intelligent look at the past as shown by history and a clear vision of the future we seek to build. Let us not do what other countries have already begun to undo or will have to undo. Not that we should have a closed mind. No, let us learn the best from everywhere and mould it according to our genius. Is it not pitiable that in spite of all our progress and planning up-to-date, we have not been able to give to our people a single new word (simple or compound) as an expression of our new adventures in all these eight years? The simple reason is that the roots of our thinking are not yet embedded in the soil of our country. Our Constitution is another proof of the same. We are only mercilessly watering a plant imported from without and the rising unemployment bears out the naked fact that the said plant refuses to take roots in our midst. And it is easy to see that cottage industries also have no place in that alien structure.

The need for a bolder and more radical approach cannot, therefore, be too much emphasised. In other words, we must redefine our planning-aims and strike our course accordingly. More wealth and more production should not be our only objective. Of course, we need not worship simplicity or poverty and deny health and happiness. Wealth or production is always welcome, but not for its own sake. Our goal can be described as:

(*i*) Provision of work to all, *i.e.*, no unemployment;
(*ii*) Formation of a new social order resting upon values different from those of the current patterns (the five as enumerated earlier);
(*iii*) Establishment of the efficacy of peaceful and non-violent methods for resolving our mutual disputes (be they on the national or international plane).

Here comes the role of cottage industries. It is no small thing if they enable us to solve the unemployment problem of a country as vast and as poor as India. But that is not the only function of cottage industries. In fact, they denote a way of life. Not the conservative one of ancient eras but the most scientific and modern one. This requires some explanation.

A plea for cottage industries is no denial of machinery. It essentially signifies self-reliance in the basic necessities of fooding, clothing and housing. With the discovery of atomic weapons of warfare science has unequivocally taught us the need of this basic self-reliance for man. As an individual may not be self-sufficient to the required extent, he must seek others' co-operation and every village, or as small a unit of human population as possible, must be basically self-sufficient. Non-independence in these basic requirements is full of danger as shown by the two wars and their aftermath. The very smallest units should stand on their own feet in meeting these fundamental wants, while in secondary and tertiary wants they can inter-depend. This envisages a new social order in which ownership would rest neither with the individual nor with the State but with society and everybody would offer his or her share in productive manual labour too which would both economically and socially be held as paying and as dignified as intellectual work.

Science also calls upon the urgency of recasting the social order. If the means of production continue to be individually owned, they will be denied, as at present, to the real producer and a craving for them will countenance rivalry, hatred and bloodshed. Any development plan which does not interfere with the established ownership rights is bound to be exploited by the haves and further impoverish the have-nots. Should the *status quo* be left undisturbed, planning will aggrandise socio-economic differences and stimulate warfare. Thus modern science beckons humanity to replace the current way of life by one of mutual sharing and non-violence.

It may doubtless be difficult for technically-advanced nations to burn their boats and blaze a new trail. Not so, however, for India which has just begun and also fought her battle of independence in a unique manner. She gave to *Charkha* the central place on her very flag. That Charkha not only symbolised the crude job of cloth-production, but an approach to life, a technique of struggle, radically different from those ever resorted to in history. This enjoins upon us a serious responsibility of continuing our march on the very same path, unless we are convinced to the contrary, which took us to the freedom goal.

It is thus clear that the demands of this scientific age, of our peculiar freedom-struggle and of our devastating poverty—all point out to the necessity of proceeding in our planning on creative lines. It practically amounts to navigating an uncharted sea—which has its own charms and risks. And in this new order cottage industries have a veritable role to play. But they are no temporary substitutes for unemployment-doles. They should be looked upon as the heralds of the new age of peace, science and non-violence. Any attempt to foster cottage industries under mechanised and military patronage, *i.e.*, under violent and unpeaceful auspices, is bound to crush them out, as has been the case during the last eighty years of India's industrial 'progress.'

To sum up, our planning aims should be definite and conspicuous. If our target is to build a social pattern as found in Europe or America, cottage industries have little place in it. On the other hand, if we seek to work, in the light of where the advanced nations succeeded and failed, on our own independent lines and rooted to our past, we will have to enthrone new socio-economic values in place of the old ones in fashion and change the standing structure to its very depths. And in this revolutionary task of social transformation, cottage industries occupy the same importance as the sun in the solar system.

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THE STATE BANK OF INDIA

By Prof. LAKSHMAN PRASAD SINHA, M.A. (Econ), M.A. (Pol. Science).

The State Bank of India has its origin in the recommendations made by the Committee of Direction of the All India Rural Credit Survey initiated by the Reserve Bank of India. Acting on the recommendations and suggestions of the above Committee Mr. C. D. Deshmukh announced in the Indian Parliament in December, 1954 the decision of the Government of India to assume effective control over the Imperial Bank of India as a first step towards the setting up of a State Bank of India. This announcement was quickly followed by the necessary Legislation and in April, 1955 the Government introduced the State Bank of India Bill in Parliament. The Bill received the assent of the President in May, 1955 and the State Bank of India came into being on the 1st of July, 1955.

The Nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and the establishment of the State Bank of India has set at rest the long-standing demand for nationalisation. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank has been advanced and advocated since 1948. The announcement and implementation of nationalisation of the Imperial Bank has a mixed reception. The Financial and business circles view this measure as an inroad upon the freedom and enterprise of the Private Sector. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank is in keeping with the Government economic policy of the socialistic pattern of society to which it is wedded. The decision to nationalise the Imperial Bank with a view to exercising effective control over it is neither new nor sudden. The policy of nationalisation has been taken to provide an integrated system of rural credit. It is in context of rural credit that the New State Bank of India has to be judged. The proposed aim of the creation of a welfare state and the establishment of the socialistic pattern of society has impelled Government to provide an institution which will handle the problem of rural credit and develop the rural economy of the country. The State Bank of India with its widespread network of branches will be the main instrument of the integrated scheme of rural financial and credit facilities as outlined in the All India Rural Credit Survey Report.

The authorised share capital of the State Bank of India is the same as that of the Imperial Bank. The authorised share capital is Rs. 11.26 crores and the paid up share capital is Rs. 5 crores 62 lakhs and 50 thousand. The Rural Credit Survey Committee recommended increase of the share capital from 11.25 crores to 20 crores for this new Institution so that the institution may be able to do some real work in the field of rural credit. Provision has been made in the Act that the Reserve Bank and the Government must own at all times a minimum of 51 per cent of the total shares of the State Bank of India. Expansion in the share capital structure as stated above has also been recommended. In issuing shares to private parties the Reserve Bank would give preference to those who are holding shares of the Imperial Bank. The percentage of private share-holding will not be more than 48 per cent of the total share-holding.

The Central Board of the State Bank of India is composed of twenty Directors. Besides a Chairman (Dr. John Mathai) and a vice-chairman (Mr. V. Lal Mehta) there are two Managaing Directors, one director representing the Government of India and the other director re-

The Gadgil Committee on Agricultural Finance of 1946 made a correct approach to the problem and recommended the setting up of a separate All-India Agricultural Bank at the apex and agricultural Credit corporation at the state level. Mr. Davis, the well-known American authority on Agricultural Finance also recommended for the establishment of an All-India Agricultural Bank. Above expert opinion on the subject favours a separate institutional pattern for providing rural and farm credit and deems him the real solution of the problem. The State Bank may prove unsuccessful in discharging its multifarious obligations and functions and thereby the needs of the Agricultural sector of the Economy may not be met, may not be fulfilled.

Further, it is said that the halting measure of nationalising the vital Banking sector of the Economy may stand in the way of achieving the objective of the socialistic pattern of Society which we have envisaged for our state. The entire Banking sector of the Economy should have been nationalised. Half-hearted and piecemeal nationalisation of Banking would be inadequate from the perspective of socialism and welfare state. Nationalisation in such a fashion would not meet the needs and requirements of our country.

Doubts have also been expressed as to whether the State Bank would be able to provide adequate rural credit. The problem of rural credit is so complex and complicated that an institution with so many obligations to perform and discharge would not be able to meet the multifarious needs and diverse requirements of Agricultural Economy.

There are critics who have criticised the compensation clause of the State Bank Act. The compensation offered is highly favourable to shareholders. The shareholders of the Imperial Bank should have been paid 25 per cent of the share value and compensation thereon should have been according to the slab system, that is, with increasing share-holding the rate of compensation should have been lower and lesser than for small share-holding.

It is also pointed out that the composition of the Board of Directors is highly undemocratic. That for 45 per cent of the shareholders there would be six elected directors on the Board of twenty is highly disproportionate and undemocratic. Hence it is urged that the directors should be elected on proportional basis. Proportional representation would help the democratic constitution of the Board.

The inroad of nationalisation in the Private Sector of Banking has created a sense of fear in the minds of the Private Sector of the Economy. It is said that the Government Policy of Mixed Economy which was the main plan of developmental policy enunciated in the First Five-Year Plan is giving place to extension of Public Sector to farthest length. Hence, the era of independence of the Private Sector or the Policy for co-existence of Private and Public Sectors side by side is gone. The Fourth Amendment of the Constitution of India has also created a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the Private Sector and hence it is just possible that the Private enterprisers may become shy in helping the developmental programme of the country.

The State Bank of India will be discharging the dual functions of commercial and agricultural banks. In the capacity of the agent of the Reserve Bank it will continue to function as the custodian of the funds of the Government. It will transact business on behalf of Government. It will continue to be the leader of the Indian Money Market. It will provide financial accommodation to the scheduled Banks. It will provide rural credit and act as an Institution for receiving deposits of the agriculturists. It will help co-operative movement and provide financial facilities to small-scale village industries. Thus in short, it will discharge commercial, agricultural, industrial and Governmental functions at the same time."

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* This paper was read at the sixteenth session of the All-India Agricultural Economic Conference held at Poona in December, 1955.

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SWAMI NIRMALANANDA IN AMERICA

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Out of seventeen immediate disciples of Sri Ramakrishna, those who were eldest to cross the oceans and preach the message of their Master in the New World were Swami Vivekananda, Abhedananda, Trigunatitananda, Turiyananda, Saradananda and Nirmalananda. Swami Vivekananda is the immortal inaugurator of the Vedanta Movement and his unique success in the Parliament of Religions is a landmark in the cultural annals of modern India. Swami Abhedananda followed the footsteps of the Master and spent about a quarter of a century in the West and crossed the Atlantic seventeen times for this purpose. Swami Trigunatitananda who is the founder of the Hindu Temple in Sanfrancisco became a martyr there after nearly fifteen years of hard work. The other three Swamis worked each for a few years there and returned to India to spread the movement in the motherland.

In the early part of 1903, Swami Nirmalananda came to Calcutta at the request of Swami Brahma-

nanda, the first President of the Belur Math from Kashmere where he stayed as the guest of Sri Nilambar Mukherji, the then Dewan of the State. Swami Abhedananda, who had proceeded to America seven years ago, desired to have Swami Nirmalananda as his lieutenant there since the work of the New York Vedanta Society of which he was the Head grew rapidly. Instructed by the President of the Mission Swami Nirmalananda left Belur on the thirteenth day of October, 1903, and sailed for America from Bombay on the fifteenth. He went by way of Naples and reached Geneva where he attended a religious conference and reached New York on Wednesday the 25th November via Atlantic Ocean. On arrival he was warmly received by his Gurubhai and the devotees and took up the work allotted to him. He assisted Swami Abhedananda in his presence and occupied his place in his absence from the city. He set himself to work in his masterly way and won the esteem and affection of all who contacted him. He proved himself quite efficient and equal to the practical Americans. He introduced the practice of daily meditation for the members of the Society and also organised a Sanskrit class for them. The earliest available report of his American work was in connection with an anniversary meeting held by the Society in memory of its illustrious founder Swami Vivekananda in January of 1904. It appeared in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. IX, p. 34) of Calcutta and contains as follows:

"Swami Nirmalananda next read a paper especially interesting to all who listened; because it gave many facts concerning Swami Vivekananda unknown to his American friends and described in a picturesque manner some of the events of the Swami's early life as a Sannyasin when he was preparing for the great mission later achieved by him."

He also chanted in the meeting some passages of the Vedas that were particularly favourite to Swami Vivekananda. At last Swami Abhedananda concluded the proceedings of the successful function and spoke of the importance of Swami Nirmalananda's hard work and of the new impetus he had already given in certain directions. At the celebration of the Birthday of Sri Ramakrishna he conducted in the same hall devotional exercises from half past three to five in the evening.

Soon after his arrival in New York he assumed to a great measure the direction of the Yoga class at the Society and left Swami Abhedananda free to accept invitations to lecture outside the city and in the United States of America. It is learnt from a report published in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. X, p. 16), the following information about his work. In 1904, for the first time since the establishment of the Society, there was no break throughout the summer as Swami Nirmalananda remained constant in charge and carried on the Yoga classes uninterrupted. This was a source of great satisfaction and inspiration to the members of the society who were unable to leave the city and still more to those who resided elsewhere and stayed in New York for short periods.

Early in 1905 Swami Abhedananda was invited to Canada to deliver a series of lectures. During his absence Swami Nirmalananda took the charge of the New York Society. It was then that he delivered his first Sunday lecture and the subject selected by him was the Vedic conception of God. The clarity and force of his thought as well as the ease and fluency of his exposition disproved conclusively the claim he had always made that he was not a public speaker. Eminent scientists like Prof. Parker of New York also used to attend his discourses. Prof. Parker who was a great admirer of Kapila enthusiastically said one day to Swami Nirmalananda, "What a wonderful man was your Kapila, Swami? In fact, he was the father of science as well as philosophy."

While in India, Swami Nirmalananda spent several years in practising penance in Chamba, a State in the Himalayas. Sri Karam Singh, the then Magistrate and the Raja and other high officials of the State were intimately known to him. From New York Swami Nirmalananda wrote several letters to Sri Karam Singh some in English and a few in Hindi. One letter written on 30th September, 1904 is as follows:

"My dear Karam Singh, your loving note of the 22nd July last duly come to my hand. I was delghted to read it. I am glad to learn that you with all your friends there are doing perfectly well. I hope under the rule of the new Raja you will have every improvement in the Chamba State, and the subjects will be much more happy and prosperous. I am extremely sorry to hear that you lost your new-born child. May God bless you with another child who will live long and make you happy. Give my blessings to your father Captain Sri Kanta and his retinue. It is getting cooler and cooler here every day. We expect to have a very cold winter this year here. With my blessings and love.—Yours affectionately, Swami Nirmalananda."

Another letter written on 24th February, 1905, runs as follows:

"My dear Karam Singh,—I was very much pleased to receive your letter and to learn that you are all enjoying perfect health. The *chaplis, dhupa* and a photo of Chamba town have reached me safely yesterday. I was very glad to receive them and I thank you very much for the same. At present there are four Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission in U.S. America. It is very cold here this year. The streets are all covered with snow 5 or 6

feet thick. I do not know how long I shall have to stay here. It may be five or six years more and then I may return to India. I am glad to learn that my friends in Chowtra Mohalla in Chamba town are doing well. Please tender my blessings and love to each of them respectively and accept the same yourself. I am all right here. Trusting this will find you all hale and hearty.—Yours sincerely, Swami Nirmalananda."

Through the joint efforts of the two Swamis the work of the New York Society flourished in a short time and expanded outside the city and a Vedanta centre was started in Brooklyn. Swami Nirmalananda assumed the direction of that centre also. A room for the meeting of the Yoga classes was engaged in the building of the local Historical Society, and the work of the new centre went on in it. Swami Nirmalananda was always ready to extend help and advice to all members and friends and to all seekers of Truth. All who came in contact with him felt themselves benefitted thereby. Besides holding Yoga classes, giving lectures and teaching Sanskrit he also expounded the Upanishads to a small group of interested people as he was doing at the Belur Math. Like Swami Vivekananda, he was particularly interested in broadcasting the universal gospel of the Upanishads in America. He also spoke to American devotees of the wonderful life of Sri Ramakrishna and his apostles and of Indian culture and thought in general. "They listened to every word of his with intense interest," writes a correspondent, "for Swami Nirmalananda seemed to transport us to India, so clearly and earnestly he spoke." The impression which he made on his hearers, students and friends was so fast that time could not fade it. After thirty years' silence Mr. Charles F. Gray, A.I.E.E., writes to him for spiritual instructions. As the Swami was ready to teach so was he ready to learn. Once when a nurse brought him his diet he said he did not like it. "You mean, Swamiji, you do not care for it," said the nurse. At once Swami Nirmalananda caught the subtle difference in the expression and thanked the nurse for the necessary correction.

The teacher of Vedanta wore no solemn mien; the master of Yoga had no mysterious air about him. Simple and mirthful as a child, free and joyous as a school boy he shed genial lustre wherever he went. But deep beneath the plain exterior lay the austere ascetic and fiery monk. One glance of his pierced the thickest mask and the cleverest fraud stood exposed. In New York, there was a Psychic Research Society which called up and exhibited ghosts. Once Swami Nirmalananda was taken to it by some friends. Its proprietor was a lady named Miss Muller who herself had a ghostlike countenance. She asked which ghost they wanted to see. Swami Nirmalananda told that he would like to see the ghost of a Red Indian. The host led him to a room where there was a pale bluish light. Soon a ghost appeared. All on a sudden Swami Nirmalananda, the dare-devil as he described himself, sprang forward and caught hold of the ghost's hand and shook it heartily. Instead of being aerial and intangible it was as hard as iron. Swami Nirmalananda then led the ghost three times round the room. It had no power of locomotion by itself. The fraud was thus exposed. A scientist who had accompanied Swami Nirmalananda wanted to see the ghost of a famous scientist and a ghost duly appeared. When asked about a well-known scientific formula, the ghost blushed. It was a clear case of false personation. Swami Nirmalananda had many such strange experiences in America. He remained there for about three years working so whole-heartedly and giving so much satisfaction that his devotees, students and friends were mortified to part with him. "But," in the words of Swami Ramakrishnanda, "urgent calls from his native land made him come back for the regeneration of his own motherland."

Sometime in 1906 Swami Nirmalananda returned to India healthier and stronger. Direct contact with the New World added to his experience broadened his outlook, made him conscious of his own powers and enabled him to understand deeper the message of his Master. After working in North India for some time he went to South India in response to a request of Swami Ramakrishnanda, the founder of the Ramakrshna Mission in Madras. He worked intensely and incessantly for about four decades in Madras, Travancore, Malabar, Cochin and other provinces, in the south and started many centres of R. K. Mission there. He passed away in 1938 in Ottapalam, Malabar, where his body was cremated and a memorial temple was erected over it by his devotees. He was born in Calcutta in 1863, the very year in which Swami Vivekananda was also born and lived a long life of about 75 years. I had the privilege of meeting him at the Belur Math and hearing his inspiring conversations there. When he discoursed on religion and philosophy he roared like a lion and the audience felt inspired. In fact, he was a lion of Vedanta, a worthy apostle of his Master and an immortal son of Mother India.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

By NIKHIL MAITRA

Sir Winston Churchill's exit from British politics is in itself doubtless most important, but it would seem absurd if somebody said it marked the end of the Victorian period. Yet, how very perilously near this did Mr. Attlee go in his comments as leader of the official opposition:

"The retirement from active political life of the Right Honourable gentleman, the member from Woodford, does indeed mark the close of an epoch. He is the last survivor in this House of those who served in Queen Victoria's reign . . . In the length of his political career he rivals Palmerston and Gladstone."

Nevertheless, if the truth is to be told, the curious thing to say is in this case also the correct thing, namely, that the Victorian period in British politics lingered in the person of Sir Winston Churchill. He was a Victorian survival.

A personality is an influence and probably therefore indivisible, but, even so, it is possible to study it in cross-sections. First, consider Churchill as a writer. Nearly all that he has written is historical writing. We know of only one other man who was made a Nobel Laureate in Literature for writing history, and that was Theodore Mommsen. Edward Augustus Freeman, himself an historian, said of Mommsen:

"The greatest scholar of our times, wellnigh the greatest scholar of all times . . . language, law, mythology, customs, antiquities, coins, inscriptions, every source of knowledge of every kind, he is master of them all."

Mommsen's history was on a much larger canvas than any of Churchill's histories. The latter are limited only to certain brief periods, though worked out intensively. So then, if the smallness of canvas is not a disqualification, there is no reason why it should be,—how can we forget Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*? Or fail to note that the Nobel Academy only covered itself with ridicule by not honouring it? Public memory is not only short, but probably non-existent. What passes for public memory is, in reality, "public amnesia." We have forgotten Jules Michelet already and he belonged to only mid-nineteenth century. The printing press turns out tons of rubbish everyday, and, as the rubbish mounts, the treasures get buried deeper and deeper. It is only left to archaeologists to exhume them.

The Nobel Prize in literature, of course, is by no means the ultimate recognition of human wisdom. There has always been criticism of its fiats and from persons not too unimportant. A. G. Gardiner, it may be recalled, discussing Rudyard Kipling, who had been honoured by the Nobel Academy, complained that goldsmiths were being passed over and blacksmiths applauded. So let it be with Trotsky.

Churchill's prose reminds one of Burke, and Burke reminds one of Harold Laski's comments that his "ignorant rhetoric" prevented the implications of the French Revolution from being fully understood in England. How many great movements outside Western Europe, we may ask, has Sir Winston's rhetoric helped to be fully understood in England? We pause for a reply.

The compulsions of rhetoric seemed to be inescapable in Churchill's prose. When he says: 'Let us survey this dark and wide field," one senses and feels that the field, if it is 'dark' must also be made 'wide' for the sake of rhetoric and *vice versa*. We happen to know of great prose without any rhetoric at all. For instance, the few lines of Abraham Lincoln which the Oxford University honours itself by displaying on the wall "as a model of pure and exquisite diction which has never been excelled."

Dear Madame,

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which would attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost. And the solemn pride must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
A. Lincoln

We know also some great orations without rhetoric. Listen again to Lincoln whose following sentences Lord Curzon, then Chancellor of Oxford University, declared to be "the purest gold of human eloquence, nay of eloquence almost divine";

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continues until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toils shall be spent, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for this widow, and his orphan to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

In our own times, we have known the silver-tongued oratory of Srinivas Sastri, heard him speaking against the repressive laws that tamper with civil liberties, with the white heat of passion, but without rhetoric. And now listen to this from Sir Winston. It is from one of his letters to President Roosevelt:

"At this moment, when the New Year opens in storm, I feel my duty on behalf of the British Government, and indeed of the whole British Empire to tell you, Mr. President, how lively is our sense of gratitude and admiration for the memorable declaration which you made to the American people and to the lovers of freedom in all the continents on Sunday last. We cannot tell what lies before us, but with this trumpet-call we march forward heartened and fortified, and with the confidence which you have expressed that in the end all will be well for this English-speaking peoples and those who share their ideals."

Take again his description of Harry Hopkins:

"His was a soul that flamed out of a frail and failing body. He was a crumbling lighthouse from which there shone the beams that led great fleets to harbour....There he sat slim, frail, ill, but absolutely glowing with refined comprehension of the cause. It was to be the defeat, ruin, and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties or aims. In the history of the United States few brighter flames have burned."

Not without reason, indeed, has Churchill, the writer, never been in the front rank of British writers or British intellectuals of the twentieth century.

Now consider Churchill the statesman. What his statesmanship is worth history perhaps has not said yet; but if it has, it may have to revise its verdict. For, unlike Churchill, history does not retire. The dismemberment of Genrmany, which was his handiwork and which is far more ominous for world-peace than either the dismemberment of India or of Korea is now the rock on which the U.N.O. may founder. His attitude to colonial nationalism has yet to be proved to have been in the best traditions of statesmanship. His success as a politician, in a short range of things, has been exceedingly great. And it is not belittling him to say that, as a politician, he has been as great as one can be without much statesmanship. He has been the great sentinel of England, first against the menace of Hitler and then against the menace of international communism. His Foulton speech will remain, as long as the menace of Communism lasts, as one of the earliest and ablest political prognostications of our time.

He was incontestably the man who pulled England through, during the Second World War. But history will have to decide very carefully about the value of the Munich agreement as well, how far it was aimed at the isolation of Russia and also how far it gained for England some essential time to prepare. There has never been in the whole of English history a war-leader as spectacular and inspiring as Sir Winston. The totality of the concrete results of the work of Pitt or of the Duke of Marlborough might have been greater or might not have been, but none of them was half as meritricious or showy. His rhetoric communicated to his hearers an energy that transcended many limitations, though inevitably it created its own greater limitations. If the ultimate measure of oratory is the immediate success achieved, Churchill's oratory was supero, because it triumphed while Hitler's oratory, though by every other standard perhaps greater, was ruinous, because it failed. His peroration calling upon Englishmen to defend their country with "blood, sweat and toil" is borrowed from Garibaldi's call to arms, but it achieved its purpose consummately, when it kindled mass enthusiasm.

His versatility has been not only immense, but monumental. His vigour and vitality have been overwhelming and volcanic and his interests and pursuits encyclopaedic. Not until we get back to the Renaissance do we find such a character again. Taken all in all, where do we find his equal now?

METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS OF CHARVAKA

By NARESH NATH MAITRA, M.A.

It may be pointed out first of all that the Metaphysics and Ethics of Charvaka occupies a prominent place in so far as Indian philosophy is concerned. Before I proceed to discuss something aoout the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, I should like to speak first, what is meant by metaphysics and ethics. The reason is clear. Unless the readers are quite clear about the definitions of metaphysics and ethics, they will not be able to understand Charvaka.

What do we mean by metaphysics and ethics? The students of philosophy must have studied that metaphysics is the theory of reality and ethics means the science of morality. This is what we understand by metaphysics and ethics.

Now I am in a position to enter into a detailed discussion about the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, the Indian philosopher. It must be noted here in this connection that Charvaka, we know, was a distinguished ancient sage who propounded the doctrine of materialism in Indian philosophy. He was out and out a materialistic thinker and not a spiritualist at all and for this, all his theories regarding metaphysics and ethics are based upon one central principle which may well be called materialism.

Now let me point out his well-known theories one by one. First, I proceed to refer to metaphysics, and shall try to show Charvaka's conception of it. Charvaka, we notice, is of opinion that so far as epistemology is concerned, perception may be regarded as the only source of knowledge and at the same time he has totally rejected other sources, namely, inference, testimony, etc., as held to be reliable sources by other Indian philosophers. Now from his theory of perception he maintains the view that all perceptible objects have existence and we can rationally assert the reality of these objects as well. He has further advocated that heaven, soul, God, life before birth and after death cannot be believed in as they are practically beyond perception. He points out by saying that material objects are the only objects whose reality can easily be established and hence he concludes that matter is the only reality.

Then Charvaka proceeds to point out that the material world is composed of four elements, namely, air, fire, water and earth and he has altogether denied the existence of another element named 'ether' which is regarded as a valid element by many thinkers of Indian philosophy. He has maintained the view that 'ether' is such a thing that it cannot be perceived by any means and hence its existence is not proved. Thus we notice, herein lies the difference of opinion between Charvaka on the one hand and most other Indian thinkers on the other.

Let me now speak a few words about the place of God in Charvaka's system from the metaphysical point of view. As I have discussed already that Charvaka is a materialistic thinker, so he has no faith in spiritualism and hence he holds that God's existence can not be established by any legitimate proof. He is of opinion that God does not exist on the ground that we do not perceive God. The material elements produce the world and the supposition of God as a creator is really unnecessary. This is the view of Charvaka, the Indian materialist.

Regarding the existence of human soul, it has been held by Charvaka that there is no soul as, like God, its existence cannot be perceived and from this it can be ascertained that the question of the immortality or future life of human soul as held by some philosophers both Eastern and Western, does not arise at all. This is Charvaka's conception of human soul. Thus I have discussed the metaphysics of Charvaka in a nutshell. . . . . Having discussed the metaphysics of Charvaka, I am at present proceeding to say something about his ethics. The readers must not forget that ethics is the science of morality and it discusses such problems as 'What is the highest goal of human life?' There are various views regarding this problem and I shall try to point them out one by one. Some Indian philosophers bear in mind that heaven is the highest goal of human life. This is the opinion of the Mimamsakas. But Charvaka has rejected this view of the Mimamsaka philosophers and maintains the view that 'heaven' and 'hell' are nothing but the inventions of the so-called priests of India. According to other philosophers, it is said that liberation may be regarded as the highest goal of human life. Here also Charvaka has criticised this view. Then what will be highest goal of human life? According to Charvaka, the views which have been just mentioned are not correct. He comes forward and holds that pleasure is the goal of human life and although he admits that there is pain in this world, yet he advises us to minimise pain and enjoy as much pleasure as we can. Charvaka has given his famous doctrine, "As long as you live, live merrily. Eat clarified butter even by borrowing." Thus we notice that he agrees with the hedonists whose doctrine is "Eat, drink, and be merry. For tomorrow you may die." For this reason. Charvaka's ethics may be called hedonism. This is the sum and substance of Charvaka's theory of ethics.

In conclusion, I must say here that Charvaka is a critical thinker and has saved Indian philosophy from dogmatism. For this, Indian philosophy is, indeed, indebted to Charvaka, the well-known materialistic thinker. Thus, he has become a prominent figure in the field of Indian philosophy.

WELCOME

(About the Soviet Organization—"Intourist")

By LILIAN POPOVA

If one can imagine the map of the world and all the routes which lead citizens of various countries to the Soviet Union and *vice versa*, one would be dazzled by the many arrows pointing to all the corners of the world. Just in 1954 alone, 814 Swedes, 449 Frenchmen, 760 Finns, 199 citizens from India, 11 from U.S.A. and 1,505 from Poland, members of cultural, public, sport and amateur art delegations, visited the U.S.S.R. And this is not the complete list!

In 1955, the flow of visitors to the Soviet Union was even greater. The political climate on the earth has become warmer and it is easier to travel on international routes after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Governments.

Foreigners not only come in delegations to the U.S.S.R., but thousands upon thousands of tourists want to acquaint themselves with the mode of life of the Soviet people and the sights of the country. In this respect, the year of 1955 may really be called a "fruitful" one. Journalists and bankers, farmers and businessmen, actors and senators were amidst the tourists. A Frenchman, Leo Bernheim, inspector of a life insurance company in Strasbourg, and a Norwegian employee Frederick Bergstroem, Henri Ambro, a lawyer from Casablanca, and a Chinese professor Ti Cheng Hui. A tourist from Pakistan, Czechoslovakian architects, American congressmen . . 1,500 tourists from the G.F.R. and the G.D.R. The German tourists were able to watch the football match between the picked team of the U.S.S.R. and the world champion, the Western Germany eleven, at the Moscow "Dynamo" Stadium in August.

If they come in groups—it is called mass tourism; alone or in families—they are called individual tourists. Both groups are serviced by the All-Union Society "Intourists." This Society has many ties with foreign companies such as: "Transtours" and "Gavasse Exprinter" in Paris, "Froehlich" in Hannover, "CIT" in Rome, "Thomas Cook and Son" in London, several tourist firms in the USA and others. By the way, Mr. King. a representative of an English firm, was recently in Moscow to negotiate about the prospects of tourism in 1956.

These ties were strengthened and extended after the Soviet society "Intourist" took part in the 10th Session of the General Assembly of the International Touring Alliance. which took place in New Delhi in October, 1955. "Intourist" joined this Alliance. Simultaneously it negotiated and signed a contract with the General Direction of the Indian tourist firm "Mercury Travel," to exchange tourists with India. The first tourists from India have already visited the USSR. This is just the beginning of a large flow of tourists from the friendly country, which will start in 1956.

"Intourist" has a large group of interpreter-guides at its disposal to serve its foreign guests. The guests are supplied with itineraries. The best hotel reservations are made for the tourists in the Soviet cities. For example, in Moscow they are made at the hotels "Savoy," "Metropole," "National," "Leningradskaya," "Grand Hotel," "Moscow;" and in Leningrad at the "Astoria" and "European" hotels. In the hotel restaurants the tourists may be served by the popular Russian cuisine or they may choose their own national dishes.

The tourists who plan to visit the Soviet Union may become acquainted with, and choose a route through the USSR by the representatives of "Intourist" in their own country. Now there are 15 such routes. Here are some of them. Leningrad-Kiev-Moscow (12 days); Moscow-Stalingrad-Rostov-Kiev-Leningrad (16 days); Leningrad-Kiev-Odessa-Yalta-Sochi-Tbilisi-Kharkov-Moscow (23 days).

Steamships, trains, airplanes, buses and automobiles are at the disposal of the tourists. A special tourist liner—"Peter the Great"—cruises between the Black Sea ports of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. This is a wonderful trip along the picturesque Southern sites. One of the largest groups of tourists to ever visit the USSR came in the summer of 1955, when 757 Frenchmen arrived on the Polish liner "Batory." When the Frenchmen were asked what they wanted to see most in the Soviet country, they replied: "tout"—everything. In Leningrad they visited the Hermitage, went to Petrodvircts. Then they came to Moscow and visited the Kremlin, the Underground, museums, the USSR Agricultural Exhibition; they saw the famous ballet "Swan Lake." Some manufacturers signed contracts with Soviet import and export firms.

All these routes are organised in such a way as to satisfy the different wishes of the tourists. But "Intourist" also meets the individual requests of its guests. For example, the Service Bureau quite willingly organised a trip for an Armenian from France to visit her relatives in Soviet Armenia; a journey for a Norwegian to his friend in Central Asia . . .

"Intourist" willingly meets the desires of its foreign guests which are quite diverse. One wishes to buy an ikon, another a Russian "Matrioshka"—wooden dolls which fit into one another, the third wants to visit a mosque . . .

In the autumn of the current year, 80-year-old Mrs. Williams from the USA came to the USSR. She has been a teacher all her life and was interested

in Soviet educational system. During her two-week stay in the Soviet Union she visited Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Central Asia. She met Kairov, the Minister of Education, and visited nurseries and kindergartens.

"Intourist" has large perspectives before it. The number of visitors to the Soviet Union is not only increasing every month, but more Soviet tourists are making trips through foreign countries. Large groups of Soviet people have been to Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria in 1955. In 1956, Soviet tourists hope to see the ancient Colosseum and the treasures of the Louvre, to visit the birthplaces of Shakespeare and Rabindranath Tagore. Besides this, new routes are being planned for foreign tourists in the USSR and particularly to Central Asia.

The Soviet society "Intourist" is not limiting the number of visitors to our country. No matter how many tourists wish to come to the USSR—they shall all be welcome. The more—the merrier! "Intourist" is ready to fulfil its noble task of helping to strengthen the contacts between nations and to promote mutual understandng among the peoples.

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ENGLISH RECORDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

By Prof. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
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Ever since Leopold von Ranke inaugurated the method of writing history on a scientific basis, it has been the aim of modern historians to base their account on the *"narrative of eye-witnesses and the most genuine documents"* preserved in the archives. Hence, in recent years there is a growing awareness of the need of publishing the vast mass of records stored in the National State Government archives. The volumes reviewed below testify to this fact and incidentally reveal the degeneracy in our national life at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(1) *English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. XIII, (Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy), Part II, 1816—1818. Edited by G. S. Sardesai, D.Litt. Published by the Government of Bombay. Pp. xvi+522. Price Rs. 28.

(2) *Selections from Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. VII, 1812-17. Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, President, Nagpur University Historical Society, Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Pp. xxx+667. Price Rs. 18.

(3) *Selections from the Orme Manuscripts* Edited by C. S. Srinivasachariar. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. Pp. xxv+394. Price Rs. 15.

While the Congress of Vienna under the guidance of Prince Metternich was laying the foundation of a new State system in Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, in India, the new political order which was rising upon the ruins of the Mughal empire was threatened with disruption. In 1814, the British had launched upon a war with the Gurkhas of Nepal and their initial reverses at the hands of the sturdy mountain-people stirred up the latent disaffection of the Indian chiefs whose influence and authority had been curbed by the British. Chief among these potentates was the Peshwa Baji Rao II, and the heads of the Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore and Nagpur. During the crisis of the Gurkha war, the Peshwa openly revived his claim for the restoration of his authority in Hindusthan, and applied, to quote Elphinstone's words, "For our consent to His Highness's granting *sunnuds* for his possessions of Dhar, Deori and Malhargarh." (*Nagpur Residency Records*, III, 441, and *Poona Affairs*, XII). He also asserted the rights of a suzerain over the other Maratha Ruling Houses; repudiated, for instance, the Gaekwad's desire of a separate treaty with the British, without a reference to him, saying, "Must he (Gaekwad) not come here to accept the robes of his office from the Peshwa." The resulting friction led eventually to the murder in Poona (21st July, 1815) of the Baroda emissary, Gangadhar Shastri, a rather extraordinary personality who combined a strict adherence to the ceremonial rites of a Brahmin, with the outward pose and demeanour of an Englishman (Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, I, 276). Shocked at such an atrocious outrage, Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, demanded at once the surrender of the Peshwa's Lieutenant, Trimbakji Dengle, who was suspected to have caused the assassination of a protege of the British Government. The Peshwa, a past-master in subterfuges, long prevaricated but was at length forced to submit to the Resident's demand, on the 26th September, 1815.

Nearly a year after this event, an episode as dramatic and sensational as the escape of Shivaji from the Agra prison, caused a stir in the whole of

Maharashtra. After his surrender Trimbakji had been delivered into the hands of the European guards and lodged in the fort of Thana. But he made a romantic escape from the prison on the 12th September, 1816, aided by a Maratha Syce and the ballad by which the deliverance was effected rang throughout Maharashtra:

"Where shall I find a Knight will ride,
The jungle parts with me?
There are five and fifty coursers there,
And four and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deccan thrives again."
—(*New History of the Marathas*, p. 471)

Shortly afterwards Trimbakji put himself at the head of an armed following and excited disturbances in Southern Maharashtra with the Peshwa's connivance and support. The Resident understood the covert game which Baji Rao was playing and after futile expostulation, cowed him down by the threat of using military force. The result was the treaty of Poona by which the Peshwa relinquished all his authority over the Maratha Chieftain.

From this time forward till his surrender at the hands of Malcolm, 1st June, 1818, the Peshwa harnessed to his aid the armed strength which his own people could offer and used all the diplomatic resourcefulness and subtle ingenuity of which a Chitpavan Brahmin was capable, to ring the British lion within the chain of a confederacy of disaffected Indian chiefs, yet in the eye of the historians Baji has remained the villain of the piece, the architect of his country's misfortunes and downfall. He had, no doubt, many failings and foibles and hastened the ruin of his State. But his ceaseless diplomatic manoeuvring—call it spider-like spinning of cob-webs, the final show-down and the resistance organised by his lieutenants, Trimbakji and Bapa Gokhle appear to be the last glows that reddened the Western horizon, on the eve of the sun-set of the Maratha power.

This notable drama of the overthrow of the Maratha power has been narrated in the last two volumes of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series. The State papers published in the volume under review consist of the documents bearing on the period, 1816-1818, and are classified by the veteran editor into four different sections : (1) Escape and Insurrection of Trimbakji Dengle, 1816-1817, (2) Treaty of Poona and After, 1817, (3) War with the Peshwa and His Pursuit, 1817-1818, (4) Settlement of the Conquered Territory, 1818. Sir Jadunath who has been along with Dr. G. S. Sardesai, the main inspiration behind the publication of this remarkable series contributes a learned introduction, while Dr. P. M. Joshi, archivist of the Bombay State adds a foreword.

The second volume under review embodies a miscellaneous mass of records which has been classified by the editor into various sections, such as (1) Bhonsla's Affairs, (2) Nizam's Affairs, (3) Peshwa's Affairs, (4) Sindhia's Affairs, (5) Pindaris, (6) Miscellaneous, (7) Trade and Commerce. The importance of this mass of documents lies in the picture presented of the period with which they deal. They show how the depravity of the ruling oligarchy and their mutual scramble for power caused the breakdown of the administrative machinery, and encouraged the growth of banditry all over the country. A few illustrations in support of this contention might be adduced from this volume.

The province of Berar, by the fertility of its soil and the industry of its population, was then, to quote the words of the British Resident, *"unquestionably the richest and most productive of the Nizam's dominions,"* but it was reduced to a wretched state by the violence of a body of predatory chiefs, called Naiks. According to the British Resident, they were "originally Zamindars, but having either suffered oppression from the government or seen a favourable opportunity of making themselves independent, *have thrown off their allegiance and maintained themselves in a state of avowed rebellion.*" Their following used to "rob all travellers and plunder indiscriminately the whole of the country round them" (pp. 90-91). Such a lamentable aspect of affairs sprang from the weakness of the Hyderabad Government. The Nizam was an imbecile; his two ministers Munir-ul-mulk and Raja Chandulal, worked at cross purposes. The former charged the latter with harbouring design to overthrow the Nizam in concert with the British Resident and the Nizam had to take measures for his own security by increasing the strength of his personal guards. Such a degeneracy on the part of the Head of the State bred contempt for the government and the city of Hyderabad itself became the scene of the most violent outrages, as reported by Jenkins.

"For some time past robberies have been committed every night in the city by bodies of armed men with torches and the inhabitants are left to defend themselves without any assistance from the government. People are openly assaulted and killed in the streets and during the last fortnight almost everyday has been marked by the commission of a murder without any attempt at concealment on the part of offenders or even the form of enquiry on the part of government."

The general insecurity in the country was aggravated by another element, *viz.*, the Pindaris. An idea of their rapacity and unchecked depredation may be obtained from the perusal of the documents published in this volume. For instance, letter No. 29 vividly portrays how the three Pindari leaders, Namdar Khan, Chitu, Mazhar Baksh proceeded delightfully in an excursion of loot from Sironj in Malwa to Seringpatam in Mysore.

During the return journey they wheeled back along the sea-coast as far as Raja Mahendry and thence struck their way across Amraoti and Seoni to their respective cantonments. Such periodic visitations affected seriously agriculture and industry and brought the country to the verge of ruin.

It is, however, to be regretted that the editorial work, so far as this volume is concerned, has not been executed with the attention it deserves, and therefore leaves much to be desired. Firstly, a number of letters already published in the twelvth volume of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* has been reprinted here. I draw them below in a tabular form with the corresponding number of their counterpart in the *P.R.C.* volume:

Nagpur Resy. Correspondence, Letters No.	*Poona Residency Correspondence*
12	79
13	80
15	89
22	94
28	105
29	107
31	115
48	165

The curious thing is that the documents in the *P.R.C.* are full, without any lacunae, but in the Nagpur Residency volume, letters are printed with gaps. Why did the editor forget to make the necessary insertions by a reference to the *Poona Residency* volume? And were these letters so important that they required reprinting? Secondly, on reading the editorial and summaries of letters one comes across sentences such as, *"Naiks had honey-combed the province,"* p. vii; again, *"Perhaps as a sort of counter-blast to this,* there started *talks about forming a union* between the Sindhia, Holkar and the Bhonsla *side by side with the overtures* between the Pindari chief . . . and the Government of the Sindhia," again, "Sindhia *changed his mode of life* to improve the *condition of his government";* which is not consistent with what is stated later, p. xv. Again, "The information . . . relates to the State of Holkar's affairs over which Amirkhan *wanted to dominate in exclusion of Meena Bai* (p. xvii). "The Nizam's brutality *by himself* beating to death some of his maid servants is mentioned" (p. 291). Printing mistakes and irregular spelling of proper names are numerous. For instance, "Malwan" in one place, Malwa in another; "Pushtoo pass" in Sirguja State, p. 31; 'if' in l 10, first para, p. 31, *should be* 'by'; 'by' l 2, last para, p. 59, *should be* 'my'; 'hither-to' p. 2, *should be* 'hitherto'; 'its" p. 64, *should be* 'its'; '1914' on p. 423, '1814'; 'Delay' on p. 278, 'Deny'; and the following words 'Shekh Jung' p. 121, 'Luhbers,' and 'Banra Baee' on p. 65, 'Kimbhaub,' p. 53, etc., are really queer. The third volume under review, offers, as its title implies, selections from the manuscripts compiled by Robert Orme and bears exclusively on the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic between 1746-58 A.D. It begins with the *Journal of the Coromondal War,* 1751—1753, as sketched by Capt. John Dalton. First Lieutenant under Admiral Boscawen, Dalton rose to Captain's rank in 1753. He wrote a narrative of the military transactions in which he participated in course of his voyage back to England in 1754. His letters written to Clive and Orme during 1762-64 form necessary epilogue to the above journal and are published here. The *French Capture of Madras in 1746,* as described by John Hallyburton, Secretary to Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras 1744-46, a witness and a participant in the struggle is the third chapter of this volume.

Of particular interest are the following chapters such as, (*i*) *The Expedition to Arcot in 1751,* as recorded by Dr. James Wilson, (*ii*) *Journal of the Army under the Command of Major Lawrence,* from April 21, 1753 to 11th October, 1754, (*iii*) The negotiations at London for the adjustment of the differences between the English and the French companies on the Coromondal Coast between 1753-54.

The volume closes with a chapter on the *Siege of St. David* and its surrender to Lally, 2nd June, 1758, recorded by Mr. Wynch and the correspondence between him and George Piggot, Governor of Fort St. George, 1758. A minor episode—Record of Puniaiyappa's plot against Muhammad Yusuf, Commandant of the Sepoy force under Strenger Lawrence, inserted in the middle relieves the monotony of military actions detailed in this volume.

The late Professor Srinivasachariar who edited this volume, has elucidated the obscurities of the archaic mid-eighteenth narrative by illuminating notes at the end of every chapter; while Professor Sathianathaier, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, has contributed a useful introduction. The volume is remarkably free from misprints; the printing and the get-up are equally good; the authorities of the Annamalai University deserve sincere congratulation for bringing out this excellent volume..

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 EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA: *By Hermann Goetz. Memoirs of the Kern Institute No. 1. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1955. With 16 plates, 12 text illustrations and 1 map.*

This scholarly monograph from the component pen of Dr. H. Goetz fittingly inaugurates a new series of publications (entitled "Memoirs") of the renowned Kern Institute of Leiden. The author who is an acknowledged authority on Indian art and archaeology gives us here a masterly account of the three earliest temples of the former State of Chamba in the Punjab Himalayas. These temples are the Lakshana Devi Temple at Brahmor, the Sakti Devi Temple at Chatrarhi and, the Markula Devi (Kali) Temple at Markula-Udaipur in Lahul. They were explored more than half a century ago by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, the then Superintendent of the Northern (Punjab) Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India who appropriately contributes an interesting foreword to this volume.

The author's originality consists in his seeking to discover, in the absence of sufficient light from the contemporary inscriptions and the *Vamsavalis,* the historical as well as the ethnological setting of these monuments. This is done with an astonishing wealth of erudition in the first three chapters of his work following his short Introduction and bearing the titles "The Brahmapura Kingdom and the beginnings of the Chamba State," "The remnants of Gurjara civilization" and, "The coming of Hindu art in the Himalaya." His conclusions (pp. 72-73) may be thus briefly stated. Speaking of the Brahmapura Kingdom known both to Varahamihira and Hsuang-tsang, he says that it was a Gurjara State founded late in the 6th century, later a vassal of the Mukharis and of Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, then of Lalitaditya of Kashmir, and destroyed by the Tibetan invasion under King Khrisrong lde-letsan. The "Gurjara" population of the Brahmapura Kingdom, he further thinks, was a medley of undefinable barbarian tribes, some with cultural traditions derived from Central Asia and even prehistoric Europe, most of them, however, frontier-Indians from the Hindukush and Pamir area. Viewed in this context the three early temples of Chamba primarily represent not a local style of architecture and sculpture, but a conscious import of the highly refined post-Gupta art into a barbarian country, comparable to the churches and other religious equipment executed by Syrian, Byzantine asd Italian architects and artisans for Charlemagne and his successors or the early churches and monasteries of Kiew designed by Byzantine masters and monks for the first Russian princes of the house of Rurik. In the two following chapters (Chapts. V and VI) the author gives a detailed description of the three temples with their accessories and then sums up his final estimate of the characteristics of their style. The Brahmor temple, he says (p. 104), represents the Rococo (7th century) phase of Gupta art coming after its classical (5th century) and its Baroque (6th century) phase. The Sakti Devi temple though still belonging to the same tradition represents the transition to a local school (p. 105). The Markula shrine is a work of Kashmir art probably of the reign of Anantadeva (1028-63) and built by his Queen Suryamati (pp. 112-13). These temples and sculptures, he concludes (p. 117), are the keys to the great periods in the art history of Asia and of the world. As the ruins of Pompeii permit us a rare glimpse of the civilization of the Roman Empire at its zenith or as the Ajanta frescoes give us some idea of the glory of classic Gupta and Chalukya art, in the same way the temples and images of Brahmor and Chatrarhi are representatives of the later Gupta art and Markula is the last remnant of the lost Kashmiri art.

From the above brief review it will appear that the present work is a most valuable contribution to the history of Indian art and archaeology in the post-Gupta period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE BIRTH OF PAKISTAN: *By Dr. Sachin Sen. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Pp. xi+199. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review consists of twelve chapters including 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion.' It is a running commentary on the evolution of the state of Pakistan with its historical background. The book may be divided into two parts: Chapters II to V deal with the historical background, and Chapters VI to XI give us an account of the events leading to the Partition of India.

The Hindus and Mussalmans lived as neighbours for centuries. This neighbourliness led to fusion of both the cultures amongst the rank and file, though this received severe setbacks from time to time. But during the early decades of the last century, the Wahabi movement, sponsored by an extremely orthodox section of the Mahomedans called the Wahabis sought to separate the one from the other. The leaders had two objects in view; one was religious and the other political. They wanted to revive the Moslem power in India. The other object was expressed in the following lines of their 'war-song' given in translation:

"Fill the uttermost ends of India with Islam, so that no sounds may be heard but 'Allah Allah'."

The movement spread amongst the Moslems from Chittagong to Peshwar, Patna being its headquarters.

The British Government at first tried to quell the movement by force of arms. They failed, and resorted to other means. And it was these 'means' that fostered the sense of separatism. Education must be extended to the Moslems, and as far back as the seventies "Muslem education" formed a special section of the Education Department of the Government, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a nationalist to the core, and once Secretary to the Aligarh Branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta, founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh with the noble intention of catering higher education to the Moslems. But this college later turned into a venue of separatism and its European principals influenced the Moslem leaders, from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan downwards, so much so that they became wedded to this cult and acted up to it most earnestly against the Indian National Congress. Sir Syed started the "Patriotic Association." Though this association had some loyalist Hindus,—Rajas and Maharajas—as its members, it was extremely reactionary, and sectional, too. This may be called the precursor of the Indian Moslem League of 1906, which was a purely sectional, or communal organisation. In the Indian Legislative Council, a Mahomedan member from Bihar advanced a plea for separate representation of the Moslems in the proposed Self-Government Bill of 1883. As a member of the Public Service Commission, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan supported the majority view with a note that the Civil Service examination should not be held in India on account of the dearth of Mahomedan candidates! To grasp the historical background of Moslem separatism, these points should also be noted.

The twentieth century dawned with ominous occurrences. The 'divide and rule' policy of Lord Curzon fanned the fire of separatism, which, with the advent of the next Viceroy Minto, got the new appellation of 'communalism.' The 1st October, 1906, stands as the parting of the ways. It was on this date that the Viceroy Minto acquiesced in the very distinct special claims of the Moslem deputation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. Since then the various claims of the Mahomedan community were met by the ruling authority. In the Morley-Minto Reforms these claims were for the first time met on the political plane. The Congress and the Moslem League entered into a pact, popularly known as the 'Lucknow Pact,' in which the communal claims of the Moslems were largely conceded. Lala Lajpat Rai criticised the Pact severely as it was later treated as a weapon to strike at the root of Indian nationalism by the designing fritishers and communally-minded Moslem leaders. Since the Non-co-operation Movement the leaders of the Congress adopted a policy of appeasement, and one concession to the Moslem demands, instead of appeasing, was instrumental for fresh ones. The author has dissected the political views of Maulana Muhammad Ali and successfully proved that though at one time he joined the national movement, he never renounced his communal views. It should be said in passing that he was a member of the infamous Moslem deputation headed by the Aga Khan. The author has narrated in a separate chapter how the writings in prose and verse of Sir Muhammad Iqbal supplied the philosophical background of the idea of a budding separate State in Western India for the Moslems, and also gave it the name of Pakistan.

With the intensification of the movement for independence, the British bureaucracy left no stone unturned in driving a wedge between the two communities. And their machinations bore fruit in the second Round Table Conference in London. The communal rift was almost complete. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India empty-handed, only to be clapped into prison. The "Government of India Act 1935" was framed on the extremely communal basis. The re-appearance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the Indian political arena gave a strong impetus to the cause of the communalist Moslems. The wrong approach of the Congress High Command to the new situation as well as the diplomacy of the ruling authorities in the Second World War gave premia to the inordinate Pakistan claim of the Mahomedan community. All the attempts of the Cabinet Mission failed, and the Congress leadership, tired and desperate, accepted the Mountbatten Plan, which sought to create two independent States. India was partitioned, and the Indian Union and Pakistan came into being as two independent States.

In the later chapters of the book the author has treated the subject thread-bare and in a dispassionate manner. He has not spared to criticise the actions of the top-ranking leaders of both sides. The birth of Pakistan was no less due to the dubious policy of appeasement pursued by the Congress for decades. To the student of recent Indian history and for those who wish to have a clear idea of the nature of the Congress leadership, the book will prove extremely useful. We commend this book to our readers.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

NEW HORIZONS: *By Wilfred Wellock. Published by Houseman's Bookshop, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N-4. Pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d.*

The author is a thinker and a dispassionate observer of the trends of events. So he sees what many do not or will not see. He is, as the reading of the brochure will show, a lover of Man and not of race. The theme of the brochure in the author's own words is:

"The root problem of our time is how to pass from a quantitative civilisation which fragments the human person to a qualitative civilisation which makes whole persons.

"The ways and means of doing this are considered in the following pages, but they obviously include a new industrial revolution and a new culture, or perhaps an old culture brought up to date."

This naturally leads to the consideration of the Industrial Revolution which has produced the Western civilization which the East has begun to ape or is looking wistfully to, says the author (p. 53):

"This civilisation, born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and impulses are weakening and as it wilts, despair grows, for there is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently no one dreamed that the new prosperity could require an alternative. It is only too evident that events have moved too fast for reflection and rational action. Before a sane judgment could be passed on one invention, another had captured the public imagination and outpaced the prophets, whose warnings thus fell on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western colossus of a misguided science is heading for destruction."

And again:

"When the main motive of labour and industry is switched from satisfying self-expression to money-making, men become machines and societies competitive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport, and on self-indulgences which they call fun (p. 21). Can peace emanate from such state? Yet they talk of peace. And they conveniently forget that peace today is synonymous with maintaining the *status quo*. And maintaining the *status quo* is the same as clinging fast to privileges gained by the have-nations at the expense of the have-not-nations. And as dogs quarrel and fight over a stick of bone, so too these have-nations fight with each other for markets for their mounting commodities and the sources of their raw materials. To quote from the author:

"Today we live in a fool's paradise, worshipping abundance yet wasting it in self-indulgence and costly armaments. The Western nations put the blame for the latter on Communism, and turn a blind eye to the basic fact that war is inherent in their very way of life . . . . It is plain self-deception to say that all our war-producing problems could be solved around a table, given a little good will. . . . A limit must be set to Western living standards, to luxury and self-indulgence, and to the demands of fashions and social status. Our highest wellbeing and world peace, world brotherhood and co-operation, demand it." (p. 93).

"The real enemy of mankind today is not Communism but the fear of it, and the materialism from which that fear springs, and which even now is preventing the anti-Communist block from challenging Communism with an effective alternative." (p. 34)

What is that alternative?

"Russia will be beaten by a life of high quality, not by power, unless civilisation entire is to crash with her." (p. 39)

That alternative the author says is the way of life Gandhi pointed to.

The brochure is thought-provoking. It is sure to run to many editions as companion volumes, *Man, the Unknown* (Dr. Alexis Carrel), and *Culture of Cities* (Lewis Mumford), have run to.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE PRESS AND ITS PROBLEMS: *By Mrinal Kanti Bose. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Limited, 1-C, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

The book under review from the pen of the veteran journalist Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose was published in 1945. Divided into 2 chapters this slender volume of 162 pages deals with various aspects of journalism. Written a decade back as it is, the volume contains much that is quite useful even today. Chapters VIII and IX dealing with the early history of the Indian press and the history of press restrictions in India, respectively, are of particular interest to students of Indian history. The rest are of interest more to the professional journalist than to the general reader.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN FREE INDIA: *By Indra Datt. Published by Indian Book Company, Ltd., Delhi. Price Rs. 6.*

India in slavery did not bother about the army organisation, or of Foreign office or the Diplomatic service. Freedom, however, has changed the complexion of affairs. External Affairs are no less important today than the Internal. Mr. Indra Datt's *Diplomatic Service in Free India* deals with the "mechansim of foreign policy with particular reference to India in the light of diplomatic theory and practice in other great countries of the world," among others. Young Indian aspirants after the I.F.S. will find the volume quite useful. The Glossary at the end explains a number of frequently used. but not always understood, diplomatic terms.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS: *Compiled by Bharata Ratna Dr. Bhagwan Das, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. Fifth Edition. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20. 1955. Pp. cii+904. D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 10.*

The author writes in the introduction: "While compiling this book and revising it again and again, the compiler has prayed constantly to the Great Masters of all the living religions, Manu, Krishna, Vyasa, Zoroaster, Moses, Isaiah, Laotze. Confucius, Buddha. Jina, Christ, Muhammad, Nanak and the Spiritual Hierarchy to which they all belong, for guidance of his fingers in this effort to serve his fellow men and women of all countries." The learned philosophers has spared no pains to compile the texts from different scriptures and put in his interpretations for the treaders on this path.

It was as early as 1866 that Brahmananda Keshav Chandra Sen of revered memory compiled and published the *Sloka-Samgraha* (compilation of Theistic and moral texts from the scriptures of all the great religions of the world) as a step towards the mutual understanding of the followers of those religions. He saw that religion was the greatest factor in the history of human civilization and that the Religion which would be the outcome of the sympathetic understanding of and active participation with all such religions was sure to usher in a still higher civilization, which he likened to the kingdom of Heaven. At Sri Keshav Chandra's instance, both in India and the West, outstanding personalities published similar compilations. Mrs. Annie Besant had published between 1913-15 *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals* in several parts. The present author has followed her footsteps and amplified the work considerably. The first edition of the book was published in 1932 and in course of the different editions considerable additions have been made. The book should be widely circulated and studied.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

1. TRIPLE YOGA: *Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*
2. YOGA IN DAILY LIFE: *Pp. 174. Price Rs. 3.*
3. EASY STEPS TO YOGA: *Pp. 260. Price Rs. 3.*

All the three books are by Swami Sivananda and published from Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book owes its origin to Messrs. Ramstedt of Stockholm and I. E. Downes of Australia who casually applied to the author for a correspondence course on Raja Yoga. Thus fourteen lessons on the subject were written in a succinct manner and sent to the correspondent students. Afterwards lessons on Bhakti Yoga and Jnana Yoga were written and two appendices added. These lessons contain commonplace instructions on the three Yogas and are suitable for the average aspirants.

The second book is now in the fourth edition and complete in twelve sections dealing with Bhakti Yoga, Raja Yoga, Karma Yoga. Hatha Yoga and other allied subjects. The tenth section contains short stories of fifteen saints of which Jaigisavya is little known. Jaigisavya was a *siddha yogi* and remembered all his previous incarnations. He is often referred to in Yoga literature and said to have told Rishi Avatya, "Com-

[illegible] to the infinite bliss of Kaivalya or Freedom [illegible] sensual pleasure derived from objects is mere pain." There is a description of Gandha Baba *alias* Swami Vijayananda of Banaras who had the miracle of producing any sweet meat by squeezing a piece of paper.

The third book now running into third edition is the first publication of the Divine Life Society of Rishikesh. The first edition of the book appeared in 1947 and was sold out in a few months. It contains simple practicable instructions on religious life which everybody can follow. It is complete in eight chapters dealing with mysteries of mind, methods of meditation, yogic exercises and similar subjects. Pictures of [illegible] should have been given for a correct understanding of their technique.

All the three books are essentially on the same subject and often overlap each other.

SWAMI JAGADESWARANANDA

FRENCH

LES ESPRITS DES FEUILLES JAUNES: *By [illegible] Bernatzik. Published by Librairie Plon, Paris. 1955. With 17 plates, 61 illustrations, and two maps. Pp. 302. Price 960 frs.*

Dr. Bernatzik, the Austrian anthropologist, and his wife brought back from their expedition to the Indo-Chinese peninsula in 1936-37 a considerable collection of anthropological data which they have incorporated in a series of monographs on the various peoples which they studied. This book originally published in German in 1951 and intended for the French public has been translated into French by Mademoiselle Vannier. The French ethnologist Georges Condominas has critically annotated the French edition and has supplied a bibliography.

From the extract terms the part of South-East Asia, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia has been the scene of north to south migrations of peoples and there is some of the darkest jungles as well as in the isolated mountainous regions the primitive inhabitants were, when the [illegible] found them, practically untouched by [illegible] civilization.

The [illegible] primitive peoples described in this book are the Moken of the Mergui Archipelago, the Semang of the Malay forests, the Phi Tong Luang of northern Thailand, are all semi-nomadic. The last two groups are nomadic bands of hunters who have collections of forest produce which they barter with their neighbours, the first, the Moken, are sea-gipsies of South-East Asia proper. They live on boats and move about in search of fish and sea products. The authors have described the whole way of life of some of the peoples [illegible] Semang and Moken, who practise [illegible] a system by which the land is cleared, farmed, cultivated and then left to revert to forest, can be indulged only when [illegible] Reserves of virgin forest that [illegible] are fast disappearing and [illegible] are gradually being forced to move [illegible] a primitive community is found up with [illegible] the author [illegible] are becoming exposed to [illegible] agricultural [illegible] of social life is threatening to [illegible] the primitive peoples is [illegible] the spread of missionary activities—activities of which Dr. Bernatzik is extremely critical. He emphasizes that the spread of Christianity in Asia is not a pure matter of belief, it is more significantly a movement to link the believers with European civilization which enjoys greater power and certainly greater prestige. The spread of Christianity and with it a new pattern of society and belief has led here, as elsewhere, to the deflation of the authority of the village chiefs and to a consequent bewilderment among the villagers on account of the disappearance of traditional leadership. Moreover, the rivalry of the various religious sects tends to engender discord amongst the converts, which in turn creates conditions open to much easy exploitation by political agitators.

To the layman the most interesting part of the book is perhaps the description of the months of searching over the most difficult country for the nomadic peoples. The Phi Tong Luang, which means "The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves," were so little known even among the local inhabitants that they were believed to be mythical. The Bernatziks were the first Europeans actually to live with them. The nomadic instincts of these people are so strong that they never stay in one place more than three or four days. The only way to study them was therefore to go on hunting expeditions with them. There are some exciting accounts of tiger and buffalo hunting with primitive weapons. The author also gives very vivid descriptions of long treks through the deep dark forests and of the eeriness of the jungle at night. The world of the Moken is a world inhabited by a galaxy of spirits. The Moken have fascinating legends some of which the authors have recorded.

The material for such studies is fast disappearing and therefore the data collected by these expeditions are of great value to scientists, historians and to administrators, to the administrators particularly, since they have to deal with the problems raised by the impact of larger economic development on peoples inured for centuries by habit and custom to a primitive and simple means of livelihood.

The book would have been more instructive and of broader interest if the author had given a general account of the racial affinities of the different peoples and of their migrations, particularly of his theory that the Polynesians and Melanesians are closely related to the Moi of Indo-China.

There are good photographs in the book but more maps would have made it much easier to follow the movements of the expedition.

MARGARET BASU

BENGALI

MAHAPRAN SIR DANIEL MACKINON HAMILTON: *By Kalipada Bhattacharyya. Published by Sir Daniel Hamilton Estate, Gosaba, 24-Parganas. Pp. 30. Price eight annas.*

Sir Daniel Hamilton, senior partner of Mackinon Mackenzie & Co. of Calcutta was not only a successful and wealthy businessman but also a man of sympathy for the poor peasants and the middle class people. He invested a huge sum to build up a Co-operative Colony at Gosaba which has proved a success after a good deal of struggle at its initial stage. There is now all-round progress in agriculture, small industries, health and education on co-operative lines and Gosaba is now a place of pilgrimage to co-operators all over India. The author could have done well if he made use of statistics and figures in presenting the picture of progress of co-operatives at Gosaba. The book is well-written and deserves wide circulation among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SAMAJ MANOVIGNAN: *By Shivanand Sharma. Friends Book Depot, Allahabad-1. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book deals with social psychology, scientifically and critically. It analyses the individual as well society with all their respective traits and tendencies and reactions in several situations and circumstances. The author has largely drawn upon standard works on the subject. His work, therefore, is packed with adequate information and interpretation. It is, consequently, a very good introduction to social psychology for those who have no access to the original standard writings of Western writers.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHHAPANO BHUT: *By Siavaksh E. Dalal. Printed by the Mazda Printers, Bombay-1. 1950. Cloth cover. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 5.*

"Journalistic Ghost" is a special Reporter who in his progressive capacity turns up at odd places at odd times. Mr. Dalal began life as an office boy in a local journalist's office in Bombay and by his native intelligence ended in the Proprietorship and Editorship of his own paper. The vicissitudes of a Reporter's life in and outside Bombay, Delhi and Rajkot are set out here with a raciness and a sense of humour peculiar to the community—Parsi—to which he belongs. He gives his own impressions of about fifty men who have been prominent citizens or writers or solid workers. A supplement gives his impression of the Race Course and the Racing Circles of Bombay. Altogether the book is both chatty and serious and would be liked much for its lighter side.

(1) PRASHNOTTAR RATNAMALA AND JIVAN MUKTA ANAND LAHARI: *By Girijashank M. Shastri. Price three annas.*

(2) ANTAR NIRIKSHAN: *By N. Porbandar. Price Re. 1.*

Both are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

The first book is Shankaracharya's series of questions and answers on philosophical subjects translated into simple Gujarati from the original Sanskrit and the second *Antar Nirikshan*, a treatise on self-introspection by Col. Sir Natwarsinghji, K.C.I.E., Maharana of Porbandar, the birth-town of Gandhiji. Its contents proclaim him to be a great thinker and philosopher. One wonders how such a silent but powerful thinker, who has buried himself in contemplation, meditation and introspection, could have become a cricket captain of international fame. The questions and answers are terse, crisp, to the point and enlightening. The Maharana is more fit to be a forest-dweller than a sitter on a king's throne.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Emerson's Advice to a Nation Growing Up

There can be no question that Emerson wielded a not inconsiderable influence in his lifetime upon contemporary thought. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Rodolphe Louis Megroz deals selectively with the practical side of Emerson's thought:

In 1803, when the United States of America was only half-grown geographically, and very young in national consciousness, the New England essayist and philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was born at Boston. He became a Christan minister, like his forebears, in a sect called Unitarian. At the age of twenty-nine he retired as a preacher, as his views on certain questions aroused the disapproval of the congregation. This was a good thing in so far as it encouraged him to visit Europe, especially England, and to study at closer quarters some of the sources of American civilization. Such a collection of pieces as *English Traits* shows how openminded and independently critical he remained, and the long correspondence with several distinguished British writers which he afterwards maintained did something to broaden the views of each other in the two nations.

Emerson, after his return to America, still preached on occasion by invitation and also lectured as well as published many essays and prose studies. It became apparent that a mind of uncommon range and wisdom, by a remarkable mixture of poetry and philosophy, was presenting in a fresh way for the Western world of his time a wide range of ancient ideas that called for new and urgent application.

The student of Emerson's biography and writings will not need to be told that he owed much to Oriental and non-Christian sources of wisdom, but the attribute of his teaching that is most interesting today is its frequent application to the problems of the new nation of which destiny had made him a part. A crude, materialistic, vigorous nation; confident, though not always in the right way; alert to every means of "progress" towards its mighty future, although forgetful of, and often blind to, the more important values. In fact in their hurry and revolt Americans were in danger of adopting only the merely materialistic values of the industrial revolution that was transforming their parent civilization; and Emerson saw that their danger was the greater because they were removed from many of the artistic, literary and academic influences of their European background.

In *Essays*, a rich compendium of practically all his thought, there are many indications of his sense of universal religious wisdom—he was indeed a theosophist with a label, seeking truth everywhere, shorn of occidental and local trimmings. And constantly in these comparatively disinterested essays he has something to say to the nation as if by the way, just as, when he directly lectured on the prospects and problems of growth of the United States, he passed from the practical and hortatory to the symbolic and universal. Let us glance through the *Essays* first. Although every page is seamed with wise sayings, it should be possible to select a few for adequate illustration. In "The Poet" he observes: "The Universe is the externization of the soul," by which he does not mean to exclude the intellect, but to establish a more complete truth. So in "The Over-Soul":

"All goes to shew that the soul in man is not an organ, but animates and exercises all the organs....is not a faculty, but a light."

And:

"What we commonly call man,—the eating, drinking, planting, counting man,—does not, as we know him, represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him we do not respect; but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend. When it breathes through his intellect, it is genius; when it breathes through his will, it is virtue; when it flows through his affection, it is love."

His independence of sectarian and institutional creeds is further emphasized in more explicit passages, like this from "Self-Reliance":

"And so the reliance on Property, including the reliance on governments which protect it, is the want of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and at things so long, that they have come to esteem .....the religious, learned, and civil institutions, as guards of property, and they deprecate assaults on these, because they feel them to be assaults on property."

In the essay on "Politics" he urges that in dealing with the State we should not forget that its institutions are but human in origin and alterable to meet new circumstances, though politics are not to be treated with levity, as they rest on necessary foundations:

"Republics abound in young civilians, who believe that the laws make the city; that grave modifications of the policy and modes of living, and employments of the population; that commerce, education, and religion, may be voted in or out; and that any measure, though it were absurd, may be imposed on a people, if only you can get sufficient voices to make it a law. But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting; that the State must follow, and not lead, the character and progress of the citizen; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of; and they only who build on Ideas, build for eternity; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it."

Although these disjointed extracts are deprived of the support of Emerson's associated ideas, they seem remarkably little "dated" when we consider all that has happened to the world since he wrote. Typical of all the essays was one of the earliest, and longest, that on "Nature," which was published in the volume entitled *Nature: Addresses and Lectures*. This accepted the contemporary cult of non-human nature, as healer, restorer, inspirer, but transformed it into a recognition that "if there were good men there would never be this rapture in nature," for man has fallen from his true estate though he is a kind of microcosm of all nature.

It was not long after writing *Nature*, about five years after his first European tour, that Emerson delivered several addresses and "orations" which appeared in the same volume. In some of these we see him at his best and most direct as adviser and inspirer of the young citizens of a young nation, urging them to avoid the stereotyped, and never to forget that man is an individual with the truth inside him and that he is essentially more than his particular function in the social system of division of labour. He complained that the organization of society changed men into things. In "The American Scholar," an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, on August 31st, 1837, he reminded them that every year at their meeting the members of the Society really read one more chapter of the biography of the American scholar. He recalled an ancient fable that conveyed unlooked-for wisdom:

". . . . the gods, in the beginning, divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself; just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its end.

"The old fable covers a doctrine ever new and sublime; that there is One Man—present to all particular men only partially, or through one faculty; and that you must take the whole society to find the whole man. Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all."

In the distribution of functions, the scholar, according to Emerson, becomes the dedicated intellect:

"In the right state, he is *Man Thinking*. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking."

The great influences affecting the spirit of the true scolar include nature, which must be closely studied, not merely admired, and the mind of the Past best conveyed in books; but each age must write its own books, Emerson warns:

"The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation,—the act of thought,—is transferred to the record. Instanly the book becomes noxious; the guide is a tyrant. The sluggish and perverted mind of the multitude, slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having opened, having once received this book stands upon it and makes an outcry, if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking; by men of talent, that is, who start wrong, who set out from accepted dogmas, not from their own sight of principles."

In other passages of the same oration Emerson prevents any misconstruing of his meaning by emphasizing the kinds of diligent reading indispensable to the wise man, including "history and exact science"; but the colleges "must aim not to drill but to create":

"Gowns, and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance, whilst they grow richer every year."

With all his warnings to the youthful "dedicated intellects" who must help their nation, urging the sluggard intellect of the country to "look from under its iron lids

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Contributions of Indian Women to Spiritual Life

In the course of an article in *Prabudh Bharata* Dr. Roma Chaudhuri observes :

From time immemorial, India has been a land o supreme spiritualism and lofty humanism, a land whos civilization started with reverential bows to the On Universal spirit, as the Inner Soul, and Permeatin Essence of all; a land that invoked Him through numer rous *mantras*, hymns, rites and rituals, and philosophi cal discourses. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate pride to us that in these spiritual strivings and achievements of this holy land, our beloved Mother, her sons and daughters have taken equal parts and contributed equal shares, right from the beginning, and continued to do so all through her chequered history down to the present age. In this very short article, it will be our endeavour to give a very brief account of the spiritual achievements of Indian women throughout the ages, by taking just a few examples only for each age.

During the Vedic Age, as well known, women enjoyed the same social privileges as men, and were given the very same opportunities for education, secular and spiritual. As a result, women also reached the heights of spiritual perfection, and showed others the way to it by their superb utterances and inspiring hymns. Hence the *Rig-Veda*, the oldest treatise in the world, has won the distinction of being the only Scripture in the world that includes the works by women saints. Thus, out of the total ninety-nine *Risis* or Seers, the products of whose divine vision enrich this peerless treasure-trove of perfect wisdom, the *Rig-Veda*, as many as twenty-seven are women according to the celebrated *Brihad-devata* of Saunaka, an *upakramanika* or introduction to the *Rig-Veda*. The renowned commentator of the Vedas Sayana, has added two more to the list. Of course, a doubt has sometimes been raised that all these so-called Women Seers are not actual historical personalities, as some of the names (e.g. Urvasi etc.), are mere mythological, while some others (e.g. Ratri etc.), stand for natural phenomena and others still (e.g. Sraddha etc.) for mental qualities. However, there can be no doubt with regard to the fact that during the Vedic Age, there did flourish some great Women Seers who enthralled the land by their sublime hymns of great spiritual, as well as literary, value. Otherwise great scholars, like Saunaka and Sayana, would not have, in later times, referred to them unreservedly as *Risis* and *Brahmavadinis*.

Of all the women seers of the *Rig-Veda*, the most celebrated is Vac, daughter of the great sage Ambhrna. She illustrates how a woman can reach the highest pinnacle of knowledge and realization, and be blessed with the beatific vision of the Unity of Godhead and the Identity of the Absolute and the Self. Thus, having directly realized the non-difference between her own self and God and the Universe, Vac sings out in ecstasy:

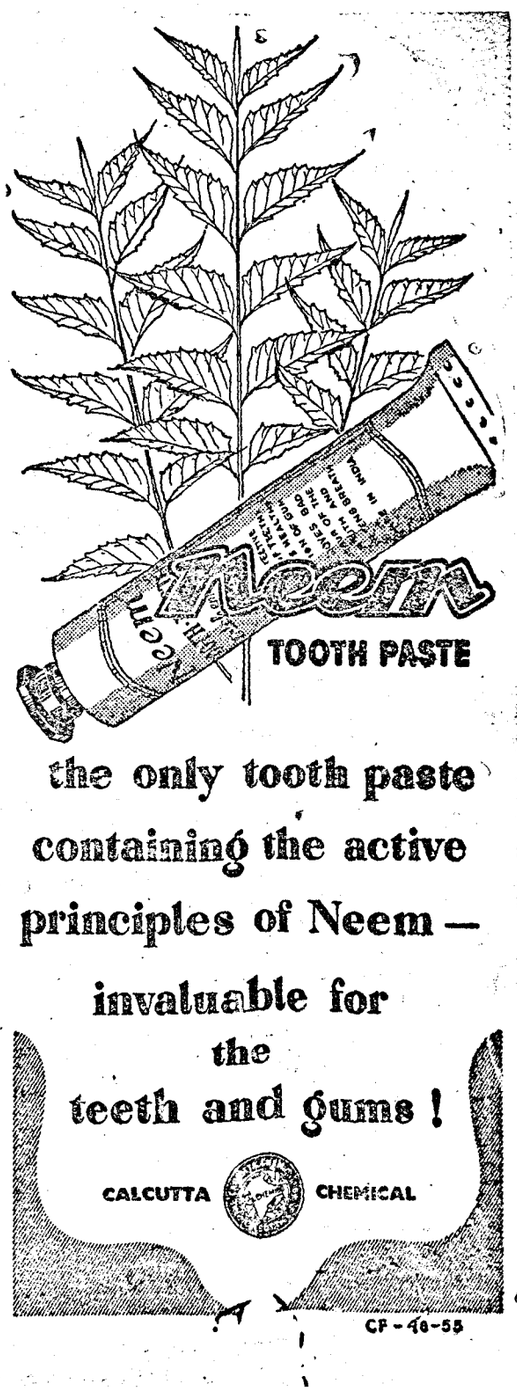
"I round about with all the Gods, sustaining and holding them as their very Soul. He who eats food, he who perceives things, he who breathes, he who hears words—does so through me. I have entered into the Heaven and the earth as their Inner Controller. I have entered into all beings and all things, pervading them all. Creating everything, I blow on like the wind. Beyond the Heaven, beyond the earth am I—so vast is my glory and greatness!" (*Rig-Veda* 10. 125.)

During the later Vedic Age, viz., that of the Upanisads, this glorious tradition of the supreme spiritual

achievements of Indian womanhood continued unabated and with full vigour.; and as a result, we meet in the ancient and celebrated *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (3. 5. 38.) the great woman scholar and sage Gargi, daughter of the sage Vacaknu. She attained such heights of philosophical wisdom, that she did not hesitate to challenge, in the open Court of King Janaka, even the great sage Yajnavalkya. When Yajnavalkya claimed to be the 'Brahmistha' or the best knower of Brahman, he was challenged, and closely questioned on deep philosophical topics, by eight great sages and scholars, of whom Gargi was the only woman. But it was this single woman, amongst the galaxy of the great philosophical luminaries of deep spiritual realization, who had the courage and confidence to question the great sage twice. Not only that, on the second occasion, when in reply to her questions, Yajnavalkya explained to her the great and deep conception of *Akshara-Brahman*, Gargi gladly accepted him as the 'best knower of Brahman.' All these go to show that Gargi was regarded as one of the leading intellectuals of those days, and held in very high esteem for her profound scholarship, wisdom, and philosophic vision.

The Epic Age, too, presents to us a bright picture of women's all-round progress and perfection. In the *Ramayana*, there are several instances of saintly women, attaining highest realization and illumination through their own spiritual strivings. The case of Sramani Sabari is specially exhilarating. For, she was by birth, a low caste woman, yet became a great ascetic, honoured by other great ascetics. That women of those days could attain the height of spiritual perfection, even under adverse circumstances, is amply demonstrated by Sabari, an inspiring figure in the annals of women's ascetic achievements in India. Here asceticism should not be taken in its ordinary connotation, for Sabari was full of divine love also.

The *Mahabharata*, largely honoured as the 'Voice of India,' contains a still larger galaxy of women saints and scholars of old. Drawn practically from all spheres and strata of society (*e.g.*, royal ladies, ordinary housewives, saints, scholars, ascetics) these great and holy women shine like brightest stars in the horizon of immortality. Perhaps, the brightest of the bright is Sulabha, a princess by birth, but an ascetic by choice, a wandering mendicant, and a roving spiritual ambassador, who, though born and brought up in the midst of the glory and grandeur of a royal court, renounced everything for the sake of *moksha* and roamed about alone from place to place in quest of Truth. Her philosophical discourses with the saintly and scholarly king Janaka bear ample testimony to her deep spiritual insight, supreme realization, and perfect wisdom. Another incomparable saintly women was queen-mother Gandhari whose sublime maxim : 'Victory comes to the righteous alone' has passed into classics. Strong and courageous, indomitable and unbending in her iron will and firm conviction, Vidura, another queen-mother, dissuading her defeated son from a life of shame and slavery, and encouraging him to 'do or die,' has given us another inspiring saying which, too, has passed into immortality: 'It is better to flare up even for a moment than to smoke for ever.' To live is to live like a man, to bring forth the Divine in all : hence a short, glorious, full-blessed life is far better than a long life of ignorance and indolence: life is to be measured and evaluated, not by its length but by its depth, not by the number of years lived but by the area covered by inspiring spiritual influence. It is this message of courageous and fruitful



life which is the message of the Epic Age, an age resplendent with heroic men and women who faced the problems of life with full self-confidence and vigour, and never bowed down to Fate in meek submission. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate pride to us all, that the contributions of the women of the *Mahabharata* to the building up of a *Maha Bharata*, a Great India, have indeed been as magnificent and as enduring as those of men.

Gandhian Nationalism

J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

In the *Peace News* of London, 28th October 1955, Mr. Peter De Morny writes that in spite of Gandhiji's selflessness and lack of any personal ambition "he had not outgrown nationalistic ambition and used his Satyagraha or Truthpower for the express purpose of ridding his country of the foreign raj."

This statement discloses a gross misunderstanding of Gandhiji's approach. Satyagraha serves a double purpose. Gandhiji's ambition was universal release from bondage. It was to release the oppressors as well as the victims. The oppressors were under the bondage of selfishness and greed. By bringing about a change of heart in them his ambition was to release the British from the wrong position into which material avarice had held them, as under a vice. Such a change in the British would give them a right attitude towards the rest of the human family and they on their own, would withdraw from a false position. This, we trust, is what has happened. Anything else would be like snatching a rat from a cat's mouth. It would hardly be dignified, on the part of Mr. Morny, to make such a claim for his country. This would have been the position had the British been driven out of India by violence with superior arms. In the latter case, the aftermath would have bred hatred and ill-feeling. But our experience is that there is mutual goodwill and friendliness between Indians and Britishers as a result of our gaining our independence through Satyagraha.

On the other hand, every nation should be able to make its special contribution to the family of universal brotherhood and fulfil its God-given mission. It can only do so if it had freedom to hold its head erect and express itself in its own way. Colonialism is inimical to serve this purpose. To shake oneself free from such a crushing burden is one's duty to oneself. This cannot be construed into a narrow nationalism which is completely foreign to Gandhiji's nature.

We trust Mr. Morny will appreciate this dual function of Satyagraha and not its superiority over one-sided "victory" brought about by violence.

Again, we feel, Mr. Morny's reference to Jesus and Caesar is based on a misconception of the oft-quoted cryptic statement, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." This text is usually used by States to justify their actions and accepted as the final word by the prelates of the church.

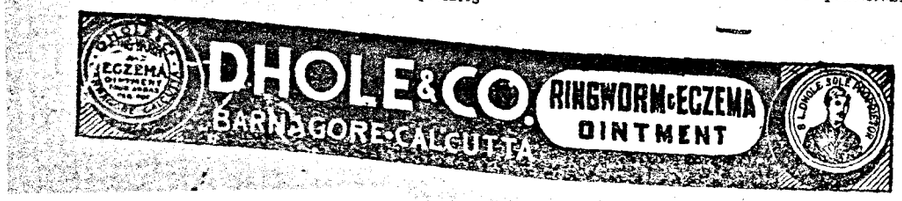
With this tradition Mr. Morny contends that Jesus was solely concerned with the inner purification of a person and not with displacing Caesar. This is completely off the track. To say that Jesus did not concern himself with dethroning Caesar and to conclude therefore that Gandhiji's political activities were not in alignment with Jesus' teachings is wholly wrong. It is based on the misconception of the basic statement because of a casual reading of it or by wilful shutting off of ones higher understanding.

Let us look at the context. The Pharisees and Scribes, who did not relish the work done by Jesus in awakening the Jewish people's conscience against the wrong teachings of these leaders, wanted to place Jesus in a dilemma by asking him a question. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" If he answered it in the positive he would go against the susceptibilities of the Jews, if in the negative he would be liable to be prosecuted under the Roman Law as one who was stirring up sedition. So Jesus gives a conundrum and defeats their purpose. Taken legalistically, the Romans can take no exception to that statement and the Jews can construe it to be a direction to pay the temple due in "God's money" the shekel. But the deeper implication that applies for all time is missed by Mr. Morny and the Church protagonists. This is contained in the second part of the answer which was not part of the question asked.

"Render unto God the things that are God's." What are the things that belong to Him who made all the world and all that in them is? Naturally, the only possible reply is "everything." That means Caesar himself, being a creature of God, is on the same footing as an earthworm. Therefore he cannot be placed as a competitor to God in claiming a share in the loyalty due to our creator. All being God's there is no residue left for Caesar who may even be construed to be an usurper except in so far as he helps with God's own dispensation. So Caesar gets nothing on his own rights. This brings Man into direct relationship with God his Maker.

Besides, in comparing Gandhiji with Jesus we have always to bear in mind that the earthly ministry of Jesus was barely over three mortal years in which he had hardly time enough to lay down his first principles. Even his close disciples were able to grasp his teachings only dimly as through a glass. He left hem promising the Comforter who will lead them into all the Truth. But Gandhiji's work extended over 45 years—nearly two generations! In this time he had the opportunity of, not only enunciating his principles, but also of applying them to the various walks of life. Even then we are still only groping on. So it will be stultifying Jesus to limit him strictly to the fields of his operation.

We shall be doing the correct thing by extending his principles beyond the spheres in which he himself operated, and imbued in his spirit, exploring other fields. Anything less will dishonour him or place his teaching beyond human reach as impracticable.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chen Shu-tung on Transformation of Private Industry and Commerce

Following are excerpts from the report on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce made at the meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on January 31st by Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., Chairman of All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and formerly member of the board of directors of the biggest private publishing house, the Commercial Press, and of the National Commercial Bank :

Since the second half of last year, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has entered a new stage of development. This new stage is marked by the fact that transformation which, in the past, chiefly took lower and intermediate forms of state capitalism, is now chiefly taking the higher form of state capitalism. It has developed from joint state-private operation of individual factories and shops in the past to joint state-private operation of whole trades. Thus the scale of the transformation has been greatly expanded and accelerated.

The understanding of the industrialists and businessmen has been growing constantly. Nevertheless, quite a number of them lacked clear understanding or had apprehensions about how specifically exploitation and classes would eventually be eliminated and capitalist ownership changed to ownership by the entire people in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive enabled the industrialists and businessmen to see the essence of exploitation and the great future of our country. It has also enabled them to understand that only by joining their own future and that of their children with that of the country can they step on to a bright path and take their destinies in their own hands. For this reason, not a few industrialists and businessmen have criticised their past exploitation and their erroneous thinking, either at meetings or in the press. Deep-going criticism and self-criticism have taken place among the industrialists and businessmen. One group after another, they have pledged to do meritorious work for transformation and to reform themselves into working people living by their own labour. A high tide of socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has therefore emerged throughout the country.

Our great capital, Peking, was in the forefront and was the first to complete joint state-private ownership of all capitalist industry and commerce.

Following Peking, such cities as Tientsin, Sian, Shenyang, Chungking, Wuhan and Canton around January 20th completed their work of joint state-private operation of all the private industry and commerce and entered a socialist society. When the joint state-private operation was achieved, the various cities were overwhelmed with unparallelled joy. Everywhere in the streets or lanes was decorated with lamps and fancy streamers and everyone was in great joy. The sound of gongs and drums and the bursts of fire-crackers continued day and night.

On January 20th, Shanghai, the biggest industrial and commercial city of China, victoriously completed joint state-private ownership of all capitalist industry and commerce and entered the socialist society.

In the high tide of transforming capitalist industry and commerce, many industrialists and businessmen in various parts of the country have taken specific meritorious actions in the course of transformation, and there have been a number of impressive instances in this connection.

The majority of industrialists and businessmen actively made preparations for joint state-private ownership. In the high tide of joint state-private ownership by whole trades, many industrialists and businessmen increased their investments as an expression of confidence in transformation.

What has characterised the high tide of transformation is the initiative taken by active elements among the industrialists and businessmen in various cities. This is also the important factor making it possible to complete joint state-private ownership by whole trades ahead of schedule speedily and well.

It is noteworthy that members of the families of many industrialists and businessmen showed great enthusiasm for the high tide of the transformation movement. Their efforts have been an important impetus in prompting the industrialists and businessmen to accept transformation.

The wives of many industrialists and businessmen have enthusiastically encouraged their husbands to go further to accept the transformation. In particular, the younger generation in the families of the industrialists and businessmen were all the more jubilant because their parents went a step further to accept transformation. The parents of quite a number of industrialists and businessmen, who have already reached to old age of 60 or 70, but were inspired by the new things in the new society, actively encouraged their sons to accept the transformation.

The great victories scored by China on various fronts since liberation were miracles unthinkable in the past. The enthusiasm shown by the industrialists and businessmen in vying with each other for transformation and many other impressive instances were also unthinkable in the past. These miracles could only appear in the great era of Mao Tse-tung, and only with the superior people's democratic state power.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was not accidental. It has been achieved because of certain objective tendencies. In the past six years, very great achievements had been made in the steady development of state capitalism. Before the end of last year, approximately 100 per cent of capitalist industry in term of value of output has been processing or manufacturing for the state. By the first half of 1955, the number of joint state-private industrial

output, compared with that of private industry, was almost in the ratio of three to five. In the field of commerce, practically all leading privately operated trades supplied by the state and co-operatives had in the main changed over to state capitalist commerce engaged in handling distribution by contract for state companies or become state sales agents. The high tide of transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has expanded because of the experience gained from the existing basis.

The correct leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung is an important factor in the tremendous victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. His teachings help us to see clearly that the bureaucrat capitalists, that is, the comprador bourgeoisie, is a ferocious enemy of the people, while the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie can accommodate themselves to socialist transformation and can be transformed by peaceful means. His teachings help us to see clearly that in the period of socialist revolution, the people's state power led by the working class does not adopt the policy of expropriating or squeezing of the national bourgeoisie, but the policy of "buying off" their means of production through state capitalism as a transition. Under this policy, part of the profits produced by the working class for a certain period to come will still be allotted to the industrialists and businessmen. They will be allowed sufficient time in the process of transforming their enterprises to prepare themselves and to change themselves from exploiters into working people living by their own labour as their enterprises become owned by the people as a whole. This is a mighty inspiration to all patriotic industrialists and businessmen and has greatly heightened their willingness to follow the path of socialism.

The brilliant achievements in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce have fully proved the correctness of the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government toward the

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capitalist industry and commerce. Since the beginning of planned construction, the state has adopted toward private industry and commerce the policy of overall planning all-round re-arrangement and intensified transformation so as gradually to guide private industry and commerce into the orbit of state plan. All the industrialists and businessmen of China were informed of the contents of Vice-Premier Chen Yun's report and this has greatly strengthened their confidence in accepting the transformation. Since the beginning of the new stage in transformation, the state has adopted the method of turning whole trades into joint state and private ownership. It has accepted all applications for joint ownership by private industrial and commercial enterprises that are willing to be transformed and has helped the individual handicraftsmen and small trades both in cities and the countryside to organise themselves and proceed to co-operation.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce testifies to the mighty power of the leadership of the working class.

Since liberation, workers in private enterprises have constantly urged the capitalists to improve management and accept socialist transformation.

In the present changeover to joint state-private ownership by whole trades the mass of workers are jubilant and enthusiastic. They have formed youth shock-brigades which work tirelessly to assist the industrialists and businessmen to take inventory and assess capital and other necessary work. At the same time, they are making energetic efforts to do well in production and management. They have also pledged that hereafter they will further raise their working enthusiasm.

The great success of socialist industrialisation and agricultural co-operation throughout the country have provided the material basis for the rapid emergence of the high tide in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The speedy growth of the socialist sector of the economy has not only brought about the daily shrinking of the proportion of non-socialist sectors in the whole national economy, but, at the same time, made it possible for the state to accelerate the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The great victory won in agricultural co-operation has now overcome in the main the spontaneous capitalist influence in the countryside and cut the peasant's link with capitalist industry and commerce. Thus industrialists and businessmen realise that it is necessary for them to go further in accepting transformation.

Due to the continuous guidance given by the Party and the Government, many industrialists and businessmen have considerably enhanced their understanding in varying degrees. In addition the industrialists and businessmen, pushed forward by the mass of people, urged by the mass of workers and encouraged by their families, have become increasingly, active in taking the road of socialism. The advanced industrialists and businessmen and the progressive core among them are increasing steadily.

Internationally, the power of the camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union grows daily and the enthusiasm of all the people in building socialism increases constantly. Under the impact of the great education of reality, the industrialists and businessmen's willingness to follow the path of socialism and go further in accepting transformation, like a mighty wave, has become a nationwide high tide, once Chairman Mao gave his guidance and directions.

Now, together with the people of the whole country, the industrialists and businessmen have triumphantly entered socialist society.

Our socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is carried out in two distinct stages. First, changing capitalist enterprises into state-capitalist enterprises, and then changing these enterprises into state enterprises in order to carry out the changeover from capitalist ownership into ownership by the entire people as provided in the constitution. By carrying the present stage one step further it will be possible in the future smoothly to change state-capitalist enterprises into state enterprises owned by the entire people and transform the capitalists from exploiters into working people living by their own labour.

There remain now many urgent tasks to be carried out. The first is the task of taking inventory and assessing capital.

Then comes the question of "fixed interests." In the past, the method of distributing profit in state-capitalist enterprises was by apportioning it in four shares. Around one-fourth of the total profit was distributed to the capitalists. Since the changeover of whole trades to joint state-private ownership, this method of apportioning profit into four shares is no longer completely applicable, and it has been necessary to adopt the method of "fixed interest."

In addition, personnel arrangements is an important question. The policy of the state is to make proper arrangements for all industrialists and businessmen, to employ them according to their abilities and give them every possible consideration. In certain trades in some places, the work of placing of personnel has already been completed. According to the reactions of most of the industrialists and businessmen, they are all grateful for the considerate care of the state. Many have been placed in new positions and are happy beyond measure; they feel it a great honour.

As to the three questions mentioned above, the committees at all levels of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference should work closely with all department concerned, continue to apply the method of consultation, reflect all shades of opinion and help the organs of state to fulfil the current tasks speedily and successfully.

The transformation of the enterprises is only one aspect of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry

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and commerce. The other is to change the industrialists and businessmen. Changing them means primarily, ideologically re-educating the industrialists and businessmen, mainly through encouraging and organising them to study. To change them gradually from exploiters to working people of a socialist society who live on their own labour, it is necessary to raise their ideological understanding of patriotism and collectivism; to help them to study politics, world events and state policy, to help them to become proficient in the management of socialist enterprises and all the necessary techniques of production, and to encourage them to take part in political and social activities, and in this way raise still further the level of those in industrial and commercial circles who are already outstandingly active and constantly bring forward new activists.—*Hsinhua News*, January 31, 1956.

Women "The Superior Sex" Now Vote in all but 15 Countries

A wave of progress over the past sixty years has left the world with only fifteen countries where women still do not have the right to vote, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization reports in the issue of the *Unesco Courier* (No. 11, 1955) :

Unesco's survey shows that the wave began as a trickle in 1893 when New Zealand gave women the right to vote; only three other countries had followed suit by the beginning of the First World War. Today, the picture is completely reversed, especially in Europe and the Western Hemisphere where only four nations do not give political rights to women (Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Paraguay, Nicaragua). The other 11 countries : Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Yemen.

In their march toward equality at the polls, in education and in professional careers, women have had to fight the tradition that they are the inferior sex. But there is more poetry than truth in this tradition according to Prof. Ashley Montagu, American anthropologist who writes:

"The scientific fact is that women are naturally superior to men and I would add that we should all be grateful . . . for in this fact lies the hope of the world."

This superiority, explains Prof. Montagu, can be traced back to the sex chromosomes—known as the X-and-Y chromosomes—which determine the sex of a child. An XY combination means a boy, while a double X produces a girl. "The Y-chromosome is an incomplete chromosome," he points out, "It is to these deficiencies that almost all of the male's trouble and inferiorities can be traced."

How are women superior to men? Here are Prof. Montagu's answers :

—They live longer : "Everywhere, the expectation of life is higher for females than males."

—They are healthier : "Women are more resistant to most diseases and recover from them more frequently than man. For every female stutterer, there are five males. For every female colour-blind person, there are sixteen males. Bleeders disease occurs almost exclusively in males."

—They ar better "shock absorbers" than men : "During the last war, it was known that women under imprisonment and concentration camp conditions withstood these conditions better than men. Almost anywhere, in any country, for every female suicide, there are three male suicides."

—Women are more intelligent, too : "It has long been known to intelligence-testers that, on the average, boys are not as bright as girls. At five years of age, when most children enter school in the United States, girls are mentally two yoars ahead of boys and retain this advantage throughout their school years."

Then why is still a man's world? Prof. Maurice Duverger, French political scientist and author of a Unesco study, *The Political Role of Women*, has surveyed women's political and social rights in Norway, France, Germany and Yugoslavia and points out that the higher the level of leadership (whether in politics, civil service, trade unions or business), the lower the level of women's influence.

Male opposition is responsible for this situation but, writes Prof. Duverger, it would not have succeeded so well if it had come up against vigorous resistance from women. "The small infuence of women in State leadership is largely due to women's own inertia," he points out. A French public opinion survey conducted two months after municipal elections in 1953 showed that 60 per cent of the men questioned said that they had been interested in the election results for the entire country, as compared to only 30 per cent of the women.

"While women have legally ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields and, particularly in politics, they usually accept paternalism on the part of men," states Prof. Duverger, "When things go wrong, women blame their husbands, men blame the government."

An international picture of the enormous strides which women are making throughout the world is presented in the *Unesco Courier* by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, formely head of Unesco's Department of Social Sciences and now Swedish Minister to India, Burma and Ceylon. One of the many examples she cites is Japan where, in 1945 women had no civil rights whatever and where, today, there are 15,000,000 registered voters.

"Whatever our opinion may be about what is occurring today, one thing seems clear to me," writes Mrs. Myrdal, "It is impossible for any society to call itself advanced or to embark on the road to technological advancement and, at the same time, continue to maintain women in their old inferior roles."

An article by A. H. Hourani, lecturer at Oxford University, tells of relatively little known changes taking place in the status of Arab women. "In all except the most backward regions," he comments, "polygamy has practically disappeared and the veil is rapidly going."

The *Unesco Courier* also offers some now facts about "the woman who does nothing all day long but stay at home"—the housewife. In France, for example, she works a 70-hour week. Social research experts in the United States, Great Britain, Belgium and Francc have discovered that housewives also handle and administer more than 60 per cent of the money in these countries.

Unesco's Survey does not show that the women of the world are on their way to achieve the same position as those of the Tehambuli tribes of New Guniea where, reports the *Unesco Courier*, women go off all day to work as family breadwinners while husbands stay home, play the flute and decorate themselves with flowers. But the survey does show that they have come a long way since the treatment of women was summed up in this adage:

"A dog, a woman, a walnut tree.
"The more you beat them, the better they be."

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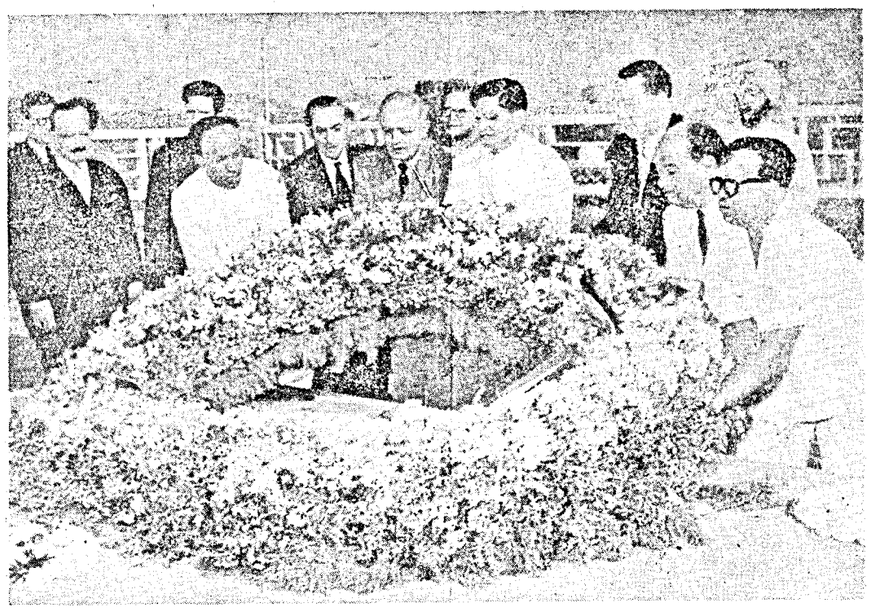
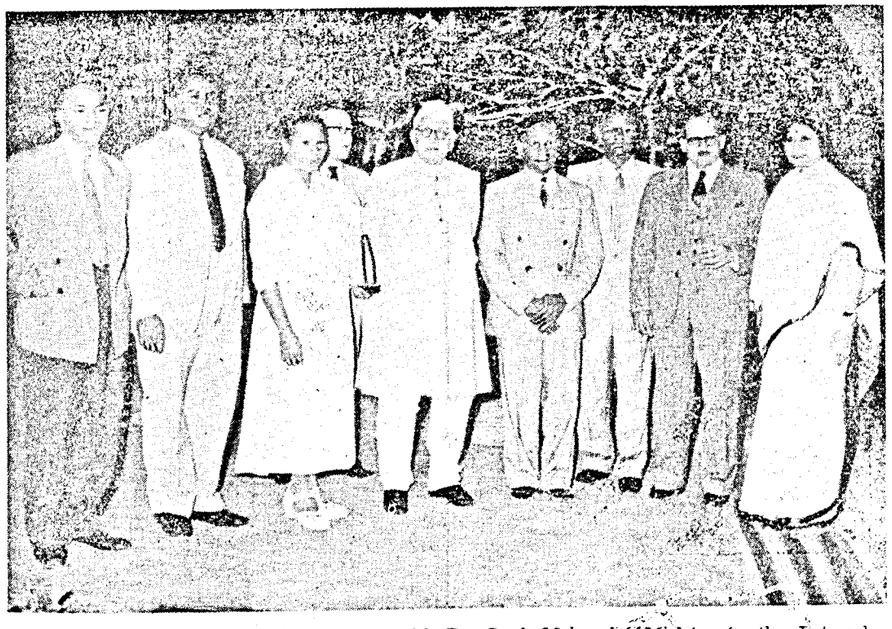


M. Christian Pineau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, laying a floral wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, Delhi



Members of the Uganda Goodwill Mission with Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the External Affairs Ministry, at a reception held in their honour, in New Delhi

The Kashmir Issue

The first clear comment on the Kashmir issue, by Pandit Nehru in the Lok Sabha, came in the following news report:

"The Prime Minister, who was intervening in the debate on the External Affairs Ministry's Budget demands dwelt at length on Indo-Pakistan relations and specially the Kashmir issue. A notable omission was the question of Goa.

"Regretting that Pakistan should have joined the SEATO and Baghdad alliances because of her hostility to India or her desire to negotiate with India from a position of strength, the Prime Minister once again offered to make a no-war declaration.

"He made no secret, however, of how India's confidence in outside arbitration had been shaken after the Kashmir experience and said that the no-war declaration should be unconditional.

"In his reference to Kashmir, which was obviously meant for Western ears in view of the SEATO declaration on Kashmir, Sri Nehru traced the whole history of the dispute and narrated how Pakistan had put forward 'a tissue of lies' to cover its aggression on Kashmir and had ultimately to admit it.

"He did not deny that after Kashmir's accession to India in order to end a state of suspended animation India had promised to honour her international commitments but pointed out that since then many developments had taken place calling for a reconsideration of the issue.

"Amongst these new factors he mentioned the U.S. military aid to Pakistan, Pakistan's participaton in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit in Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He reminded that no change in the Indian Constitution regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State.

"Apart from all these, he felt that India should desist from taking any step which might upset the scheme of things in Jammu and Kashmir. In this connection he regretted the remark of the Pakistan President that the people of Kashmir were living in 'abject slavery' and disclosed that lured by the prosperity of the State, many people from occupied Kashmir were eager to come over to this side.

"He also repudiated the Pakistan President's allegation that for every border incident India was to blame and said that in all the ten incidents on the Jammu border, investigated by the U.N. observers, Pakistan had been found to be at fault.

"In a brief reference to the situation in East Bengal he said that the migration had hurt that province also because 'quality' had come out. He believed that East Bengal had now begun to realise the mistake."

India and Kashmir

The recent statement of Pandit Nehru on Kashmir, though belated, categorically states for the first time what should have been stated much earlier. The Prime Minister declared on March 28, in the Lok Sabha that in the present situation all talks of plebiscite in Kashmir were beside the point. He said that the question of plebiscite could arise only after Pakistan had completely withdrawn her troops from the occupied area of Kashmir. While admitting that after Kashmir's accession to India, India had promised to honour her international commitments but since then many events had taken place calling for a reconsideration of the issue. Amongst these new factors, he mentioned U.S. military aid to Pakistan, Pakistan's participation in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit in Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He rightly pointed out that no change in the Constitution of India regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State. Pakistan has joined SEATO and Beghdad Alliance becuase of her hostility to India or her desire to negotiate with India from a position of strength. The Prime Minister ruled out arbitration to settle Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir, because India's confidence in outside arbitration had been shaken after the Kashmir experience.

The Prime Minister went a step further in his Press Conference on April 1, when he made it clear that he did not want a plebiscite to be held in Kashmir now. The accession of Kashmir to India is legal and complete as it has been accepted by Kashmir through her representative Kashmir Assembly. We are glad that Pandit Nehru has now said correct things regarding Kashmir and it is time that India's stand on the issue should be spoken in an unequivocal language. Over Kashmir issue we have been insisting that India should state categorically that Pakistan has no locus standi in the Kashmir affair, simply because she is an aggressor in Kashmir and there cannot be any agreement with a country which

has invaded a country forcefully and has since then kept it under control by force. It is gratifying that Pandit Nehru's latest statement is to the same effect. Pakistan now proposes to raise the issue in the U.N. General Assembly, because she knows that the Kashmir issue is likely to be vetoed in the Security Council by Russia. In this connection Pandit Nehru stated approvingly that the statement made by Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev was legally, constitutionally and practically completely correct.

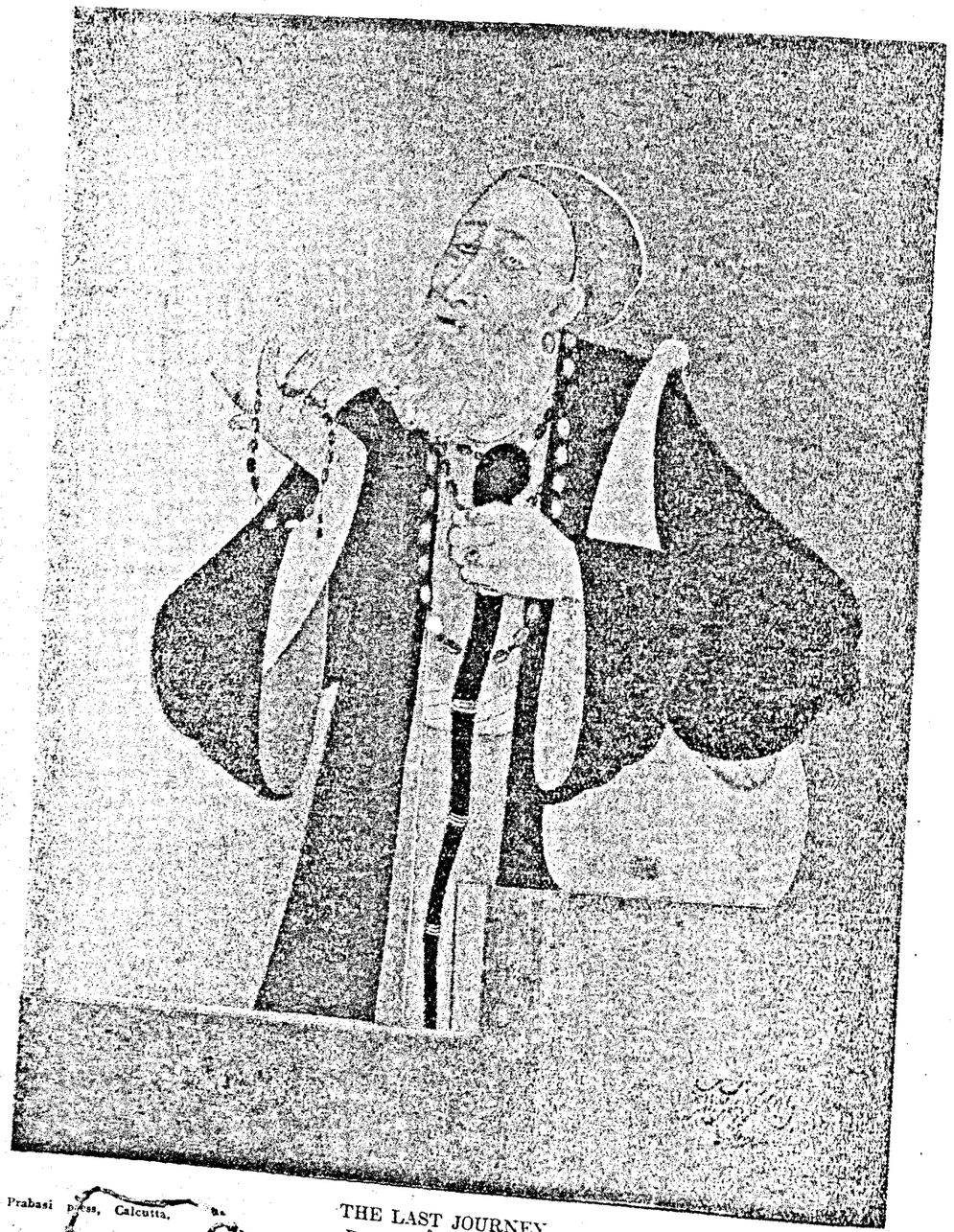
In the Kashmir dispute, two things may be invoked and these are the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* and Prescription. Over the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*, the noted jurist Dr. Hall states as follow: "Neither party to a contract can make its binding effect dependent at his will upon conditions other than those contemplated at the moment when the contract was entered into, and on the other hand a contract ceases to be binding so soon as anything which formed an implied condition of its obligatory force at the time of its conclusion is essentially altered." (International Law, Sec. 116). International agreements are *entered into* under certain implied condtions which are equally part of the "valuable consideration" which forms the essence of the contract. In Kashmir, since accession, many events have happened and these call for a revision of the commitment given by India. Further, this is a matter entirely between India and Kashmir and no third party has any interest whatsoever in Kashmir. When India accepted the accession of Kashmir, Pakistan was no party to that accession and none of her proteges, who are now championing her cause evidently to serve their own purpose, was a party to that. Whether there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir or not is a matter for India and Kashmir. We fail to understand how Paskistan can enter into the picture save and except that he is an aggressor in Kashmir. Pakistan's position in Kashmir has been accepted not by the United Nations as a whole, but by a few Great Powers that control the destiny of that International Circus.

What is the meaning of the term Plebiscite? Plebiscite means decision of a whole people given by direct voting. That can be done in a general election. Pandit Nehru stated that Jammu and Kashmir would soon have a new constitution and a general election would be held in the State on that basis at a future date. In other words, the general election in Kashmir on a new Constitution will amount to a plebiscite to all intents and purposes. India can also invoke the law of Prescription. Prescription in International Law means "the acquistition of sovereignty over a territory through continuous and undisturbed exercise of sovereignty over it during such a period as is necessary to create under the influence of historical development the general conviction that the present condition of things is in conformity with the international order." Prescription in International Law has the basis of considerations of stability and order.

The Kashmir issue inevitably calls for a revision of India's foreign relations, whether she will it or not. Hitherto India belonged more to the Anglo-American bloc than to the Russian one. But the Kashmir and Goa issue must change that relationship by implications. India is against all regional Pacts like SEATO and Baghdad Pact to which the UK and the USA are parties. That is the first step towards estrangement from the USA and the UK. Mr. Macdonald, the British High Commissioner, rightly pointed out that there was a slump in the Anglo-Indian relationship. Since then there came the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Lord Mountbatten to retrieve that deteriorating position in the Anglo-Indian relationshp. Lord Mountbatten endeavoured to bring back the old friendship between these two countries and Pandit Nehru the other day averred that there was no "crack" in India's relationship with Britain. But that is a false picture and temporary patchwork will not tie the bond that is fast loosening itself by the impact of world events.

War seems ineviable—that may be within ten years or twenty years. That war will be a war between Communism and the others, between USA and UK on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other. Britain's affinity is with the USA and she is bound to do that. In international affairs Britain will be compelled to play second fiddle to the USA and the former's foreign policy must be deemed to have been tied to the latter's. When it is a question of choice between India and the USA, Britain will have to choose the latter, becuase neither Britain can turn Red nor can she afford to lose the remnants of her colonies and dominions. Britain knows full well that without the assistance of the USA, she cannot retain her colonies during the next war.

India cannot afford to give up her claim over Kashmir and Goa. The USA seems to be com-



THE LAST JOURNEY
By Priyaprasad Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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NOTES

Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow

The official budget year has come to a close and the budget for the next year is on the anvil. We have a whole host of officials who are putting forward claims for achievements—real or illusory—in the immediate past, and one or two who are putting forward plans for the future.

Achievements and Plans! The First Five-Year Plan, that is coming to a close, provides the main basis for the kudos claimed and the Second Five-Year Plan is the plan for the future. In both cases there is the same jumble of figures, without any clear statement in the terms of humane considerations, mental, moral or physical.

The First Five-Year Plan has failed miserably along those considerations. Education is at a lower level, considered in the proper terms of knowledge, *Gyan* and *Vidya*, as laid down by the ancients of all civilization, than it ever has been in the past four decades. Moral turpitude is rife in the country at all levels, official and non-official, and the lowering of Moral Values has reached calamitous proportions. Physically, this nation of C_3 persons has now been further downgraded, thanks to total lack of protective diets for 99% of the children over the past decade. No progress of any significant nature has been made in the matter of Public Health and Hygiene. The cities are as full—if not fuller—of slums as ever and the villages as full of misery as perhaps never before, despite a few show places furbished up by community projects. And yet we have the Planning Minister prating of achievement, *measured along the figures of moneys spent!* Elsewhere we give a Privy Council case to show what money does.

The poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer, that is known all over the country. Indeed, we would say that no honest man today has the chances of survival, unless he is prepared to sacrifice all his principles. But that is of no account, for money has been spent according to Plan, it matters little to what purpose.

Education has become expensive to a frightful extent, thanks to governmental indifference. Education means books and books mean paper, and paper has been taxed and controlled and wasted in thousands of tons, by the wiseacres at New Delhi. The result is that a text book costs five times that of pre-war rates, and a general knowledge book, of history, travel, popular science and normal information and relaxation, costs anything up to seven-fold the pre-war price. But what does that matter, the Central Government will prove—also by the figures of moneys wasted—that Education has progressed beyond measure!

We have no doubt that the Second Five-Year Plan will also show the same measure of success unless humane considerations prevail, in terms of cash, moral degeneration and misery.

In the meanwhile our neighbours are active. They have managed to secure the sinews of War, and are actively trying out the media of aggression, propaganda and armed skirmishing. We have let loose a spate of words, to what purpose, it is yet to be seen. Our prestige as a nation has not as yet reached anywhere near the impressive status that would justify most of the talk. The Dulles Press Conference, at New Delhi on March 10, made that point clear.

mitted to defend Pakistan's interest in Kashmir and so also Portugal's interest in Goa. Russia is the only power that may help India in her effort to regain Goa and the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. By the force of events India is being pushed gradually towards Soviet Russia and that is inevitable, unless the Anglo-American bloc sees its way towards rectifying its present policy towards India. The commitment of American aid to Pakistan has tied that country to Pakistan and Britain is automatically stringed to that unholy entente. India must seek her ally elsewhere in this diplomatic warfare and against the nebulous designs of the USA. The Anglo-Indian relationship is bound to deteriorate notwithstanding Pandit Nehru's bold declaration that no crack has occurred to our mutual relationship. In the next war, Britain and India may have to part ways, if not earlier.

Refugees from East Pakistan

Sri Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister at the Centre, gave the following information in the Union Parliament regarding the influx of refugees from East Pakistan :

"Replying to a motion by Sri Upendranath Barman and Sri K. M. Vallatharas for eliciting information regarding the large-scale migration of Hindus from East Bengal, Sri Khanna gave details of the efforts made by India to check the exodus and to prove that the Pakistan Government had not been co-operative in the least in regard to this matter.

"He said that the migration of nearly a quarter million people in 1955 had added tremendously to the heavy problem of migrants who had come to India previously and whose relief and rehabilitation was a most difficult task. The resources of West Bengal were already overtaxed and efforts were being made to locate lands in other states for the rehabilitation of the displaced.

"The Rehabilitation Minister said that the main reason for this increasing exodus was the feeling of insecurity and economic discrimination under which the minority community lived. A contributing factor was the recent statement by the Pakistan High Commissioner in India suggesting that the only effective way to stop migration was to seal the border. This was a negative approach to the problem and the result of such statements had been a feeling of panic among the minority community and an increase in the rate of migration.

"The question, he said, appeared to be engaging the attention of the Pakistan Government, and their Foreign Minister had recently expressed a desire to discuss the matter further and take necessary action."

Pineau on S.E.A.T.O.

The March 12 issue of the *Time* contained the following news-item regarding the French Foreign Minister's views on the doings of France's allies. It would be remembered that M-Pineau made similar remarks at New Delhi recently :

Two hours after the French Government announced that Premier Guy Mollet had accepted an invitation to visit Moscow in May, his fellow Socialist, Foreign Minister Christian Pineau, unburdened himself of the sharpest talk any French foreign Minister had directed at France's allies in years. Addressing the Anglo-American press club, Pineau declared bluntly : "I am in deep disagreement with the policy followed by the Western nations during recent years." His thesis: "We have made an enormous mistake in deciding that security problems were the only international problems we had to worry about. Of course we need security. Of course we need strong armies. But need we talk of this all the time ?"

Pineau pointed to SEATO's recent naval and military maneuvers off Thailand. "Do you really think that, in this atomic era, this handful of ships will give the impression that the West is the leader of he world? The Bulganin-Khruschev tour of India was much more important. If the West does not make an effort in the direction of propositions of peace, we shall be beaten first on the field of propaganda and then on that of policy."

As for France's friends, "despite alliances, despite affirmations, there is no real common French-British-American policy today," said Pineau. He pointed to North Africa, where France blames much of its troubles on tacit U.S. support of the Arabs. "We have the impression that behind certain forms of rebellion and of propaganda there lurks the desire of certain powers to swallow up the heritage of France." Turning on the Americans present, he reproached the U.S. for backing the government of Ngo Dinh Diem against the French. "Each time you Americans do something wrong, you do it with the best of intentions. If there had been full co-operation on Indo-China, we would not have arrived where we are today."

Pineau spoke with the acerbity of a Frenchman sick and tired of hearing only criticism from his allies. His speech made no stir in France, a nation oppressed by long years of retreat and humiliation, and all too ready to believe that the fault must be somewhere else.

Budget and Inflation

The prices in India have tended to rise since the publication of the new budget of the Union Government. There has been a sharp rise in prices of cloth, yarn, gur, sugar, gold, silver and equities. The upward spurt in prices is partly due to speculative motive of the people and partly due to the budgetary influence. The Central Government has so far done nothing to arrest the trend in price increase. The step to control the forward deal in raw cotton has failed to have any significant effect on ready cotton prices. The market is apprehensive that control may be imposed on cloth production and its prices, and as has been the practice in India, prices go up by speculative activities whenever there is any rumour of control. During the past six months, the prices of cloth and yarn have been steadily on the increase. The Chairman of a cotton mill of repute in India has sounded a note of warning in view of the rising prices of cotton textiles. He has observed that the present trend in price increase must necessarily affect India's exports of cotton textiles. Cotton textiles occupy the third place in our export trade and the rising prices will handicap India in world competitive market. It is time that the Government of India take immediate steps to import raw cotton in sufficient quantities and encourage establishment of a few more cotton textile mills.

The sugar industry has not lost the opportunity to reap a higher profit out of the speculative market. The other day some sugar magnates in India uttered sugar-coated words to the effect that India is almost self-sufficient in sugar production and therefore India needs not import sugar from abroad and that the indigenous production will be stepped up so as to meet our internal demand. It is queer to note that whenever there is a shortfall in domestic production of sugar and whenever the Central Government allow import of this commodity, the internal production sharply increases. Relying on this trend, the Government next year stops import of sugar, and the industry quickly seizes this opportunity to reduce production with a view to earning windfall profits against higher demands, no doubt placing the blame for this shortfall in production either on the low production of cane or on low sucrose content of the cane or on both. In 1952, the production of sugar stood at 14.94 lakh tons; then it came down to just 10 lakh tons in 1953. To meet the internal demand Government had to import sugar from abroad. In 1955, there was record production of sugar (15.86 lakh tons). The internal demand is somewhere between 18 lakh to 20 lakh tons. Twenty-five new sugar mills are going to be established in the near future. But before they come into operation, the Government should continue to import sugar, otherwise the internal prices will increase further.

There has also been a steady rise in the prices of foodgrains. Last year there was some surplus in production of foodgrains. The authorities should have built up a buffer stock within the country, instead they allowed export and the result is that the inventory surplus has fizzled out and the market has tended to be speculative. This is also true of certain other agricutural commodities, like raw cotton and oil seeds. Last year when there was some sudplus production of raw cotton, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari advised the Government to purchase the surplus stock so as to build up a reserve and this would have enabled the Government to control the market in the face of shortfall in supply. But this advice was not accepted by the Finance Minister as he refused to provide funds for the purpose.

The Government of India's export policy was rather too hasty in so far as it encouraged export of commodities essential to domestic production and consumption. Rice was permitted to be exported to the extent of 2 laks tons, and out of this quantity nearly 60,000 tons have been exported. Now the domestic market is feeling the shortage of rice, the result being a steady rise in price. Instead of conserving the surplus stock within the country, the authorities encouraged export by relaxation of qualitative and quantitative restrictions on exports and export duties were reduced. Shipments of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities, were freely allowed even with the full knowledge that floods have

devastated a large part of the country with consequential loss in production.

The Government have been suffering from a complex of over-complacency in their economic policy. The First Five-Year plan witnessed a downward trend in prices, notwithstanding deficit financing to the extent of nearly Rs. 500 crores, amounting to one-fourth of the total expenditure. They do not place any importance in gold, the Finance Minister holding the view that gold is not an essential commodity for the life of the community. But theory does not always tally with the stern realities. There are more things that happen in reality than can be dreamt of in theory and it is that gold prices tended to have sympathetic movement with the rise in general prices and gold itself also influenced the general prices. Gold is the barometer of prices in a backward country like India and it is a known secret that 50 per cent of India's gold requirements come by smuggling, the entire margin of profits on that account going to the pockets of the few dealers and speculators. There is no reason why the Government should not allow import of gold from the sterling area countries against licence. That will have two effects—it will lower the prices of the yellow metal within the country and the State will earn a considerable amount on account of customs duty.

What is the cause of this inflationary spurt in prices? Some have observed that this is due to the deficit financing already done and which is also going to be done under Second Five-Year Plan. But this is too hasty a conclusion unwarranted by facts. During the First Five-Year Plan the country well absorbed the injection of extra money to the extent of nearly Rs. 2,000 crores, and in spite of that prices tended to move downwards. The excess income of the community was well matched with the rising tempo of production and supply of consumer goods. The turning point came with the new budget. No doubt from the first week of November 1955 to the last week of March 1956 there was an increase in the circulation of notes by Rs. 147.91 crores, as against Rs. 115.24 crores in the corresponding period of the last season. But the money market has not showed any tendency of easy money conditions, rather it is just the opposite. The money market is tight and it is passing through a stringency. In Bombay, the call money rates range between $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and in Calcutta it is as high as $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, that is, this is higher than the Bank rate by $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is strangely unusual that call money rates should exceed the Bank rate which is comparatively a long-term rate than the call money rate.

This is indicative of the fact that speculative hoarding is accelerated, encouraged with the short supply of essential commodities including foodstuffs. Thanks to the Finance Ministe's myopic view regarding consumption which has induced him to impose excise duties on commodities essential to the daily use of life. The price level is sympathetically attuned and that common fact has been ignored by our Finance Minister in his latest budget. Knowledgable circles aver that with the help of loans at a cheaper rate of interest advanced by co-operative banks, farmers or middlemen are conserving stocks of commodities for the purpose of speculation for higher prices in the future. The Reserve Bank should forthwith raise its rates on loans to co-operative banks and the latter in turn should be asked to raise their lending rates so that speculation is discouraged.

Commercial banks should also raise their lending rates. There has been a great disparity at present between the borrowing rates and lending rates of commercial banks. The commercial banks should now think over to raise their short-term lending rates.

The nature of present inflation is not so much monetary as it is commodity-induced. That is, the tempo of rising prices is to be attributed not to the deficit financing, but to speculative withholding of stocks of essential goods with the help of cheaper bank credit. This situation has been aggravated by the faulty outlook of the Government in not taking sufficient steps to build up stocks for the purpose of speculative shortfalls. The Government decision in allowing the export of essential commodities has helped the inflationary spiral. The taxation measures of Central Government in so far as they are directed towards restriction of consumption, have caused their prices to go up by creating inducements for their hoarding.

The Finance Minister thought that less consumption will lead to increased savings, but the result has been inflationary. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also held the view that to raise increased savings during the Second Five-Year Plan, consumption should be discouraged by direct and indirect taxations. But there is many a slip between the theory and the practice, between the idea and the reality, and neither the Finance Minister nor the Taxation Enquiry Commission could foresee that it was a blunder to tax essential commodities. The inflation will raise the prices and as a result the cost of living and the cost of production are bound to go up. The export prices will tend to rise thereby affecting export trade of India.

The immediate step to fight the rising prices is to raise the Bank rate and also the rate of lending to co-operative societies. The Reserve Bank's bill rediscounting rates should also be raised. Co-operative bank should enquire thoroughly the purpose of loans that will be extended to the farmers or the middlemen and loans against hoarding need be stopped. Instead of taxing the essential commodities, the Finance Minister could have raised the rates of estate duty. Rates in India are much too low in comparison with the rates of other countries, like Ceylon and Pakistan. Higher rates for estate duty will not affect consumption nor present capital formation. Besides, the slab system of estate duty lessens the incidence and to have the desired effect and to increase the income for the State, the slab system should be changed to step system, as it is in the United Kingdom.

Treasury Bills tend to have inflationary tendencies. The increase in the issue of Treasury Bills is a fundamental cause of inflation as it tends to increase the liquidity ratio of commercial banks. The liquidity ratio is the proportion of liquid assets to total assets and since Treasury Bills enable bank to turn the bills into cash they can afford to allow their cash ratio to fall below the conventional minimum limit. Withdrawal of Treasury Bills will compel the banks to revise their short-term lendings and a fall in such lendings will to a great extent arrest speculative deals.

Taxation in India

The new budget which has been, and is still being, considered in the Lok Sabha, has certain aspects which is overlooked by our politicians in their enthusiasm for the socialistic pattern. We append the following remorks to show the other side of the medal :

At the recent General Meeting of the Bank of India, the Chairman, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Baronet, C.B.E., K.C.I.E., made the following remarks :

I should like to refer to the Central Budget introduced in the Lok Sabha a week ago on the 29th of February. I must confess to a pessimistic view of the proposals. I might describe the Budget as one to make the poor poorer and the rich poor. Leaving aside China, about which we know little, India is one of the poorest countries in the world and, taking into consideration the size of its population, it has fewer rich men than any other country. We hear a great deal about the equalisation of wealth. Since the landed classes have already been more or less wiped out, I presume that this can only refer to the industrialists. Does the Government mean that these industrialists are of no service to the country and that they do not give employment to hundreds of thousands and serve the country in many other directions of which the Government are well aware. There is now an impression that the intention of the Government is to wipe out the private sector. Every obstruction is being placed in its way and when it is unable to fulfil the targets contemplated for it in the Five-Year Plans the Government may have an excuse for nationalising all industries.

The Budget has introduced the principle of double taxation. Dividends paid by companies above 6 per cent. per annum on their paid-up capital are to be taxed. No distinction is made between companies recently brought into existence and companies of long standing which have been managed with efficiency and honesty and which have conserved their resources, lenabling them to pay high dividends. All companies have already paid tax on their profits from which dividends are paid. This undoubtedly is double taxation, but, worse still, companies which intend to capitalise some of their accumulated profits on which they have already paid tax will have to pay tax again and companies which have already issued bonus shares from reserves which have been taxed will be taxed again on the dissolution of the companies. Again, the withdrawal of the rebate of I anna in the rupee on undistributed profits will cause a further drain on the resources of companies. The penal tax of 8 annas in the rupee on undistributed profits of investment companies which come under Section 23 A of the Income-tax Act will preclude any ploughing back of their profits for financing the further development of the country. Also, it appears that all companies which come under Section

23 A will fall within the mischief of the new dividends tax. This is grossly unfair as it means that the Government compel such companies to pay a very high dividend and then tax them for doing so.

Few outside India realise that India can claim to be one of the highest taxed countries in the world. The Government have included all sections in the orbit of taxation by increased excise duties. Formerly, deficit financing was unheard-of by financiers and economists. India has put into operation very big schemes by deficit financing. The success of these schemes will depend upon good administration and no corruption. It appears to me that the success of deficit financing mainly depends on getting value for money. Maladministration and corruption may frustrate the very foundation of deficit financing. I am only speaking aloud what I know thousands are saying in ordinary conversations.

New Refinery Near Calcutta ?

Last month this news-item appeared in the daily press. In view of the fresh impetus given to the search for petroleum, by the Union Government, it is of interest to our readers to get a full picture of the other details :

New Delhi, Feb. 15—The Assam Oil Company, it is reliably learnt, has recommended to the Government installation of a 1 million-ton refinery near Calcutta, which it prefers to Digboi.

The proposal is based on the company's assessment that the Naharkatiya oilfield is potentially capable of sustaining an oil refinery of that size.

The company also calculates that Naharkatiya's 1 million ton a year of crude oil and what is being produced in Digboi can substantically meet India's oil requirements.

Before the estimate becomes a reality, however, a great deal more drilling and development will be necessary in the new oilfield. The need for this cautious approach is borne out by the results of drilling operations which have, so far, been carried out.

A total of 11 wells has been drilled, out of which three have proved complete failures. This supports the study of the geologists that the oil-bearing rocks in the Naharkatiya region are complex and contain, what they call, "many faults."

Nevertheless, the confidence of the experts has advanced to the stage when the construction of a new big refinery can be actively discussed.

The problem of transporting the crude oil to Calcutta has been examined in some detail. It would involve laying down a pipeline, 650 miles long linking Calcutta with the oilfield. Though a difficult and costly operation, it has been declared a feasible proposition by the company's advisers.

The alternative to a pipeline is transport of crude oil by barges across Pakistan. The success of such a project would depend on continued good relations between the two countries.

Calcutta is specifically preferred to Digboi and other possible places on the ground that the present refinery in Digboi more than meets the need of Assam and the new refinery, among other reasons, must be near a potential consumption centre of its products.

The proposal will be examined in detail by the Government, I understand, after the formation of a rupee company in which the Government, according to existing commitments, will have a 33-1|3% share.

Negotiations for this purpose between the Government and representatives of the company are expected to be resumed in a few, weeks.

The effort still is to float the new company before the end of March as agreed in the terms of the recently granted prospecting licences.

In the meantime, the Government awaits the report of the Russian experts who are busy writing it in Calcutta.

The Stanvac Company, operating in West Bengal, is expected to start exploratory drilling in the Bengal basin in a few months.

Co-operative Movement in Bombay

The annual report of the Bombay State Co-operative Bank for the year 1954-55 reveals that as the Apex Bank of the co-operative movement in the Bombay State and as a balancing centre for the central and urban banking institutions not only in the Bombay State but also in other States in India, the Bank has to conduct all types of banking business and to provide all banking facilities such as maintaining of current accounts, collection of bills or remittance of funds, purchase or sale of shares and securities. The Bank has also to assume responsibility for providing an institutional agency for financing agriculture through co-operative credit institutions in the State of Bombay. The Bank has 69 branches spread all over the States. The authorised share capital of the Bank is Rs. 1.5 crores including contribution from the Central and State Government to the extent of Rs. 1 crore.

It may be recalled here that the All India Rural Credit Survey has put great emphasis on the role of the co-operative movement in the economic regeneration of India. The Survey states : "Co-operation has failed; but Co-operation must succeed." Bombay leads with 8.3 per cent as the proportion of families borrowing from its co-operatives. The next highest percentage is 4.9 per cent for Uttar Pradesh. In terms of quantum of co-operative credit, Bombay is ahead of other States. A family in Bombay gets on an average more than Rs. 28 from the co-operatives; whereas no other State reaches even Rs. 9 per family (in Punjab and Madras are Rs. 8.8 and Rs. 8.9 respectively). As for the proportion of co-operative borrowing to total borrowings, Bombay's record is 16.2 per cent, the next highest is that of Punjab's with 4.2 per cent. Bombay leads in credit for short-term agricultural production with 42.1 per cent of total borrowings as compared with 5.9 per cent in Punjab and 1.2 per cent in Madras. Mainly on account of the adoption of crop loan system, the advances by primary agricultural societies in Bombay have sharply increased since 1946-47. In 1951-52, the amount of such advances stood at Rs. 8.12 crores. In India, the average owned funds per co-operative society amounts to Rs. 4,529 in Bombay, Rs. 2,293 in the Punjab and Rs. 2,080 in Madras.

In Bombay during 1955, there were 1123 agricultural societies with a total membership of 9.29 lakhs. The total agricultural loans advanced amounted to Rs. 13.85 lakhs. The average loan per member is Rs. 148 and the average membership per society is 84. The system of providing agricultural loans is beset with various difficulties. The system of granting loans to the cultivator at the level of primary credit society is characterised by :—insistence on a form of security which results in credit aligning itself to ownership of property; indifference to recovery, the failure to recover in turn leading to low turnover of funds; inattention to purpose, productive or other, and failure to relate recoveries to production; consequent on all these, both a tendency to be complacent about supervision and, in actual fact, a very large lack of supervision, and necessarily the increase in outstanding dues. The agricultural credit that is extended nowadays generally falls short of right quantity, is not of the right type, does not serve the right purpose and by the criterion of the need often fails to go to the right people.

Bombay has tried to amend many of the aforesaid drawbacks of co-operative credit in India. She has introduced what is known as the crop-loan system. The crop-loan system has the following main features: (i) production is the main purpose of arrangement for finance, (ii) short-term loans are given on the basis that a crop is anticipated, and not primarily that a title exists; (iii) the loans are related in amount to the estimated outlay on raising the crop, and (iv) the recoveries are made, as and when the crop is sold, from the proceeds of the sale. The loan should, to the maximum extent possible, be disbursed in kind. The success of the crop-loan system is largely dependent on co-operative marketing, on which also depends effectiveness of recovery.

The shift in the mode of providing agricultural finance from security to anticipated crop and from creditworthiness to "creditworthy uses" of the credit, and the provision of agricultural credit on a scientific basis of a crop-loan system to the medium and small cultivator, especially in the economically backward and co-operatively underdeveloped areas or to the backward communities or sub-marginal cultivators, presupposes considerable amount of planning and supervision over the use of credit and loyalty and discipline among the borrowers and within the institutions providing such credit. Community projects and National Extension Blocks have been introduced and are being worked in most of the districts served by the Bombay State Co-operative Bank. The system introduced in the Kolhapur Community Project areas of providing timely manure doses for crops and marketing of the produce through co-operative agencies has given very encouraging results both in increasing agricultural production and encouraging co-operative effort and community action.

The Bhakra Project

We hear a lot about our achievements in the 1st Five-Year Plan. But we hear but little about

the sordid side issues that this plan has brought in its train. The following news-item, taken from the *Hindusthan Standard* is an eye-opener in that respect :

"March 29.—The Public Accounts Committee of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in its report on Bhakra Project said that it was high time that a probe be made into the working of the Board.

"The Committee also recommended 'with all the force at its command' that a high-power committee independent of the Bhakra Control Board and with public representatives on it should be set up to go into the working of the Project as early as possible.

"It may be stated that last year, too, the Public Accounts Committee had made a similar recommendation which said : 'Independent enquiry into the overall working of the Bhakra Canal's administration and Project administration is an indispensable necessity.'

"The Committee's report presented to the House today by its Chairman Chaudhuri Rizakram suggested immediate reconstitution of the Bhakra Control Board with some legislators on it.

"The Committee also complained of poor attention from Government department which, it stated, did not attend properly and promptly, to its questionnaires and frequently replies were delayed inordinately and even the replies were both 'vague and unsatisfactory.'

"The Committee expressed concern over the fact that irregularities and defects which were pointed out last year had again been repeated and that there was no noticeable improvement either in regard to the preparation of firm estimate of the project, or in regard to observing uniform schedule of rates in all circles of the project or in the execution of work which continued to be executed without sanctioned estimates.

"The Committee observed that relaxations like permission to recruit raw, inexperienced and unqualified engineers from unrecognised institutions for the project work by the Board brought in its trail irregularities and malpractices and that the Board failed to preserve financial control over the construction work which resulted in large-scale pilferage and corruption.

"Pointing out huge items of 'infructuous expenditure,' the Committee wondered how the average cost of the survey per mile of the Bhakra main line came to Rs. 590 while on other canals it ranged up to Rs. 147 only.

"Recommending a number of enquiries, the Committee suggested that the responsibility for infructuous expenditure should be fixed on the erring officers and expenditure amounting to lakhs of rupees, incurred by the Government in paying off demurrage should be recovered from officials through whose fault or negligence such loss occurred."

Aid to Asia

The *Time* Newsmagazine gave the following figures regarding aid to Asiatic countries by the U.S. as compared to that by the U.S.S.R. :

From Washington last week came the first statistics on the much-touted Communist economic offensive.

The big item; of a promised $500 million in economic credits and grants-in-aid the Communists have delivered $23.4 million—between 4% and 5% of their promises. The U.S. has sent $37 billion abroad since the war, including $4.3 billion to the Middle East alone.

Other sample comparisons :

India. Since 1950 the U.S. has made outright gifts of about $266 million, plus loans of $272 million ; the Communists have contracted to build a 1,000,000-ton-capacity steel plant on an $80 million to $95 million loan at 2½% to be repaid in twelve annual instalments.

Pakistan. Since 1951 the U.S. had made gifts of $290 million and loans of $65 million ; the Communists have advanced 200 tons of tubing and three mobile electric stations for drilling rigs.

Egypt. Since 1952 the U.S. has given $62.3 million in technical and development aid, recently offered $55 million more to help start the new Aswan Dam ; the Communists have made several offers of aid, including "a new railway network" and a $5.600,000 electric plant.

Indonesia. Since 1949 the U.S. has given about $142 million ; the Communists have offered an $8,000,000 loan to rehabilitate a sugar mill.

Desspite their negligible showing on actual aid delivered, the Communists are getting political results that are far from negligible. In many underdeveloped and new countries, the climate of opinion is strongly anti-capitalist, especially where capitalism can be linked to memories of imperialism. Government-to-government aid from the U.S. does not necessarily become an argument for free enterprise. Government-to-government aid from Moscow fits ideologically into the planned economy, anti-free-enterprise prejudices of those countries.

Economically, Red aid to underdeveloped countries cannot hope to rival U.S. activity. Propagandistically, the Communists are getting a lot of mileage out of each ruble that goes abroad.

Freedom for Malaya

Recent News from Malaya indicate great jubilations in the prospect of liberty. The following piece of news that reached us in February gives the background to that :

"Liverpool, February 7.—Malaya will be granted full independence within the British Commonwealth on August 31, 1957, it was announced today.

"The news was given to 300 Malayan student-teachers at Kirkby near here by Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Chief Minister, who for three weeks has been negotiating with the British Government.

"Prelude to full independence will be self-government starting from now.

"The Malayan prince told the teachers who are studying at a college for Malayans that the prosecution of the eight-year-old war against Communists in the rubber jungles would now be under the control of a Malayan Minister.

"He announced his mission to London had obtained control of finance and of internal defence and security.

"Plans for giving Malaya complete independence will be set out in a 7,000-word report to be published tomorrow.

"The report, following a three-week conference, is ready for signature by Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary.

"According to conference sources today, the 52-year-old Tengku has been granted practically everything he asked for."

De-Segregation in U.S.A.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. has decreed all segregation on the basis of colour to be against the Constitution. But prejudice dies hard—even in the U.S.A. In the first weeks after the dictum a coloured young woman got a most offensive reaction to her attempt at admission to the Alabama University.

The *New York Times* commented vigourously as follows :

Is it "white supremacy" that is being demonstrated when a mob of a thousand demonstrators turns on one mild-mannered young Negro woman, guilty of no other act than attending classes which the Supreme Court of the United States says she has every right to attend, and pelts with rocks and eggs the car in which she is being spirited across the University of Alabama campus ? Is it "respect for law and order" that is being shown, when the trustees of that university, instead of standing up to this threat, vote to suspend not the instigators of the outrage but the young Negro woman herself ?

We are glad to note some opposition among the University of Alabama students to what has happened there, and we honor them for this opposition. They are better defenders of the good name of their university than the rock-throwers. For the rock-throwers themselves there is only this much to be said : they are not the real makers of opinion in this sorry business; they are merely immature young men who have taken a tip from some of their more irresponsible elders who happen to be in positions of high power. What does a man like Senator Eastland expect to happen, on the student level, when he declares that a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court is the result of "left-wing brainwashing" of that court ? This is what he is asking for. This is what he gets.

We congratulate those students of the University of Alabama who have raised their voices in protest against mob violence on the campus and in Tuscaloosa on the issue of race segregation in education. Thus far the resolutions and petitions have not come to grips with the central issue, but they have indicated that some considerable number of the students realize clearly that mob rule is not the way to approach that issue.

This is sound thinking. The segregation problem is complex and difficult. It will not be solved this week or next. But it will never be solved if the method of approach is that which has been seen in Alabama. This is the first time that force and violence have become part of the question. It should be the last time. Some of the questions involved are legal, some sociological, some moral. No mob ever had the equipment to solve that sort of problem. Mob action, moreober, intensifies the problems in the emotional field precisely for those persons who are least able to contribute to their solution.

An Important Judgment

The Queen's Bench Division of the Privy Council has delivered recently an important judgment which has revealed the way in which Indian Sea Customs Act is evaded to the detriment of national honour. The facts of the case are as follows:

In Septemtber 1948, K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd. agreed to sell and deliver to Regazzoni 5 lakh jute bags c.i.f. Genoa at 248 shillings per 100. At that time India was the largest and cheapest producer of jute bags and South Africa a large consuming country, but, by way of political protest and on account of a dispute which had arisen between India and South Africa about the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa, the Indian Government had, by regulations made under powers conferred by the Sea Customs Act, 1878, prohibited the export of goods to South Africa direct and sought to avoid indirect shipments, infringements of the regulations making the goods liable to confiscation and the shipper to a penalty. Consequently, South Africa was restricted in its purchase of jute bags and was prepared to pay high prices for any made available. Both the plaintiff and the defendants were well aware of the prohibition and that it would be unlawful for a shipper to export either directly or indirectly to South Africa, but they sought to take advantage of the situation, and both parties contemplated and intended that the contract goods would be shipped from India and be made available in Genoa for resale to the South African buying agency.

In an action by the plaintiff Regazzoni claiming damages for non-delivery of the jute bags, it was held by Justice Sellers, on Dec. 19, 1955, (*i*) that the Indian regulations prohibiting the export of goods to South Africa could not be regarded as either penal or revenue enactments (notwithstanding that infringement of the regulations might involve penalties and fines which would enhance the revenue) nor were they confiscatory or political laws such as the courts of this country would disregard, and therefore the English Courts would recognise that in September-October, 1948, it was illegal for an Indian shipper to export jute bags from India when the ultimate destination was the Union of South Africa.

(*ii*) That the business venture contemplated by the parties was dependent upon someone getting out of India the prohibited commodity which would enable the plaintiff to make a profit out of the demand of South Africa; that the contract, to the knowledge of both parties, could not have been performed without the performance in a foreign and friendly country of an act which was illegal by the law of that country; and that, therefore, the contract was invalid and unenforceable in the English Courts.

[Regazzoni *v.* K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd., (1956) 2 W.L.R. 204]

Physical Education and Students

Commenting on the reported refusal of the Principal of a Poona College to send for the Intermediate Examination a batch of thirty boys otherwise qualified on the ground that their attendance at physical training classes had been unsatisfactory, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that such an action was without precedent and there was even room for doubt "if it can be justified in law."

In the absence of sufficient details it is not possible to decide the merits of the Principal's conduct but it is inconceivable that any Principal could so behave without the backing of definite regulations governing such cases.

In this connection references to existing facilities in our educational institutions for the promotion of physical training naturally come to mind. Here the findings are none-too-remarkable. Most of the educational institutions have no open spaces worth mentioning to enable the students to practise games, etc. About the implements and accessories for physical education and training the less said, the better. Moreover, generally no stress is given on the importance of physical training. Whatever efforts are there are chiefly limited within building up sports teams for tournaments and very little serious efforts are ever made to impart a systematic course of training. The general conditions of the country contribute not a little to this appalling condition and the *Bambay Chronicle* rightly traces the reasons for the inadequate provisions of physical training in educational institutions to the living conditions of students, the distance they have to cover to get to their colleges, the varying hours of classes resulting in overcrowding and the general proverty of the majority of the students rendering them unfit to undertake physical exercises after the long hours of the classes are over.

Patna Police Firing was Unjustified

The one-man Judicial Commission set up by the Government of Bihar to enquire into the disturbances in Patna in mid-August last year in which one student had been killed and five others injured as a result of firing by the police, held that the police firing near the Bihar National College on August 12, 1955, "transgressed, in the circumstances of the case, the limits of justifiable firing."

Mr. Justice S. K. Das, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, who comprised the one-man commission of enquiry, also held a judicial enquiry into the Nawadah police firing on August 15, 1955, but in that case the commission found the firing "justified and necessary."

Travancore-Cochin

The fifth Ministry in seven years in Travancore-Cochin resigned on March 12 after one year in office following differences within the ruling Congress Party. On March 23, the President by a proclamation issued under Article 356 of the Constitution took over the administration of the State in his own hands because he was satisfied "that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State cannot be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India." The State Legislature was dissolved and Mr. P. S. Rau, until recently Chairman of the D.V.C., was appointed Adviser to the President in Travancore-Cochin.

The outgoing Chief Minister, Mr. Panampilli Govinda Menon, said that while the Congress Party deeply regretted this development it was inevitable. He laid all responsibility for the imposition of President's rule to the irresponsible conduct of the Opposition including the six dissident Congress members.

Highly critical of the imposition of the President's rule in the State, Mr. Pottom Thanu Pillai, P. S. P. leader and a former Chief Minister of the State, urged for the holding of general elections at the earliest opportunity and added that there was no excuse for putting off the general elections in the State.

Mr. Pillai said that while the Congress had been allowed to form a Government when it had only a strength of 59 members in the Assembly last year the Praja Socialist Party with 61 members this time was not given an opportunity to form a new. "I leave it to the public for their own inference," he said.

The Speaker of the dissolved Assembly, Mr. V. Gangadharan characterised the decision to impose Presidents' rule as "unfortunate" and said, "The undemocratic attitude taken up by the Rajpramukh and the Government of India in this respect is not justifiable. Denial of the right of forming a Government to a leader of a party who commands the support of a majority in the legislature undermines democracy and hence the convention established in Travancore-Cochin now is a dangerous one."

In an editorial article on the President's rule in Travancore-Cochin, the *Hindu* writes that the imposition of President's rule after the failure of two ministries in two years could not be considered as reflecting a healthy state of affairs in the State. "Though the instability was inherent in the precariously balanced position of parties that resulted from the last general election, the crisis that led to the resignation of the Congress Ministry showed that an even greater weakness is the lack of cohesion within the different political parties."

The Congress Ministry failed because of the irresponsible conduct of the six dissident members. But such internal dissension was not the peculiar characteristics of the Congress Party alone. "The other political groups have shown themselves even more loose-knit; with the consequence that there are individuals inside each group who start a hectic manoeuvring for position the moment here seems to be even a remote chance of a change of Ministry. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the claims about the actual number of members who were supposed to be prepared to support this or that Party in office, or the astonishing frequency with which a handful who could tilt the balance avowed their readiness to support one Party at one moment and at the next moment declared that conditions had changed or they had not understood the conditions properly."

The newspaper does not find any point of criticism regarding the conduct of the Rajpramukh and avers that so far as the people were

concerned they stood only to gain in promptness and efficiency on the part of the administration as a result of President's rule.

In conclusion, the *Hindu* writes : "If Party leaders realise that a new political approach alone can bring some kind of stability to the State and engage themselves earnestly to persuade the electorate, on the basis of declared policies, to return an effective majority they may find that the interlude of President's rule has not been too long or an unmixed evil."

Cyprus

Britain has apparently decided to adopt an openly "get tough" policy *vis-a-vis* the Cypriots' demand for national independence. The action of the British Government in deporting Archbishop Myriarthefs Makarios, the moderate leader of the Cypriot nationalists, from Cyprus could not have any other meaning. Indeed the British authorities made no bones about their policy and in an earlier broadcast announcing the breakdown of the talks between Britain and the Cypriot nationalists over the British offer of limited autonomy the Kenya-returned Governor of the island, Sir John Harding had said : "I am determined there shall be an end to violence. Terrorists must be eliminated and intimidation stopped." Justifying the deportation of the archbishop the Governor said : "[I reached the] decision to order the archbishop's deportation in the light not only of his overt seditious activities, but also of a large volume of evidence indicating that the archbishop has himself been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism."

But, as the U.S. newsmagazine *Time* points out, the British were thorougly mistaken in thinking that "such documentation would numb the shock which the deportation caused at home and abroad."

In Greece, the news of the deportation came as a surprising shock. A wave of great indignation swept over the whole of Gressce and public sentiments ran so high that Greek Government had subsequently to cancel their earlier order permitting political rallies in Athens against the British action. Meanwhile in Athens and Crete angry mobs burnt down the British flags.

The Holy Synod, governing body of the Greek orthodox Church which was presided over by Spyridon, octogenarian Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, characterised the deportation as "vandalism", as "a nefarious act reminiscent of the dark days of serfdom ;" and appealed to Patriarch Alexi of Moscow and other prelates for moral support in its protest against the deportation of the Cypriot clerics.

Immediately on receiving the news of deportation the Greek Cabinet met in an emergency midnight meeting on March 9-10. After the meeting the Greek Foreign Minister Spyros Theotokis announced the Government's decision to recall its Ambassador to London. The permanent Greek delegate to the United Nations was simultaneously instructed to lodge a complaint with the Security Council. Premier Constantine Karamanlis said that Greece looked to the United States of America for a just solution of the Cypriot question.

In the United Kingdom itself there was widespread criticism of the Government's action. The Labour Opposition brought a motion in the House of Commons to censure the Government's policy though it was lost by 65 votes, 252 voting in favour and 317 against the motion. In the ensuing debate one labour member, Mr. F. E. Jones, contended the legality of the deportation order because, as he said, the Governor had no lawful right to direct that the Archbishop should be taken to any particular place outside the island, in view of the fact that the Governor's jurisdiction was limited in law only to the island and its territorial waters. Mr. Noel-Baker, who had served as an interpreter at the talks in Cyprus, spoke of his "very sincere respect and admiration" for the archbishop and said : "It is my impression he (Makarios) is a sincere, patriotic, modest and a very remarkable leader of his people (Cypriots)."

The Government put forward the usual charges of terrorism and violence against the exiled archbishop. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Allan Lennox-Boyd, said in reply to a question by the liberal leader, Mr. Clement Davies, that the Governor's action in deporting Makarios had the full and prior approval of the British Government. Defining immediate British Government policy toward Cyprus the Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden said, "Our immediate purpose must be to defeat terrorism. Our duty is to safeguard the strategic need of our country and our allies." The House of Commons upheld the Government policy by 317 votes to 251, a Government majority of 66.

In the House of Lords the Government policy came under criticism by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher who said that the arrest and deportation of Makarios had been received by Christian opinion in Britain and elsewhere with "great perplexity and distress." Dr. Fisher put forward a three-point plan to end the deadlock which provided for the appointment of a Commission for drafting a Constitution for Cyprus in consultation with Makarios and with a definite time-table for its promulgation. After the draft had been drawn up Britain, Greece and Turkey would appeal for an immediate end of terrorism on the island, Archbishop Makarios should also be assured of an end of his exile as soon as disturbances ceased on the island. Lord Munster, Minister without portfolio, said that he did not see any possibility of Dr. Fisher's suggestions being accepted by the Government.

Meanwhile on March 12 the United States Government urged the British Government to find means of resuming negotiations with Cypriot nationalists. Lincoln White, the State Department Press Officer, indicated that in the view of U.S. Government the deportation of Archbishop Makarios was a serious mistake. The U.S. Government had had no advance information, he added. On the following day, March 13, the U.S. Government formally offered its good offices to find a "fair and just solution" of the British-Greek dispute over Cyprus. The statement announcing the U.S. offer said that though the USA was not a party to the Cyprus issue she was following the matter with attentive interest as it involved the "interests of close friends and allies of the United States." The American Ambassador in Athens Cavendish W. Cannon in a talk with the Greek Foreign Minister on March 13, also expressed the "sympathetic concern" of the United States Government and "of the American peoples over the recent developments in Cyprus." He also praised the dignity and statesmanship shown by the Greek Government in this connection.

The British reaction was quick and sharp. The British newspapers took up the remark of Ambassador Cannon as an insult to Britain and the conservative *Daily Mail* came out with a front page editorial describing the attitude of the US as a "Kick in the Teeth." The British Ambassador in the USA Sir Roger Makins demanded an official explanation. Observers in London said that the Anglo-American alliance suffered its severest setback since the end of the war over the Cyprus issue, reports the *Statesman*. The London office of the newspaper writes-: "On the specific point of the deportation, we have . . . the authority of the *Times* special correspondent in Nicosia for saying that talks with Archbishop Makarios should not have broken down at least when they did."

The view of the Government of India on the Cyprus question was given by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in New York. Speaking at a luncheon of the UN Correspondents' Association Mr. Menon said that Cyprus must be given independence before being linked with any other country. "We have always held that the idea of a country choosing to go on one side or the other when she is not totally free is not a real choice." He, however, did not say whether India would change her position of neutrality in favour of the support for the inclusion of Cyprus issue on the UN agenda in the ensuing General Assembly Session.

Makarios Deported

On March 9, when Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Cypriots' union with Greece mobement, was driving to the airport to board a plane bound for Athens a British Security Officer quietly took Makarios into custody. The U.S. newsmagazine *Time* describes the episode in the following words. "In his flowing black robes the archbishop was led into the airport, past the Greek airlines plane waiting to take him to Greece, to another corner of the tarmac where an RAF Hastings transport plane was parked. Already in custody beside the Hastings were three other Cypriot clerics, including Kyprianos, Themistokleons, Kyriakides, Bishop of Kyrenia. At 4.30 p.m. the Hastings took off for Kenya, where the Cypriots were transferred to H.M. Frigate *Loch Fada*, which set out for the Seychelles Islands, a British crown colony in the Indian ocean, about 1000 miles east of Kenya, and just south of the Equator. Here the archbishop will be confined to a small bungalow, 1800 feet above the sea, which Lady Addis, wife of the resident British Governor, discribes as 'a delightful place—sunny, peaceful, beautiful but rather lonely'."

Cracks in North Atlantic "Defense"

The aggressive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation came in for comment in neutral political quarters. The Western

said that the Pakistani people were quite friendly to India and such regrettable incidents occurred only on account of the instigations of the irresponsible section of the Pakistani Press.

Addressing the first session of the National Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan President Mirza said on March 25 that war between Pakistan and India would be suicidal. He declared he could not conceive of any aggressive designs against India on the part of Pakistan. He put all responsibility of the recent border incidents on India. "In every one of these instances Indian armed forces were the first to open fire on Pakistan border outposts," he said.

While all Indians naturally welcomed the emergence of Pakistan as a Republic, it was not possible to shut one's eyes to the anti-Indian policies followed by the Pakistan political leaders. On the face of the recurring and increasingly damaging border "incidents" engineered by Pakistani armed forces, for which President Mirza contrary to the evidence of facts put the blame at India's doors, and the continued exodus of minority Hindus from East Pakistan in increasingly large numbers as well as the renewed threat of aggression on the Kashmir front, much of the good things contained in the President's inaugural speech appeared to be rather "phoney"

Chinese Buddhist Encyclopaedia

The Chinese Buddhist Association set up a 15-man Committee on Febuary 22 to compile a Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedia in the next two years. The Committee would also help Ceylon to compile the Chinese section of its Buddhist encylopaedia to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of the Nirvana of Buddha.

The Chinese Buddhist Asociation further decided, as its part of the commemoration of the anniversary, to open this year the famous cave in Fangshan Country, over 30 miles to the west of Peking, which contained Buddhist Tripitaka carved on stone, dating from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. These hitherto unpublished scriptures would now be printed for circulation. Buddha's images would be made and a collection of prints of Buddha's statues and pictures would also be published.

American H-Bomb Tests

The U. S. Atomic Energy Commission announced on the 1st of March that it would seal off a "danger area of 375,000 square miles in the Pacific for neuclear weapons test beginning about April 20." The tests which were expected to include both atomic and hydrogen weapons would be held in the area around Eniwetok and Bikini Atolls. The exact dates of the tests were not given but it was stated that most of the area would be released by the end of August next. The area sealed off was rectangular and was many times larger than that used for the first stage of atomic tests series held there in 1954 when a number of Japanese fishermen were wounded by the effects of radiation.

A spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry said on March 2 that the Japanese Government was not satisfied with the guarantees given by the USA in connexion with the proposed tests of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. Later on during the month the Japanese Fishermen Association sent an appeal to President Eisenhower to stop the proposed nuclear tests.

India Government served a notice on March 2 that it proposed to ask the International Court of Justice to give a ruling whether the United States of America had the right to carry out hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific Trust territories. "If the United States embarks on these tests before the next Trusteeship Council meeting, then my Government will submit its own proposals," said Mr. Menon. Those proposals would be put forward for the determination "whether the administering authority is competent to use what is United Nations Trust territory for its own purposes."

"We want the World Court to tell us whether the right to destroy the trust property is vested in the Trusteeship Agreement," said Mr. Menon. "I submit that it is not," he added.

Referring to the ineffectiveness of US assurances, Mr. Menon said that the area in which the tests were projected was a fishing area "and fishermen usually dont' read communications of Governments." Moreover, as, in all probability, the times of the explosions would be kept secret "these men would probably take risks." Expressing India's scepticism about the effectiveness of any measures adopted to check radiation effects Mr. Menon referred to the unexpected fall-out from the last United States hydrogen bomb explosion in the same area two years ago and recalled that the calculations had then been upset by unexpected change of wind.

"The explosion of these weapons can do nothing but damage to the prestige of the United Nations, to the cause of peace, and the welfare of these populations," Mr. Menon said. He urged for the stoppage of these steps and said that India was opposed to such tests whether by the USA, UK or USSR. "The hydrogen powers have now in their possession all the powers of destruction that are necessary to blow this planet to pieces."

A *Reuter* despatch from New York dated 29th March says: "The UN Trusteeship Council today declined to interfere with the planned US nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. The Council approved by nine votes to four (India, Burma, Syria and the Soviet Union opposing) a resolution noting the declaration by the USA that further nuclear weapons tests were necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security."

During the discussions in the Trusteeship Council India's representative, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said that India was not trying to cast the USA as the villain in the piece. "We are not saying that if it were exploded by anyone else it would be any better." Mr Menon pointed out that the Government of India was not alone in its anxiety at the result of these tests. The Japanese Parliament had already passed a resolution requesting that explosions be banned by both the USA and the USSR. He said that the Trusteeship Council was not competent to discuss whether or not the tests were necessary in the interests of the world security.

U Than Hla of Burma said that atomic tests should be suspended by the USA, UK and the USSR pending the disarmament negotiations. "The tests are not compatible with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement," he said.

President Eisenhower rejected the application of the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands —of which Bikini and Eniwetok testing grounds were parts—for the suspension of the atomic tests. The US Government statement said it was not possible to suspend the tests because it "is the conviction of the USA that it has a responsibility not only to its people but to all the peoples of the free world to maintain at a maximum its capacity to deter aggression and preserve peace."

Dutch-Indonesian Union Abrogated

The Dutch-Indonesian Union linking the two countries under the Dutch Crown came into effect in 1949 when Indonesia achieved her independence. Indonesian public and government had long wanted to end that union. Recently after the failure of Dutch-Indonesian talks at Geneva the Indonesian Cabinet met in an emergency session and decided on the abrogation of Indonesia's Union agreement with the Netherlands. It was also decided to cancel the financial and economic agreements with Netherlands.

The Indonesian Parliament passed a law on March 1, upholding the Cabinet's decision to abrogate the Union and financial agreements with the Netherlands.

Anak Agung Gde Agung, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, said in Djakarta on February 15 that the Round Table Conference Agreement signed in 1949 with the Dutch did not bind either nation to the RTC for any specific period of time, so that either State could, at any time it chose, free itself of the terms of the Agreement. The abrogation was fully in accord with International Law and fully conformed to the procedure laid down in Clauses 98 and 120 of the Provincial Constitution of Indonesia.

The Foreign Minister added that Indonesia's continued adherence to the RTC (union with Holland) Agreements "had, in fact, hampered constantly all the national efforts and resolves to proceed rapidly with plans of reconstruction aimed at furthering the prosperity of the people as a whole. To put an end to this unwanted obstacle, the first essential was to do away with the RTC 'chain'; with this end in view several attempts had been made in the past to find the proper way out through the process of friendly and amicable discussion with the Dutch. But these attempts at negotiation have always proved futile, thus frustrating the will of the people of Indonesia."

Asia and the U.S.A.

The Christian Science Monitor of Boston wrote this editorial on 17th of Feburary last. It is particularly interesting to read these comments in the light of Secretary Dulles' visit:

"When the historians sit down to write the annals of this decade, one of their most decisive topics will be: What did the United States do about the hundreds of millions of uncommitted, underdeveloped nations of Asia?

Did the United States have a definite objective? Did the people of the United States understand the stakes involved? Did they take effective action?

Because the Communists do have a program. And their leaders understand the stakes involved. And intelligence surveys show they are intending to take shrewd action.

John Sherman Cooper, United States Ambassador to India, has been alerting members of Congress, the State Department, and President Eisenhower, to the critical danger of 'losing' the uncommitted peoples of Asia, including India. Other American ambassadors on the spot, no longer intimidated by the recent security miasma, are sending back warning signals.

John Cowles, publisher of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune and of Look magazine, is back from a tour of Asia with a sense of mission. Writing for his newspaper, he wonders 'whether we will wait passively until the backward countries begin to accept Moscow's political and economical philosophies as their model.'

The underdeveloped countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia, and the rest are intensely conscious that they missed the industrial revolution. Now they are trying to catch up. They know that the Soviet Union by ruthless, forced-draft methods, made stupendous strides in shoving a backward, illiterate, nation into the forefront of the twentieth century. Red China is embarked on the same course.

Will the underdeveloped neutrals follow the Red example, or the Democratic route? So far they are trying to industrialize by democratic methods.

Consider India, with 370 million people, second most powerful nation of Asia, leader of the neutralist bloc. Premier Nehru is a proud, overly sensitive, complex individual, but a believer in the democratic way. India has an effective civil service, inherited from the British occupation, and has men of thoroughly independent stature in its cabinet. The English common law is practised in its courts. It now has the kind of government which, though neutralist, will certainly not succumb to the Khrushchev-Bulganin blandishments.

Those who criticize Mr. Nehru for not embracing capitalist principles and for not lining up with the West overlook the fact that the average Indian has an income of about $55 a year. India is embarked on an impressive five-year plan, run along democratic lines. It needs two billion dollar worth of foreign exchange for acquiring the capital equipment—railroads, port facilities, power plants and the like—which will lay the industrial base for faster economic progress.

It must either obtain foreign loans for this purpose, or extract the wherewithal out of the hides of a populace already on a terrifically low standard of living—as did the Soviet Union. *That route leads to unrest, repression, and eventual communism.*

Ambassador Cooper is known to estimate that if the United States stepped up its annual foreign aid to India from 50 million to 75 million dollars, India could make sufficient headway with its five-year plan. Help would also have to come from unexpended sterling balances, the International Bank, the Colombo Powers, and private investment. Mr. Cowles and others contend this increase in American aid to India won't suffice, and that actually the United States should be prepared to loan and grant India a billion dollars over five years.

But the over-all problem is also psychological—a question of attitudes. Perhaps it would help if President Eisenhower and Mr. Nehru could sit down together and thrash out American-Indian misunderstandings. Such a meeting has been proposed. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is shortly visiting Burma, India, and other Asian nations, and the reception he receives will be interesting to watch, in view of the colossal unpopularity—throughout Asia—of his disastrous statement on Goa.

Americans may think they are paying out vast sums now on foreign economic development, since the 'foreign aid' budget runs to four billion dollars a year. But actually about four-fifths of this goes for the military bulwarking of our allies—Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, Spain, Turkey, and so on.

A less ambiguous State Department attitude, a frank admission in Congress that it is to this country's crucial self-interest that uncommitted Asia merely be kept uncommitted (instead of sliding into the Communist camp), some de-emphasis of military 'pactomania' in Asia, a little more spending and a lot less pique—these ingredients of a new policy would do much to halt the Red tide."

AMERICAN-ASIAN RELATIONS*

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR,
Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa

What is the Conference on Asian Affairs? Ours is a young organization—a mere four-year-old infant, just entering its fifth year. As organizations go, the Conference on Asian Affairs is not even in its teething stage. But in some ways the precocious infant behaves as an adult, as a wise adult.

Ever since our friend, Dr. Buchanan, Director of the Institute of Asian Affairs at the University of Oklahoma, launched this Conference four years ago, scholars and savants from different fields of knowledge, from different disciplines, and from different campuses, have been gathering together once a year to share the results of their researches and meditations one with another.

While most participants in our deliberations from year to year have been Americans, citizens either by birth or by adoption, the Asian flavour is palpably felt in every direction. To begin with, Dr. Buchanan and his co-workers launched this organization on faith, and without any grandiose plan. Second, disregarding the distinctively American pattern of wherever two or three are gathered together there emerges a written constitution, our organization came into being without a constitution and has managed to get along without one so far. Third, the Asian pattern has become so insidiously pervasive that we as an organization have been living from hand to mouth, depending on the generosity and co-operation of the administrations of our respective institutions to pay our bills. Finally, the Asian character of our organisation is evident nowhere better than in the disreputably meager budget on which we have thus far managed to prosper.

This reference to the budget is not meant as a hint to Uncle Sam to put at our disposal a microscopic portion of the huge annual budget which has been rising to giddy heights ever since the beginning of World War II. But I am sure if some private foundation wishes to take a hint, none of us would object to receiving for our organization a four or five figure amount, to begin with.

With a modest endowment, we could really go to town. First, we could implement the purposes and objectives of our Conference more adequately than at present. Second, our membership, open to all who have a professional and scholarly interest in Asian affairs, could be immediately increased. Third, the papers read at our Conferences could be made available to a larger circle of scholars and laymen. Fourth, we could serve as an effective agency to interpret Asia, its peoples and cultures and problems to the American people on the one hand and to interpret the American people, their culture and problems to the Asians on the other.

Let me assure you that with or without outside aid, our precocious child with the wisdom and maturity of the adult shall carry on in the fifth year and in subsequent years as it has done in the last four years—with energy and with effectiveness.

The Jigsaw Puzzle of Asia

This evening I have chosen as my topic American-Asian Relations. If Asia were a homogeneous cultural unit, my task would still be difficult, because people's hopes and aspirations, ambitions and problems, refuse to be contained within the neat formula of social scientists. The enormity of the task is increased by the fact that Asia, geographically a unity, represents wide diversity culturally, economically, politically, religiously.

In spite of the vastness and complexity of the situation, it should be possible for us to analyze Asian ambitions and problems with the aid of a few conceptual tools.

To begin with, Asia may be divided into five culture areas: (1) The Arab World in the

* Presidential address delivered by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, at the Annual Banquet of the Fourth Conference on Asian Affairs, Hotel Wareham, Manhattan, Kansas, November 18, 1955.

Near East, including Egypt in this context; (2) India and South-east Asia; (3) Monolithic Communist China in process of emergence; (4) Japan with a high degree of industrialization and urbanization; and (5) Totalitarian Communist Asia in what used to be known as Siberia.

Iran with its Islamic culture may be safely put in the Arab World. Pakistan, a blend of Islamic and Hindu cultural influences, belongs both to the Arab world and to the world of India and South-east Asia. Israel, suspiciously eyed by the Arabs as an intruder, serves as a bridgehead of two contradictory cultural forces, American-democratic and Russian-totalitarian. For good or for ill, compatible or incompatible, Israel must be considered a part of the Arab world.

The mere mention of the names of some of these countries brings to our mind a host of problems peculiar to each. Iran, for instance, is oil-rich and economically poor so far as the purchasing power of its people is concerned. The same holds true for Arabia. The Arab nations have internal rivalry for leadership, but all Arab nations are united in wishing Israel out of existence. Pakistan is resources-poor and also economically poor. India has comparatively more resources but her people have as low purchasing power as the people of Pakistan. The Republic of Indonesia is rich in oil, rubber, tin, and good agricultural land, and yet her people suffer from hunger and low purchasing power, with the threat of communism hanging over their head like the sword of Damocles. Japan has the industrial know-how but is poverty-stricken in regard to resources including arable land. The people of China, who through the ages lived according to the golden mean preached by Confucius, Laotze and Buddha, are today undergoing a transformation which staggers the imagination. Whether the Confucian Middle Path will ever again be trodden by the people of China is in the lap of the gods. At the moment, China, a slumbering giant, just awakened, is on the march toward a ruthless totalitarian dictatorship which knows nothing of the Confucian canon or Li or propriety; which, indeed, deliberately acts as an outlaw in its international dealings. Korea hangs uneasily between totalitarian China and Russia on the one hand and capitalist Japan on the march toward democracy on the other.

The mere contemplation of such a jigsaw puzzle involving the destiny of half the population of the world taxes the imaginatiotn. And when we are confronted with such a jigsaw puzzle and are called upon not only to fit together the pieces in their proper places but also to create a harmonious picture with the addition of pieces from American foreign policy, the task seems well-nigh hopeless.

America and Asia Since World War II

Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the task of American foreign policy in Asia is not hopeless. Fortunately for us, America has come of age; we have outgrown our isolationist breeches, and our generous impulses and gifts are recognized abroad as symbols of American might—and of American goodwill.

The whole world, and most conspicuously the Asian part of it, has decided to catch up with our Zeitgeist, with the spirit of our times. People everywhere are resolved to give loyalty to the three magnificent principles of the people, the *San Min Chu I*, enunciated by a great Asian—by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of modern China. (1) People's Nationalism, (2) People's Democracy, (3) People's Livelihood—these are the three great principles the Asians have vowed to achieve regardless of the cost in lives or resources.

What is America's role in the unfolding drama of Asians claiming a place in the sun and an umbrella of their own, not an umbrella belonging to England or France, neither to the Netherlands nor to Soviet Russia? I am afraid America's role since World War II has been an unenviable one. Involved in the fortunes of our European friends and allies, we have stultified our position and tended to give an impression to the Asians that we bless and sanction the colonialism and imperialism of our European friends.

With the noble tradition of the American heritage of the right of a people to revolution and to self-government before us, it is passing strange that our State Department should shake in its boots whenever any Asian or African people dare to demand self-government or resort to Revolution when their demand for freedom is not met!

It is because of the betrayal of the American heritage by our namby-pamby policy-makers that we are always permitting the dictators of the totalitarian Soviet regime to pose as friends of the oppressed people of Asia and Africa.

In addition to this stultification born of expediency, our State Department has become a prisoner of the policy of timidity verging on loss of self-respect. Instead of developing a positive American foreign policy, by and large our State Department is content to react to Soviet moves and stratagems.

The Crisis in the Near East

To cite the most recent example, a barter agreement entered into by Czechoslovakia and Egypt, less than two months ago, to swap arms for cotton upset our State Department. And what did Mr. Dulles do? He served a warning on Mr. Molotov about the unrighteousness of upsetting the power balance in the Near East; and he sent his deputy to Egypt to coax and/or intimidate Premier Nasser.

Instead of reacting to Soviet moves, we need a positive American policy. And that positive policy, happily for us, involves nothing more—nor less—than a re-enunciation, and translation into practice, of the American doctrine of the right of every people to revolution with a view to achieving self-government. Any other policy would smack of expediency; and expediency, in my judgment, leads to worse results than the conditions it professes to cure, as attested by Yalta.

With due respect to Mr. Dulles, I must take exception to his warning to Mr. Molotov regarding arms sales to Egypt by Czechoslovakia. In the first place, can our State Department honestly maintain that we never supplied arms—or permitted supply of arms—to our friends and neighbors when they were in trouble?

If we maintain the right to supply arms to other nations in terms of our conception of the best interests of all concerned, then I believe equity requires that we recognise a similar right for the Soviet Union.

Which is not to say that I am happy about the Soviet Union fishing in the troubled water of the Near East. I deeply grieved over the dangerous situation developing in that troubled region.

And I am sure the Kremlin dictators are moved not by the desire to help rectify a wrong but by the sinister motive to create confusion, to let loose violence, to create diversionary small wars all over the world.

Four Steps to Peace in the Near East

The way to improve this deteriorating situation is not to read a moral lecture to Premier Nasser of Egypt nor to Mr. Molotov. The way to solve the problem is:

(1) To enunciate a policy of fair play as between Arabs and Israelis; (2) to adjudicate the boundary lines between Israel and the Arab nations on the basis of equity and fair play, not on the basis of the brute force either of Israel or of the Arab nations; (3) to provide homes and hearths to the thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine now living in torn tents in the Gaza strip; (4) in short, to show charity and chivalry both to Arab and Israeli.

American Beliefs and Fundamental Values

I believe it is time for us to go back to first principles, to the fundamental values to which we owe allegiance.

First, let us recognize the Soviet Union for what it is—an aggressive totalitarian empire.

Second, let us enunciate the general principle that we believe in the right of every captive nation—whether dominated by the new-style Soviet empire or by the old-style British-French empire—to revolution and to self-government.

Third, let us open-handedly help all aggrieved and captive nations to break off their shackles.

Fourth, let us recognize only those governments which permit their citizens the right to vote freely by secret ballot.

Fifth, if such a policy on our part should lead to severance of diplomatic relations between us and the USSR, let it be so. After all, Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in upholding moral values by non-co-operation.

Sixth, let like-minded free nations—free from dictatorship and free from the taint of empire—salvage from the existing United

Nations whatever can be salvaged. Such a policy, I believe, is apt to clear the air and to emancipate the whole world from hypocrisy and from the mockery of self-delusion.

Asia and the American Heritage

These are the basic principles on which American foreign policy may well be based. As for Asia specially, I should say that the American heritage is made to order to win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the common task of promoting freedom with justice and peace with prosperity.

Through the ages America has stood as a beaconlight of hope to the oppressed peoples of the world. No taxation without representation played as large a part in India's revolution of our times as it did in the American Revolution of a hundred and eighty years ago. The American Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, has been availed of by India and other countries recently launched on their career of freedom and self-government. And, of course, to say that the high American standard of living has been the envy of the world is to utter a truism. The American dollar has taken the place of the gold standard, which since 1933 has joined the ranks of the dodo.

The awe and respect with which America is viewed abroad is well illustrated by the following story told by the natives of the South Pacific: "The Japanese," they used to say, "is a good jungle fighter. The Australian—he, too, a good jungle fighter. Come American, no jungle!" Our technological advances are indeed the wonder of the whole world.

With the American heritage as our resources, how can we fit the jigsaw puzzle of Asia and create a harmonious new picture with the additions of a few American pieces?

To begin with, I would say that our Point Four program to aid the under-developed countries of Asia is a good one and must be continued—if need be, on an enlarged scale. Second, the community projects sponsored by the Ford Foundation in India and elsewhere are excellent devices to help the Asians to help themselves. Third, we must make available to all Asian countries our technical know-how in helping them to solve their problem. Fourth, in this co-operative venture, let us be sure we respect the values of our Asian neighbors.

I have an uneasy feeling that the American people who are the best salesmen in the world have failed to present our democracy and its values in proper perspective to the Asians. That is a challenge to you and to me.

In conclusion, I may affirm that three great forces are shaping the destiny of Asia—and of the world:

(1) The craving to realize Nationalism and Self-Government,
(2) The craving to improve the Standard of Living,
(3) The craving to be treated and respected as Equals.

The American heritage is in full harmony with these three dominant cravings of Asians. Let us advertise this fact, and let our foreign policy in Asia reflect the values of our American heritage. Then, and not until then, shall we win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the task of bringing peace on earth and goodwill among men.*

* Dr. Muzumdar, friend and biographer of the late Mahatma Gandhi, actively participated in India's struggle for freedom; from 1930 until the end of World War II, he used to be known as "the unofficial ambassador of goodwill from India to America." Dr. Muzumdar became an American citizen in 1947 and has been actively engaged in promoting better understanding between America and Asia. He has been Professor of Sociology at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, USA, since 1951. His last book *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (New York: Scribners—Scribner's Twentieth Century Library Series) has been spoken of highly in India, Europe and America.—Ed., *M. R.*

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VIII) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

By D. N. BANERJEE,
Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

We now propose to deal with Articles 20 and 21 of our Constitution. Article 20 which provides for "protection in respect of conviction for offences," runs as follows:

"20. (1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.

"(2) No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.

"(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself."

It is evident from the above that Clause (1) of Article 20 provides a guarantee against what may be described as *ex post facto* criminal legislation. It is as it should be. Retrospective criminal legislation is not merely objectionable in principle; but it is also exceedingly liable to abuse. Criminal legislation in particular should be prospective, and not retrospective, in its operation.

"It *manifestly shocks our sense of justice*," says Herbert Broom,[1] "that an act legal at the time when it was done should be made unlawful by a new enactment; and the injustice and impolicy of *ex post facto* or *retrospective legislation* is most apparent in the case of new criminal laws . . . There is a great difference between making an unlawful act lawful and making an innocent action criminal."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here that the Constitution of the United States has forbidden[2] any *ex post facto* legislation either by the Federal Government or by any State Government. Originally many persons thought —and very rightly—that "the terms, *ex post facto*, laws in a comprehensive sense, embrace all retrospective laws, or laws governing or controlling past transactions, whether they are of a civil or a criminal nature."[3] But as early as 1798 the Supreme Court of the United States declared in *Calder* V. *Bull* that the prohibition imposed by the Constitution on Congress and the State legislatures in respect of *ex post facto* laws, applied only to criminal legislation. This declaration "settled the law in the United States" in respect of *ex post facto* legislation and "has been followed ever since."[4] Thus,

"Every law," says an authoritative American official publication,[5] "which makes criminal an act which was innocent when done, or which inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime when committed, is an *ex post facto* law within the prohibition of the Constitution."

But this "limitation has no application to purely civil proceedings though taken under retroactive statutes. Thus, it does not apply to a statute for the commitment and detention of the insane."[6]

Apparently the authors of our Constitution followed the corresponding American constitutional law in framing Clause (1) of Article 20 of the Constitution. But they seem to have omitted, as will appear from what follows one important element of American constitutional law in this connexion. In delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Calder* vs. *Bull* Mr. Justice Chase observed[7]:

"I will state what laws I consider *ex post facto* laws, within the words and the intent of the prohibition. 1st. Every law that makes an action done before the passing of the law, and which was innocent when done, criminal; and punishes such action. 2nd. Every law that aggravates a crime, or makes it greater than it was, when committed. 3rd. Every law that changes the punishment, and inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime, when committed. 4th. Every law that alters the legal rules of evidence,

1. See his *A Selection of Legal Maxims*, 10 Ed. (Kersley), 1939, pp. 357-58.

2. See Sections 9 and 10 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

3. See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, 5th Ed., 1891, Section 1345.

4. See *ibid*; also Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 515-16; also James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Ed., p. 458.

5. *The Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretation*, Corwin, United States Government Printing Office, 1953, p. 316.

6. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-16.

7. *Calder* vs. *Bull*, Supreme Court of the United State, 1798, 3 Dall. 386. See Dodd, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 1360-1361.

and receives less or different testimony than the law required at the time of the commission of the offence, in order to convict the offender. All these and similar laws are manifestly unjust and oppressive. In my opinion, the true distinction is between *ex post facto* laws and retrospective laws. Every *ex post facto* law must necessarily be retrospective, but every retrospective law is not an *ex post facto* law; the former only are prohibited. . . . I do not consider any law *ex post facto*, within the prohibition, that mollifies the rigor of the criminal law; but only those that create, or aggravate, the crime; or increase the punishment, or change the rules of evidence, for the purpose of conviction . . . There is a great and apparent difference between making an unlawful act lawful, and the making an innocent action criminal, and punishing it as a crime."

It is evident from what is quoted above that "a law which alters the rule of evidence to permit a person to be convicted upon less or different evidence than was required when the offence was committed is invalid."[8] And Professor Willoughby has shown[9] that by later decisions the definition of *ex post facto* legislation as given by the American Supreme Court in *Calder* V. *Bull* in 1798, "has been broadened so as to include all laws which in any way operate to the detriment of one accused of a crime committed prior to the enactment of such laws." Apparently there are no such safeguards of the rights of the accused in Clause (1) of Article 20 of our Constitution. There is, therefore, a strong case for the amendment of the Clause so as to make it correspond to American constitutional law in this respect.

Clause (2) of Article 20 which, as shown before, lays down that "no person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once," is comparatively simple. It embodies the "great fundamental rule" of English "criminal law, which forbids that a man should be put in jeopardy twice for one and the same offence." Thus,

"When a criminal charge has been once adjudicated upon by a Court of competent jurisdiction, that adjudication is final, whether it takes the form of an acquittal or a conviction."[10]

8. See *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, referred to in foot-note 5 above. p. 317.

9. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929. Vol. II, p. 1135.

10. "Provided that the adjudication be by a Court of competent jurisdiction, it is immaterial whether it be upon a summary proceeding before justices or upon a trial before a jury." See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

Obviously, the punishment referred to in the aforesaid Clause means punishment by a competent court of law only, and not by any other authority. The corresponding Clause[11] in the *Draft Constitution of India* was that "no person shall be punished for the same offence more than once." This was changed into its present form at the instance of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari who had pointed out in the Constituent Assembly[12] that the Clause as it had stood in the Draft Constitution might create difficulties in its working in the case, for instance, of a Government servant. If the Government servant had committed a criminal offence and had been first dealt with and punished departmenally, he could not under the clause be again prosecuted before, and punished by, a court of law. On the other hand, if a Government servant had once been prosecuted before, and sentenced to imprisonment or fine by, a court of law for a criminal offence, the clause might prevent the Government from taking any disciplinary action against him. These difficulties would not arise under the clause as it stands now.

Another point emerges in this connexion. In his *Treatise on International Law* Professor Hall has observed[13] that

"The authority possessed by a State community over its members being the result of the personal relation existing between it and the individuals of which it is formed, its laws travel with them wherever they go, both in places within and without the jurisdiction of other powers"; that although "a State cannot enforce its laws within the territory of another State," yet "its subjects remain under an obligation not to disregard them;" that "their social relations for all purposes as within its territory are determined" by these laws; and that "it preserves the power of compelling observance by punishment if a person who has broken them returns within its jurisdiction."

Thus, according to this writer,[14] "the subjects of a State are not freed by absence from their allegiance," and "if they commit crimes they can be arraigned before the tribunals of their country notwithstanding that they may have been already punished elsewhere." It seems to us that, regard being had to the wording of

11. See Clause (2) of Article 14 of the *Draft Constitution of India*.

12. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 3rd and 6th December, 1948.

13. See Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed. (Higgins), Oxford, pp. 56-57.

14. See *ibid.*

Clause (2) of Article 20 of our Constitution, such arraignment as has been referred to by Professor Hall, will not be permissible under the Constitution. This point, therefore, needs clarification.

Clause (3) of Article 20 which lays down, as shown before, that "no person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself," provides a constitutional protection against self-incrimination. It appears to have been based upon the principle of English law that "no man can be compelled to criminate himself"* and also upon the provision in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "no person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The source of this American constitutional provision was, according to Professor Corwin,[15] "the maxim that 'no man is bound to accuse himself' . . ., which has brought forward in England late in the sixteenth century in protest against the inquisitorial methods of the ecclesiastical courts." The immunity granted by this provision "has for its object," says Professor Willoughby,[16] "the protection of the individual against criminal prosecution based upon evidence which has been compulsorily obtained from him." And referring to this particular amendment the Supreme Court of the United States declared in *Hale* v. *Henkel*[17] in 1906 :

"The object of the amendment is to establish in express language and upon a firm basis the general principle of English and American jurisprudence, that no one shall be compelled to give testimony which may expose him to prosecution for crime. . . . The interdiction of the . . . amendment operates only where a witness is asked to incriminate himself,—in other words, to give testimony which may possibly expose him to a criminal charge. But if the criminality has already been taken away, the amendment ceases to apply."

Further, this American constitutional provision has, according to Professors Corwin and Peltason,[18] "been greatly broadened by judicial interpretation. Originally it meant only that *a person under trial* might not be forced to testify against himself. Today it means that no person may be compelled by *any governmental agency* —the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for instance, or the Federal Trade Commission—to answer *under oath* any question if, *according to his own claim*, his answer would 'tend to incriminate him'." As compared with this, the scope of Clause (3) of Article 20 of our Constitution is narrower and is restricted only to a "person accused of any offence."[19]

We may conclude the consideration of Article 20 with extracts† from the judgments of Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*. Mr. Justice Mukherjea has observed :

"A person cannot be convicted or punished under an *ex post facto* law, or a law which compels the accused to incriminate himself in a criminal trial or punishes him for the same offence more than once. These are the protections provided for by Article 20."

And Mr. Justice Das has said :

"Article 20 . . . is concerned with providing protection against what are well known as *ex post facto* laws, double jeopardy and self-incrimination. This article constitutes a limitation on the absolute legislative power which would, but for this article, be exercisable by Parliament or the State Legislatures under Article 246 read with the legislative lists. If the Legislature disobeys this limitation the Court will certainly prevent it."

II

Let us now pass on to Article 21 of our Constitution which lays down :

"No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

Referring to this provision the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India observed[20] that it was "of opinion that the word 'liberty' (therein) should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it, for otherwise it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13" (of the

* See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

15. See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 166.

16. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1166; also see Cooley, *A Treatise on Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., p. 442.

17. *Hale* vs. *Henkel*, 201 U.S. 43 (1906). See Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 1375.

18. See Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, The Dryden Press, New York, 1952, pp. 96-97; also Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-68.

19. Also see in this connexion Basu, *A Commentary On the Constitution of India*, 1951, pp. 148-51.

† *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III —April and May, 1950, p. 255 and p. 306.

20. See *Draft Constitution of India*, Manager, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1948, p. 8.

Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India). Further, the Committee stated that it had also substituted the expression "except according to procedure established by law" for the words "without due process of law (as originally suggested by the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 24th January, 1947, and adopted by the Constituent Assembly during its session held in April-May, 1947),[21] since the former expression was "more specific (*c.f.* Article XXXI of the Japanese Constitution, 1946)."[22]

We shall now consider the scope and applicability of Article 21, with special reference to the meanings of the words "law," "procedure established by law," and "personal liberty" in it, as judicially determined. In *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*,[23] Kania C.J., and Mukherjea and Das JJ. held in 1950 that in Article 21 "the word 'law' has been used in the sense of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice"; that the expression "procedure established by law" "means procedure established by law made by the State, that is to say, the Union Parliament or the Legislatures of the States;" and that "it is not proper to construe this expression in the light of the meaning given to the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution, by the Supreme Court of America."[24] And so far as the meaning of the term "law" was concerned, Patanjali Sastri J. also held:[25]

"I am unable to agree that the term 'law' in Article 21 means the immutable and universal principles of natural justice. 'Procedure established by law' must be taken to refer to a procedure which has a statutory origin, for no procedure is known or can be said to have been established by such vague and uncertain concepts as 'the immutable and universal principles of natural justice.' In my opinion, 'law' in Article 21 means 'positive or State-made law' . . . . it is difficult to accept the suggestion that 'law' in Article 21 stands for the *jus naturale* of the civil law, and that the phrase 'according to procedure established by law' is equivalent to due process of law in its procedural aspect, for that would have the effect of introducing into our Constitution those 'subtle and elusive criteria' implied in that phrase which it was the deliberate purpose of the framers of our Constitution to avoid."[26]

Elaborating his view on Article 21 Kania C. J. observed:[27]

"Without going to details, I think there is no justification to adopt the meaning of the word 'law' as interpreted by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A. in the expression 'due process of law' merely because the word 'law' is used in Article 21. The discussion of the meaning of 'due process of law' found in Willis on Constitutional Law[28] and in Cooley's Constitutional Limitations[29] shows the diverse meanings given to that expression at different times and under different circumstances by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A., so much so that the conclusion reached by these authors is that the expression means reasonable law according to the view of the majority of the judges of the Supreme Court at a particular time holding office. It also shows how the meaning of the expression was widened or abridged in certain decades. Moreover, to control the meaning so given to that expression from time to time the doctrine of police powers was brought into play. That doctrine, shortly put, is that legislation meant for the good of the people generally, and in which the individual has to surrender his freedom to a certain extent because it is for the benefit of the people at large, has not to be tested by the touchstone of the 'due process of law' formula."

Further,[30]

"A perusal of the report of the drafting committee to which our attention was drawn shows clearly that the Constituent Assembly (of India) had before it the American article and the expression 'due process of law,' but they deliberately dropped the use of that expression from our Constitution.

21. See *Reports of Committees* (First Series), 1947 (From December, 1946, to July, 1947), the Manager of Publications Delhi, pp. 18-22 and pp. 28-29; also *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 842-57.

22. Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution has laid down:
"No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law."

23. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950—Vol. 1, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 90-91.

24. Fazl Ali J. dissented from these views.—See *Ibid*, p. 91.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201 and also pp. 90-91.

26. With regard to the meaning of the expression "procedure established by law," however, Patanjali Sastri J. did not quite agree with Kania C. J. and Mukherjea and Das JJ. According to him the expression "does not mean . . . . any procedure which may be prescribed by a competent legislature," but "the ordinary and well-established criminal procedure, that is to say, those settled usages and normal modes of proceeding sanctioned by the Criminal Procedure Code which is the general law of criminal procedure in the country."—See *Ibid.*, p. 91 and p. 205.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

28. *I.e.*, Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States.*

29. I.e., Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations.*

30. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

"No extrinsic aid is needed to interpret the words of Article 21, which in my opinion, are not ambiguous. Normally read, and without thinking of other Constitutions, the expression 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State. If the Indian Constitution wanted to preserve to every person the protection given by the due process clause of the American Constitution there was nothing to prevent the (Constituent) Assembly from adopting this phrase, or if they wanted to limit the same to procedure only, to adopt that expression with only the word 'procedural' prefixed to 'law.' However, the correct question is what is the right given by Article 21? The only right is that no person shall be deprived of his life or liberty except according to procedure established by law. One may like that right to cover a larger area, but to give such a right is not the function of the Court; it is the function of the Constitution. To read the word 'law' as meaning rules of natural justice will land one in difficulties because the rules of natural justice, as regards procedure, are nowhere defined and in my opinion the Constitution cannot be read as laying down a vague standard. This is particularly so when in omitting to adopt 'due process of law' it was considered that the expression 'procedure established by law' made the standard specific. It cannot be specific except by reading the expression as meaning procedure prescribed by the legislature. The word 'law' as used in this Part[31] has different shades of meaning but in no other article it appears to bear the indefinite meaning of natural justice. If so, there appears no reason why in this article it should receive this peculiar meaning. Article 31 which is also in Part III and relates to the fundamental rights in respect of property runs as follows:

'No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.'

It is obvious that in that clause 'law' must mean enacted law. The object of dealing with property under a different article appears more to provide the exceptions found in Article 31(2) to (6), rather than to give the word 'law' a different meaning than the one given in Article 21. The word 'established' according to the Oxford Dictionary means 'to fix, settle, institute or ordain by enactment or agreement.' The word 'established' itself suggests an agency which fixes the limits. According to the dictionary this agency can be either the legislature or an agreement between the parties. There is therefore no justification to give the meaning of 'jus'[32] to 'law' in Article 21.

"The phrase 'procedure established by law' seems to be borrowed from Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution . . . It is not shown that the word 'law' means 'jus' in the Japanese Constitution . . . The word 'due' in the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution is interpreted to mean 'just,' according to the opinion of the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A. that word imparts jurisdiction to the Courts to pronounce what is 'due' from otherwise, according to law. The deliberate omission of the word 'due' from Article 21 lends strength to the contention that the justiciable aspect of 'law,' *i.e.*, to consider whether it is reasonable or not by the Court, does not form part of the Indian Constitution. The omission of the word 'due,' the limitation imposed by the word 'procedure' and the insertion of the word 'established' thus brings out more clearly the idea of legislative prescription in the expression used in Article 21. By adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law' the Constitution gave the legislature the final word to determine the law."

As noted before, essentially similar views were expressed by Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of the Supreme Court on Article 21, in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*. Thus Mr. Justice Mukherjea said:[33]

"It is not correct to say . . . that Article 21 is confined to matters of procedure only. There must be a substantive law, under which the State is empowered to deprive a man of his life and personal liberty and such law must be a valid law which the legislature is competent to enact within the limits of the powers assigned to it and which does not transgress any of the fundamental rights that the Constitution lays down."

Again:[34]

"On a plain reading of the article the meaning seems to be that you cannot deprive a man of his personal liberty, unless you follow and act according to the law which provides for deprivation of such liberty. The expression 'procedure' means the manner and form of enforcing the law. In my opinion, it cannot be disputed that in order that there may be a legally established procedure, the law which establishes it must be a valid and lawful law which the legislature is competent to enact in accordance with article 245 of the Constitution and the particular items in the legislative lists which it relates to. It is also not disputed that such law must not offend against the fundamental rights which are declared in Part III of the Constitution."

Finally:[35]

"I have no doubt in my mind that if the 'due process' clause which appeared in the original draft

31. I.e., Part III of the *Constitution of India.*

32. *I.e.*, "law in the abstract sense of the principles of natural justice." See the *Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 108.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 274-78.

was finally retained by the Constituent Assembly (of India), it could be safely presumed that the framers of the Indian Constitution wanted that expression to bear the same sense as it does in America. But when that form was abandoned and another was deliberately substituted in its place, it is not possible to say that in spite of the difference in the language and expression, they should mean the same thing and convey the same idea . . . . it is quite clear that the framers of the Indian Constitution did not desire to introduce into our system the elements of uncertainty, vagueness and changeability that have grown round the 'due process' doctrine in America. They wanted to make the provision clear, definite and precise and deliberately chose the words 'procedure established by law,' as in their opinion no doubts would ordinarily arise about the meaning of this expression. The indefiniteness in the application of the 'due process' doctrine in America has nothing to do with the distinction between substantive and procedural law. The uncertainty and elasticity are in the doctrine itself which is a sort of hidden mine, the contents of which nobody knows and is merely revealed from time to time to the judicial conscience of the judges. This theory, the Indian Constitution deliberately discarded and that is why they substituted a different form in its place which, according to them, was more specific. In the second place, it appears to me that when the same words are not used, it will be against the ordinary canons of construction to interpret a provision in our Constitution in accordance with the interpretation put upon a somewhat analogous provision in the Constitution of another country, where not only the language is different, but the entire political conditions and constitutional set-up are dissimilar. In the Supreme Court of America, stress has been laid uniformly upon the word 'due' which occurs before and qualifies the expression 'process of law.' 'Due' means 'what is just and proper' according to the circumstances of a particular case. It is this word which introduces the variable element in the application of the doctrine; for what is reasonable in one set of circumstances may not be so in another and a different set. In the Indian Constitution[36] the word 'due' has been deliberately omitted and this shows clearly that the Constitution-makers of India had no intention of introducing the American doctrine. The word 'established' ordinarily means 'fixed or laid down' and if 'law' means, as Mr. Nambiar[37] contends, not any particular piece of law but the indefinite and indefinable principles of natural justice which underlie positive systems of law, it would not at all be appropriate to use the expression 'established,' for natural law or natural justice cannot establish anything like a definite procedure.

"It does not appear that in any part of the Constitution (of India) the word 'law' has been used in the sense of 'general law' connoting what has been described as the principles of natural justice outside the realm of positive law. On the other hand, the provision[38] of Article 31 of the Constitution, which appears in the chapter on Fundamental Rights, makes it clear that the word 'law' is equivalent to State-made law and to deprive a person of his property, the authority or sanction of such law is necessary . . . The provision of article 21 of the Indian Constitution reproduces, save in one particular, the language of article 31 of the Japanese Constitution and it is quite clear from the scheme and provisions of the Japanese Constitution that in speaking of law it refers to law passed or recognised as such by the State. In the Irish Constitution also, there is provision in almost similar language which conveys the same idea. Article 40(4). (1) provides that 'no citizens shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law', and by law is certainly meant the law of the State . . . In the Constitutions of various other countries, the provisions relating to protection of personal liberty are couched very much in the same language as in Article 21. It is all a question of policy as to whether the legislature or the judiciary would have the final say in such matters and the Constitution-makers of India deliberately decided to place these powers in the hands of the legislature. Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution, upon which Article 21 of our Constitution is modelled, also proceeds upon the same principle . . . My conclusion, therefore, is that in Article 21 the word 'law' has been used in the sense of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice. The article presupposes that the law is a valid law and binding law under the provisions of the Constitution having regard to the competency of the legislature and the subject it relates to and does not infringe any of the fundamental rights which the Constitution provides for . . . It is enough, in my opinion, if the law is a valid law which the legislature is competent to pass and which does not transgress any of the fundamental rights declared in Part III of the Constitution."

And Mr. Justice Das stated :[39]

"Article 21, as the marginal note states, guarantees to every person 'protection of life and personal liberty.' As I read it, it defines the substantive fundamental right to which protection is given and does not purport to prescribe any particular procedure at all. That a person shall not be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law is the substantive fundamental right to which protection is given by the Constitution. The avowed object of the Article, as I apprehend it, is to define the ambit of the right to life and personal liberty which is to be protected as a fundamental right. The right to life and personal liberty protected by Article 21 is not an absolute right but is a qualified right—a right circumscribed by the possibility or risk of being lost according to procedure established by law. Liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law is in the nature of words of limitation. The article delimits the right by a reference to its liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law and by this very definition throws a corresponding obligation on the State to follow a procedure before depriving a man of his life and personal liberty. What that procedure is to be is not within the purpose or purview of this article to prescribe or indicate."

Further :[40]

"The question then arises as to what is the meaning of the expression 'procedure established by law.' The word 'procedure' in Article 21 must be taken to signify some step or method or manner of proceeding leading up to the deprivation of life or personal liberty. According to the language used in the Article, this procedure has to be 'established by law.' The word 'establish' according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 297, means, amongst other things, 'to render stable or firm; to strengthen by material support; to fix, settle, institute or ordain permanently by enactment or agreement.' According to Dr. Annandale's edition of the *New Gresham Dictionary*, the word 'establish,' means, amongst other things, 'to found permanently; to institute; to enact or decree; to ordain; to ratify; to make firm.' It follows that the word 'established' in its ordinary natural sense means, amongst other things, 'enacted.' 'Established by law' will, therefore, mean 'enacted by law.' If this sense of the word 'established' is accepted, then the word 'law' must mean State-made law and cannot possibly mean the principles of natural justice, for no procedure can be said to have ever been 'enacted' by those principles. When Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code speaks of 'Government established by law,' surely it does not mean 'Government set up by natural justice.' Therefore, procedure established by law must, I apprehend, be procedure enacted by the State which, by its definition in Article 12, includes Parliament. There is no escape from this position if the cardinal rule of construction, namely, to give the words used in a statute their ordinary natural meaning, is applied . . . . I find it difficult to let in principles of natural justice as being within the meaning of the word 'law,' having regard to the obvious meaning of that word in the other articles (of the Constitution) . . . There can be no doubt that the words 'in accordance with law' in Article 17 have reference to State law. Likewise, the word 'law' in Article 20(1) can mean nothing but law made by the State . . . If this be the correct meaning of the word 'law,' then there is no scope for introducing the principles of natural justice in Article 21 and 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure established by law made by the State which, as defined, includes Parliament and the Legislatures of the States."

Mr. Justice Das added :[41]

"We have been referred to a number of text-books and decisions showing the development of the American doctrine of 'due process of law' and we have been urged to adopt those principles in our Constitution. . . . The expression 'due process of law' has been interpreted by the American Courts in different ways at different times . . . Whenever a substantive law or some procedure laid down in any law did not find favour with the majority of the learned Judges of the Supreme Court it was not reasonable and, therefore, it was not 'due.' The very large and nebulous import of the word 'due' was bound to result in anomalies, for what was not 'due' on one day according to the Judges then constituting the Supreme Court became 'due,' say, 20 years later according to the new Judges who then came to occupy the Bench, for the Court had to adapt the Constitution to the needs of the society which were continually changing and growing . . . On serious reflection I find several insuperable objections to the introduction of the American doctrine of procedural due process of law into our Constitution. That doctrine can only thrive and work where the legislature is subordinate to the judiciary in the sense that the latter can sit in judgment over and review all acts of the legislature. Such a doctrine can have no application to a field where the legislature is supreme. That is why the doctrine of 'due process of law' is quite different in England where Parliament is supreme . . . Although our Constituton has imposed some limitations on the legislative authorities, yet subject to and outside such limitations our Constitution has left our Parliament and the State Legislatures supreme in their respective legislative fields. In the main, subject to the limitations I have mentioned, our Constitution has preferred the supremacy of the Legislature to that of the Judiciary. The English principle of due process of law is, therefore, more in accord with our Constitution than the American doctrine which has been evolved for serving quite a different system . . . In the next

36. In Article 21 thereof.

37. Mr. M. K. Nambiar, Counsel for the petitioner Mr. A. K. Gopalan in the case *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*.

38. Reference is to Clause (1) of Article 31 of our Constitution, which lays down : "No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 306-307.

40. *Ibid*, pp. 307-309.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-323.

place, it is common knowledge that our Constitution-makers deliberately declined to adopt the uncertain and shifting American doctrine of due process of law and substituted the words 'except in due process of law'[42] that were in the original draft by the more specific expression 'except in accordance with procedure established by law.' To try to bring in the American doctrine, in spite of this fact, will be to stultify the intention of the Constitution as expressed in Article 21. In the third place, in view of the plain meaning of the language of that article as construed and explained above it is impossible to let in what have been called the principles of natural justice as adopted in the procedural due process of law by the American Supreme Court. Again, even the all-pervading little word 'due' does not find a place in Article 21 so as to qualify the procedure. It speaks of procedure and not 'due' procedure and, therefore, the 'intellectual yard-stick' of the Court is definitely ruled out. Finally, it will be incongruous to import the doctrine of due process of law without its palliative, the doctrine of police powers. It is impossible to read the last-mentioned doctrine into Article 21 . . . Article 21, in my judgment, only formulates a substantive fundamental right to life and personal liberty which in its content is not an absolute right but is a limited right having its ambit circumscribed by the risk of its being taken away by following a procedure established by law made by the appropriate legislative authority and the proximate purpose of Article 21 is not to prescribe any particular procedure . . . A procedure laid down by the legislature may offend against the Court's sense of justice and fair play and a sentence provided by the legislature may outrage the Court's notions of penology, but that is wholly irrelevant consideration. The Court may construe and interpret the Constitution and ascertain its true meaning but once that is done the Court cannot question its wisdom or policy. The Constitution is supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law as regards procedure. I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

It is evident from what has been shown above that, according to the majority[43] of the Judges of our Supreme Court including Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri, the word "law" in Article 21 of our Constitution has been used in the sense of "positive or State-made law," and "not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the (immutable and universal) principles of natural justice." Of ciurse, the law must be duly made and valid under the provisions of the Constitution. We may also note in this connexion what Mukherjea J. of the Supreme Court stated in 1952 in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal* v. *Anwar Ali Sarkar*:

"It cannot be disputed," he observed,[44] "that a competent legislature is entitled to alter the procedure in criminal trials in such way as it considers proper. Article 21 of the Constitution only guarantees that 'no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except in accordance with the procedure established by law.' The word 'law' in the Article means a State-made law, but it must be a valid and binding law having regard not merely to the competency of the legislature and the subject it relates to, but it must not also infringe any of the fundamental rights guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution."

In our next article we propose to deal, among other things, with the comparative merits and defects of the American expression "without due process of law" and our expression in Article 21 "except according to procedure established by law." In the meanwhlie, we shall, before concluding this article, indicate here the meaning of the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21, as judicially determined.

Liberty, it is generally held, has three forms or aspects—the personal or civil "liberty of the individual person, 'in mind, body and estate'; the political liberty of the citizen; and the economic liberty of the worker, whether with hand or brain," "engaged in some gainful occupation or service."[45] We are concerned here with the first form of liberty, namely, the personal or civil liberty[46] "the liberty of a man in the capacity of an individual person."

"To Blackstone," says Professor Ernest Barker,[47] "this civil liberty consisted in three articles—personal security, not only of life and health, but also of repu-

42. As shown before, the exact words were: "without due process of law."

43. For the views of Fazl Ali J. on the question, reference may be made to *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950. Mahajan J. did not express any opinion on the question. See *ibid.*, p. 244.

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. 3, Part III, March, 1952, p. 322.

45. See Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 146-49.

46. "Private liberty," according to Professor Harold Laski (*A Grammar of Politics*, p. 146).

47. See Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

tation; personal freedom, especially of movement; and personal property, or the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions. Today we might prefer to say that civil liberty consists in three somewhat differently expressed articles—physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health, and movement of the body; intellectual freedom for the expression of thought and belief; and practical freedom for the play of will and the exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other persons."

And Lord Justice Denning of the Court of Appeal in England has said,[48] "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 . . . 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." Now whatever might be the views of men like Professor Ernest Barker and Lord Justice Denning on the concept of personal liberty or personal freedom—and they mean in essence the same thing—, our Supreme Court appears to have put a rather narrow interpretation on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21 of our Constitution. Thus, according to the majority* of the Judges of the Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*, "the concept of the right 'to move freely throughout the territory of India' referred to in Article 19(1)(d) of the Constitution is entirely different from the concept of the right to 'personal liberty' referred to in Article 21, and Article 19 should not, therefore, be read as controlled by the provisions of Article 21."[49] And Mukherjea J. observed:[50]

"In ordinary language 'personal liberty' means liberty relating to or concerning the person or body of the individual; and 'personal liberty' in this sense is the antithesis of *physical restraint* or *coercion*. According to Dicey,[51] who is an acknowledged authority on the subject, 'personal liberty' means a personal right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit of legal justification. It is, in my opinion, this negative right of not being subjected to any form of physical restraint or coercion that constitutes the essence of personal liberty and not mere freedom to move to any part of the Indian territory.

"In this connection, it may not be irrelevant to point out that it was in accordance with the recommendation of the Drafting Committee (of the Indian Constituent Assembly) that the word 'personal' was inserted before 'liberty' in Article 15 of the (Draft) Constitution (of India) which now stands as Article 21. In the report of the Drafting Committee it is stated that the word 'liberty' should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it; otherwise, it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13 (of the Draft Constitution). Article 13, it should be noted, is the present Article 19. If the views of the Drafting Committee were accepted by the Constituent Assembly, the intention obviously was to exclude the contents of Article 19 from the concept of 'personal liberty' as used in Article 21 . . . If the report of the Drafting Committee is an appropriate material upon which the interpretation of the words of the Constitution could be based, it certainly . . . shows that the words used in Article 19(1)(d) of the Constitution do not mean the same thing as the expression 'personal liberty' in Article 21 does. It is well known that the word 'liberty' standing by itself has been given a very wide meaning by the Supreme Court of the United States of America. It includes not only personal freedom from physical restraint but the right to the free use of one's own property and to enter into free contractual relations. In the Indian Constitution, on the other hand, the expression 'personal liberty' has been deliberately used to restrict it to freedom from physical restraint of persons by incarceration or otherwise. Apart from the report of the Drafting Committee, that is the plain grammatical meaning of the expression as I have already explained."

Essentially similar views were expressed on the question by Kania C.J., and Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ., in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*.[52] Kania C. J. added[53]:

"Article 19(1) does not purport to cover all aspects of liberty or of personal liberty. In that article only certain phases of liberty are dealt with. 'Personal liberty' would primarily mean liberty of the physical body. The rights given under Article 19(1) do not directly come under that description. They

48. See Denning, *Freedom Under the Law*, 1949, p. 5.

* Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea and Das, JJ. (Fazl Ali J. dissenting). *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, p. 89.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

51. What Dicey has exactly said is as follows:
"The right to personal liberty as understood in England means in substance a person's right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest, or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit legal justification." See his *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 207-208.

52. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 105-107, 190-96 and 295-306.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

are rights which accompany the freedom or liberty of the person. By their very nature they are freedoms of a person assumed to be in full possession of his personal liberty. If Article 19 is considered to be the only article safeguarding personal liberty, several well-recognised rights, as for instance, the right to eat and drink, the right to work, play, swim and numerous other rights and activities and even the right to life will not be deemed protected under the Constitution. I do not think that is the intention. It seems to me improper to read Article 19 as dealing with the same subject as Article 21. Article 19 gives the rights specified therein only to the citizens of India while Article 21 is applicable to all persons . . . In my opinion, therefore, Article 19 should be read as a separate complete article."

It may be noted here that Fazl Ali J. did not agree with the interpretation which the majority of the Judges had put on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21.[54] He stated :[55]

"The contention put forward on behalf of the petitioner (A. K. Gopalan) is that freedom of movement is the essence of personal liberty and any restraint on freedom of movement must be held to amount to abridgment or deprivation of personal liberty, as the case may be, according to the nature of the restraint. After very careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this contention is well-founded in law."

Further :[56]

"I am confirmed in my view that the juristic conception that personal liberty and freedom of movement connote the same thing is the correct and true conception, and the words used in Article 19(1)(d) must be construed according to this universally accepted legal conception."

Finally[57] :

"I am strongly of the view that Article 19(1)(d) guarantees the right of freedom of movement in its widest sense, that freedom of movement being the essence of personal liberty, the right guaranteed under the article is really a right to personal liberty and that preventive detention is a deprivation of that right."

Whatever one might feel about this view, the interpretation put upon the expression "personal liberty" by the majority of its Judges is to be deemed, however, as the decision of the Supreme Court, and is, under Article 141 of our Constitution, "binding on all courts within the territory of India."

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-57.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

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THE REVISION OF THE U. N. CHARTER

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"Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind," the people of the United Nations resolved at San Francisco in 1945 to unite their strength, to maintain international peace and security. Ten years back, at a time even when the Second World War was going on, the present International Organisation, known as the United Nations, was established—

"to save succeeding generations from the scourage of war, to re-affirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maihtained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, etc."

Yet, the goal—peace and security—is still as far off as the distant Mars. And according to President Truman,[1] "the peoples of the United Nations" are still "haunted by the constant fear of aggression and burdened by the cost of preparing against attack." Within a short time after the end of hostilities, in the midst of which the institution was born, fissures and cracks began to develop in the Organisation. Today we find the world divided into two Power blocs engaged in a constant cold war. The very name 'United Nations' has come to be a misnomer and a mockery, for it may more appropriately be called today a 'Disunited

1. Leonard : *International Organisation*, p. 4.

Nations.' What was designed to be "an instrument of world peace, has proved to be a forum of world conflict."[2] It is feared, if every care and precaution is not taken to remove its defects, it would also go the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations. Day by day people are losing faith in the efficacy of this international organisation, and voices are being raised for the revision of the U.N. Charter to make it a better instrument for the promotion of world peace, prosperity and security.

There are certain inherent defects, and certain other factors which are proving to be the antithesis of the pacific settlement of disputes or the maintenance of security. Firstly, the Security Council is vested with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. But it has no authority to settle a dispute, it can only make 'recommendations' for the same. It cannot even refer a legal dispute to the International Court of Justice. Secondly, the authority and functions of the U. N. are hedged by the domestic jurisdiction clause[3] of the Charter and the Veto[4] provision for the Big Five Nations (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., China and France). Thirdly, the Charter is, in the words of Vollet, "over-simplified in some respects and unnecessarily complex in others. It is a document that defies interpretation according to normal legal canons of construction." There is no provision for its authoritative interpretation, with the result that each member-State, and each organ of the U. N. interprets the Charter for itself. Fourthly, United Nations, although a world forum, an international deliberative body, has no power of legislation. It can only recommend or suggest ways and means "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character." Fifthly, Article 27 of the Charter refers to voting so as to secure decisions of the Security Council on 'procedural matters' and 'on all other matters.' But there is no clear definition of the procedural and non-procedural matters. Moreover, in the sixth place, the possession of the atomic weapons has completely changed the whole set-up of international politics and diplomacy. The seventh factor responsible for complicating the situation in the Organisaiton is the emergence of New China on the liquidation of the Nationalist K. M. T. The China problem has become chronic due to the persistent refusal of the U.S.A. and her satellites to face the reality and accept the *fait accompli* by recognizing the Communist Government as the *De Jure* Government of China and giving a rightful place to it in the U.N.O. This is in clear violation of the third principle of the Atlantic Charter which states: "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live . . ." It is only hatred and suspicion of Communism that has blinded the U.S.A. on this moral issue. It has very much accelerated the East-West tension within the Organisation. "It appears as a clear case of forcible bolstering up, for political reasons, by the U.S.A., in whose hands she is now virtually a tool, and thus doubling the weight of the U.S.A. in the U.N. by bypassing the Charter. This arrangement, obviously devoid of all logic and justice, has dealt a mortal blow to the prestige of the Organization." Eighthly, during the last ten years various regional organizations have cropped up under several treaties among a group of nations, *e.g.*, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, August 30, 1947 ; the Brussels Pact, March 17, 1948 ; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, April 14, 1949; the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A., September 1, 1951 ; the Mutual Defence Assistance Pact between Pakistan and U.S.A., May 19, 1954 ; the Balkan Pact, August 9, 1954; the South-East Asia Defence Treaty Organization, September 8, 1954; and the M.E.D.O., etc. The States participating in most of these treaties have declared that if one of them is attacked, the other parties to the treaty concerned, will rush to her defence in accordance with the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized in Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. But this growing trend towards nationalistic policies of regional arrangements and mutual assistance pacts, is not easily reconcilable with Art. 54 of the Charter. Woodrow Wilson had rightly remarked that "there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understand-

2. Bentwich and Martin : *Charter of the United Nations* (Preface).
3. Art. 2, para. 7 of the U. N. Charter.
4. Art. 27, para. 3 of the U. N. Charter.

ings within the general and common family of the League of Nations." Such arrangements divert the attention from the international organization and may in time, according to Armstrong,[1] "overshadow the organization's universal character and aim." Such arrangements lead to the formation of blocs and aggravate power-politics.

All these facts make an early revision of the Charter imperative. According to Mr. John Foster Dulles, the present U.N. Charter is a pre-atomic charter and hence it was obsolete before it came into force. It was inadequate in that it had been prepared before the Atom Bomb.

Art. 108 of the Charter permits the amendment of the Charter by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the General Assembly, and ratified by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the United Nations, including all the five permanent members of the Security Council. But as things stand in the U.N., and taking into account the tension between the two Power blocs, a proposal for an amendment has no chance of being passed. A proposal sponsored by the U.S.A., may be passed in the General Assembly, but has no chance of being ratified, because it would be rejected by the Soviet Union by the application of the veto. While any amendment sponsored by the U.S.S.R. has no chance of being adopted in the General Assembly even, as they are not expected to command a 2/3 majority either in the General Assembly or in any conference. If, therefore, revision of the Charter is not to be blocked permanently, the amending procedure of the Charter has itself to be amended first. The extreme rigidity of the amending process should be relaxed.

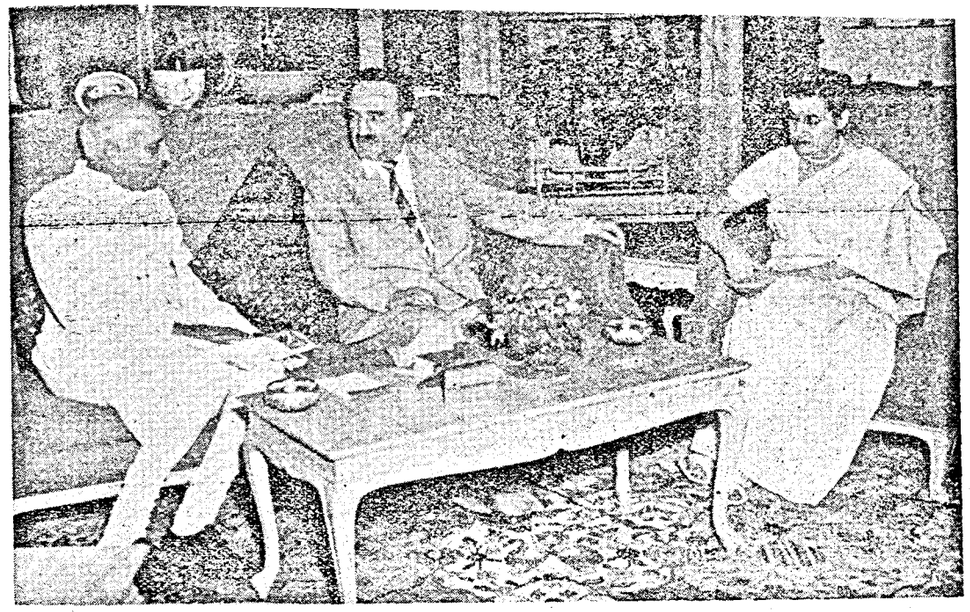
The Charter would need certain drastic changes, rather complete overhauling, to bring it into accord with the altered situation arising from the split of the wartime alliance into two power-blocks engaged in a constant cold war. There are persons like Mr. Arther Moore, who are convinced that the U.N. "will go the way of the League, and that the tempo of events is now faster than after the first World War, it will end much more quickly."[2] He does not "expect the charter to be revised. What is more probable is that the Organization, confronted by the recurring difficulty of the Veto, will break up, and that a new organization will be formed without the Veto."[7] Well, "breaking up of an organization is a form of its revision through violence. No one can halt the march of political events or chain the great historical forces, pushing them from behind, and the U.N. Charter (if not revised earlier through peaceful and constitutional methods) may be revised by them through a third World War in much the same way as the covenant of the League of Nations was revised ultimately."

That in the present-day world—a world rendered physically one through progress of science and technology, but divided psychologically and ideologically—some sort of a better and improved international organization is needed with the aims and purposes of the U.N.O. I suggest the present organization to be remodelled on the following lines :

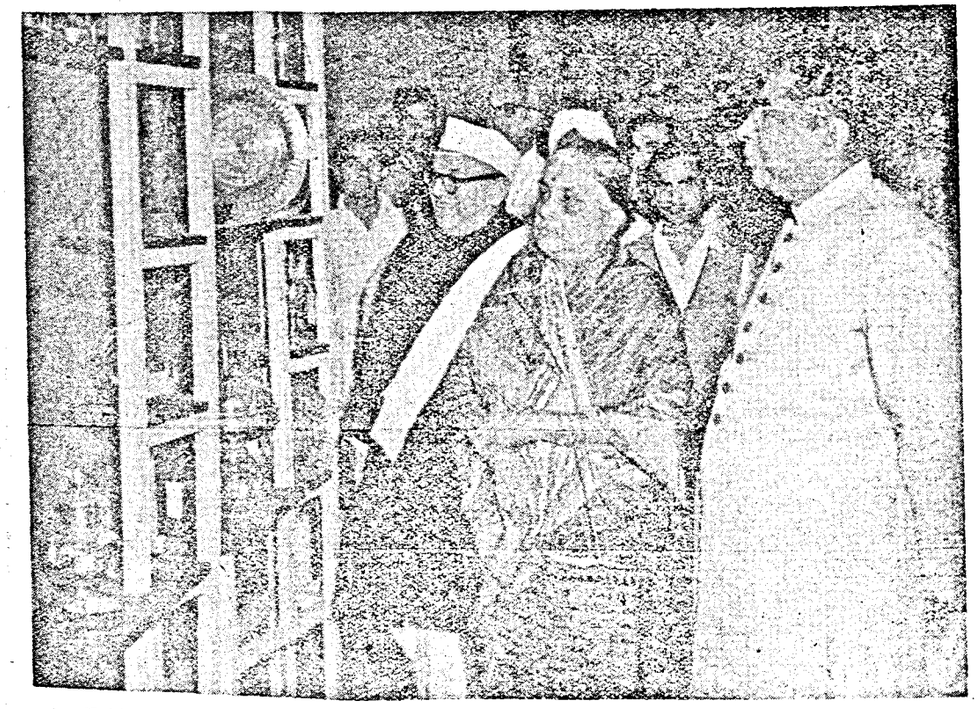
(1) Subject to certain formalities, the membership of such a world organization should be open to all independent States without any restriction whatsoever. The admission of a member should be made a non-votable item. This will ensure the dignity and the universal character of the organization. Then alone, it can claim to be called a truly world organization. In the present U.N.O. admission of new members can be possible only on a concurrent vote of all the Big Five States. But the power-politics has prevented membership from being made universal. Each group insists on admission of 'like-minded' countries and has opposed the admission of States of the opposite Camp.

(2) The Veto power of the Big Five States, in the Security Council should be abolished, to establish equality among all member-states in the Organization. The use of the word 'five great powers or Big Five' is an insult to other nations. To give these five States a privileged position makes the position of other States subservient in the Organization. This is against the principles of the U.N. Charter which is based on the basic "principle of the sovereign equality of all its members."[8] The Veto today instead of a symbol of concord

1. [illegible] "[illegible]," Foreign Affairs, [illegible]
2. [illegible], Vol. [illegible], No. [illegible], p. [illegible].
7. Ibid, p. 135.
8. U. N. Charter : Art. 2.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of U.S.S.R. and Srimati Indira Gandhi



An Exhibition of metalware was inaugurated by Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker, Lok Sabha at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi on March 23. With him are seen Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Board, and Sri Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras

Admiral Earl Mountbatten called on the Union Defence Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju, at his office in New Delhi on March 15. There he met Sri Mahabir Tyagi, Minister of Defence Organisation, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, Deputy Defence Minister. Sri M. K. Vellodi, Defence Secretary and General S. M. Srinagesh, Vice Admiral S. H. Carlill and Air Marshal S. Mukherji

Countess Mountbatten is conducted round the operation theatre in the Extension Building of the Mehrauli T. B. Hospital in Delhi (March 16). With her appears Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Health Minister

has proved to be a symbol of discord. Both Soviet Union and Anglo-American Powers have misused it by their thoughtless course of action. And, as M. Alvarez, in his dissenting opinion in the 'Competence of the General Assembly for the admission of a State to the U.N.,' said :

"To decide that the right of veto may be freely exercised in every case in which the Security Council may take action, would mean deciding what the will of a single great power could frustrate the will of the other members of the Council and of the General Assembly, even in matters other than the maintenance of peace and security and that would reduce the U.N.O. to impotence."[9]

3. There should be no provision of permanent membership in the Security Council. All the members of the Security Council should be elected by the General Assembly for a fixed term of 3 to 5 years. This would provide to all the member-States an equal opportunity to hold its membership without any grudge left in their hearts towards any State. Today U.N.O. has become a monopoly of the Five Big Powers. They have almost become the directors of the Organization. Other States suffer inferiority complex before them.

4. There also exists some vagueness in the different provisions of the Charter. The powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly are not very definite or clear, and as the Chief Justice of India remarked at the International Legal Conference, New Delhi, in December, 1953 :

"After one read the whole Charter even casually, one is left rather with a vague impression that here is a body that by reason of certain votes being exercised in one way rather than another, might hurt national interests, viewed solely from the point of view of particular national groups. Therefore, I was going to suggest a clear declaration of the powers which the member-nations are willing to grant to the United Nations."

5. The revised Charter should openly declare that there should be absolutely no racial discrimination. Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, creed, colour, caste, language or nationality will divide the world into a number of antagonistic groups. This will hamper the unity among nations and men. A sound World Organization which can run smoothly, can be established only with the basic idea of universal brotherhood.

9. *International Court of Justice Reports*, 1950, pp. 3-4.

6. The laws of Extradition should be made more clear. We have experienced a number of Indian criminals taking shelter in Pakistan, which refuses to hand them over to the Government of India. If laws of Extradititon are more clear and universal; and if there is made no distinction between political and non-political crime, protection of crime by countries would automatically come to an end, and disloyal elements would be eliminated.

7. All countries which are under the U.N. Trusteeship at present should be declared as sovereign and be made the members of the U.N.O.

8. For the violation of the principles of the Charter no member should be expelled but it should be rather influenced and impressed to have faith in the Charter and observe those principles.

9. The General Assembly of the new World Organization should be bi-cameral. The Upper House—to be elected on the basis of population of each State, *i.e.*, on the basis of proportional representation—should be called the House of Humanity. The Lower House should be formed on equality basis of each member-State, having five representatives from each member-State big or small, to be known as the House of Nations. All decisions should be taken by a concurrence of both the Houses of General Assembly. Decisions on vital matters concerning peace and security must be taken by a two-third majority of the Lower House, the House of Nations. And disputes whether a matter is vitally concerned with peace and security or not, should be referred to the Chief Justice of the International Court of Justice, whose decision should be final. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, a resolution would be taken to have been passed by the General Assembly if the House of Humanity passes such a resolution again, *i.e.*, for the second time, within a period of 6 months by a three-fourth majority vote. The General Assembly should be given the power of legislation also on certain agreed matters.

10. The judges of the International Court of Justice should not be elected by the General Assembly. They should better be elected by an "Electoral College," consisting of the Chief Justices of all the member-nations, by a two-third majority by means of single transferable

vote, from among eminent jurists of international repute. Only the International Court should have the power to interpret the U.N. Charter. The Court should be given compulsory jurisdiction. Jurisdiction may also be conferred on the court to hear appeals from judgement of Municipal courts adjudicating upon maritime captures during the war. Further, the statute of the court might be amended so as to empower it to exercise criminal jurisdicion over individuals accused of crimes against International Law.

11. Cases may be decided with the help of a jury. One representative judge from each member-nation should form the jury. If the jury is of unanimous opinion on a point of law or fact its opinion should prevail, otherwise it should remain an advisory body.

12. Disputes among nations which have not been settled through negotiations and have been referred to the U.N. should immediately without exception, be sent to the International Court of Justice, and its decisions should be final. And it should be made plain to all nations that judgements by the I.C. J. would not only be final but also binding and sanctions would be used if their implementation is violated.

13. For the enhancement of the prestige of the U.N. and for the proper execution of the decisions taken by the General Assembly of the C.I. J., it is not only desirable but also necessary to establish an international armed force. This force should consist of contributions from all the member-nations on a proportional basis. This force should be under the direct command of the Security Council, which shall be responsible for the execution of all decisions and shall stay at the headquarters of the U.N.O.

14. In order to create a sense of security among all the nations of the world and to restrain the physically big nations of the world from following the course of natural justice and the principle of 'might is right,' there should be an international control over all the Atomic and nuclear weapons as well as other dangerous weapons which can affect the life of humanity. These weapons may be used against a nation only when both the Houses of the General Assembly pass separately a resolution to this effect by at least a three-fourth majority vote after one month's notice.

15. Any amendment to the Charter must also envisage the complete, simultaneous, universal and enforceable disarmament. The mad armament race must be stopped forthwith, and the production of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must be porhibited or controlled. Atomic energy may be placed under the supervision and control of the U.N.

16. The sessions of the General Assembly should not necessarily be held in one country only. If other nations invite the session to be held in their countries and provide full facilities the sessions may be held in other countries also.

17. For the promotion of international peace and brotherhood, it is desirable that an international language be decided upon and member-States be requested to include that language in their curriculum of educational institutions and to provide full facilities for the expansion and popularity of such a *lingua franca* of the world. Such a decision over the international language may be taken by a three-fourth majority vote of both the Houses of General Assembly, *i.e.*, House of Humanity and the House of Nations.

18. In order to adjust the purposes and principles of the U.N. with the changing times and needs, it is essential to be agreed upon that after every seven years consideration regarding the amendments of the Charter itself should be taken up by the General Assembly and decided upon by at least a two-third majority of the total membership of the Houses and of a three-fourth majority of the members present and voting.

But in the end it may be pointed out that the effecting of amendments in the Charter or completely overhauling it would not set everything right in the Organization, as the malady lies much deeper. It is more psychological than structural or procedural. What is, therefore, needed is not so much amendment of the Charter, as the creation of an international mind or world outlook, the creation of the appropriate atmosphere and climate which would secure international collaboration. "The root of the trouble that besets the organization is a 'fear psychosis' leading to cumulative mutual distrust, suspicion, hatred and ill-will between the two power-blocs into which most of the member-States are divided." What is required, therefore, is, that we should first wash our hearts, should strive our utmost to remove this mutual distrust, fear and hatred among the member-nations and persuade them to believe actively in the philosophy of 'co-existence,' live and let live. Every nation should try to accommodate, have respect for, those nations also who have opposing ideologies. In the words of Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld, the present Secretary-General of the U.N.:

"The United Nations is a symbol of faith and I personally believe that it is a realistic faith, that peace is possible and within reach, given goodwill."[10]

What is needed, is a change, not merely in the Charter but primarily in our attitude towards others.

"The United Nations is suffering from 'double-thinking' and 'political anaemia', and to cure it, a change in popular attitude and political climate is needed. The world is ridden by imperialism, colonialism and racialism; it is torn and tortured by ideological conflicts."[11]

It is only by the purification of our hearts and our faith in the 'Panch Shila' that the ideal of 'one world' and Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of men, the federation of the world" can be realised.

10. Dag Hammarskjoeld. In his address to the Indian Council of World Affairs on February 3, 1956. Published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* daily, dated 5.2.56.

11. S. A. H. Haggi: *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 4, 1954, p. 342.

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PRODUCTIVITY STUDIES FOR STEPPING UP PRODUCTION IN THE NEXT PLAN

By R. N. BOSE, I.A.S.

Increased productivity and increased opportunity for work are now accepted as the main objectives in our planning. Though it was early realised that the principal problem is to secure a continuous increase in production by all possible means and though as early as the 6th April, 1948, the industrial policy statement of the Government of India stressed the need of a dynamic national policy directed towards increased productivity, it was early foreseen that more than any other peril which might develop from time to time, the ultimate peril was the chance of a slow drying up of the productive capacity of the nation as a result of the chequered past with its legacy of frustration. The question of greater production is therefore bound up with the success of the next Five-Year Plan and more so because ugly symptoms of a go-slow mentality have been noticed in some sectors of our industrial society. Not only it is necessary to realise that increased production and provision for increased opportunities for all kinds of work must be the framework within which a solution of our many problems may be possible but to this end it is equally necessary to appreciate the need of productivity studies for stimulating production.

Productivity has often been defined technically as the "ratio of output to the corresponding input of labour." But this definition of productivity is really an over-simplification. Productivity is not simply a measure of the specific contribution of labour or of capital or any other factor of productivity. It reflects the cumulative influence of the operation of a large number of separate though inter-related factors, such as, technological improvement, rate of operation, degree of efficiency achieved in different processes, availability of supplies and the flow of materials and components as well as employer-employee relations, skill and efforts of the worker and efficiency of management. But more than anything else, the problem of productivity is intimately bound up with contentment among workers and their willingness to co-operate.

The broad picture of industrial development in India after independence is one of an initial period of difficulty followed by years of continual rising production. The gross ex-factory value of output increased from 743 crores in 1947 to 1307 crores in 1951. This was also accompanied by a diversification as well as enlargement of the capital base. Another significant factor is that with almost stationary labour for increase of industrial production (1946—100) had moved from 97.2 in 1947 to 108.4 in 1948, to 105.7 in 1949, to 105 in 1950 and to 117 in 1951, in all by nearly 20 per cent. This shows that a process of unnoticed rationalisation and drive for productivity had been going on all the time. The following 2 tables reflect the industrial progress in terms of increases in production as well as in installed capacity in some of the major industries.

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Year	Index of Industrial Production: Genl. index	Coal	Cemtnt	Paper and Paper Board
	97.2	103.1	93.9	87.8
1947	108.4	10..2	100.7	92.4
1948	105.8	108.9	136.3	97.4
1949	105.0	110.8	169.5	102.7
1950	117.2	118.8	207.2	124.4
1951	128.9	125.4	229.3	129.7
1952	135.1	124.1	245.1	130.4
1953				

Cotton cloth	Jute	Chemicals	Steel ingots and metal	Genl. Engg.. and Elec. Engg.
	96.6	102.7	97.1	92.2
96.2	100.2	158.5	97.7	136.5
110.5	84.8	194.3	104.6	167.2
99.9	76.8	229.0	112.0	203.1
93.8	80.4	260.2	388.8	265.7
104.3	87.4	112.0	112.0	233.0
117.7	79.8	515.6	116.5	258.6
125.1				

Year	Production (revalued at constant prices)	Production workers	Manhours
	100.0	100.0	100.0
1946	110.4	107.2	104.3
1947	115.1	111.4	108.4
1948	117.6	109.8	104.0
1949	122.4	105.9	102.6
1950			

Output: Per Worker	Per manhour	Unit labour requirements: Production workers	Manhours per unit
	100.0	100.0	100.0
100.0	105.8	97.1	94.5
103.0	106.1	96.8	94.2
103.3	113.1	93.4	88.4
107.1	119.3	86.5	83.8
115.6			

(From census of manufactures—indices of production, employment, man-hour productivity.)

Government of India naturally wanted to step up production more and provide not only financial and administrative framework in which productivity might advance further from the ingenuity of engineers and technicians in devising new innovations and techniques but wanted the imagination, judgment and willingness of the management to accept innovations. At the same time it was agreed that we cannot afford to allow our workers to carry an insufficient workload, specially at a stage when we are rapidly developing the country. Everyone must give a full day's work and should be encouraged to surpass average standards by a comfortable margin. This was the only way "to build up a great State and build up ourselves."

To this end, I.L.O. experts on productivity and systems of payment by results were invited in India in the first week of December, 1952 for a period of six months at the first instance. These experts conducted pilot productivity tests in selected units in the engineering industry in Calcutta, and the textile industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad with the object of demonstrating how productivity and earnings of works can be improved through the application of modern techniques of plant organisation and work study. The increase in productivity arising as a direct result of the team's work has been assessed at between 6 per cent to 36 per cent in the units in the textile indusry and 12.5 per cent to 116 per cent in the engineering industry.

The expert team recommended the establishment of a national productivity centre staffed at the beginning by I.L.O. experts. This had the approval of the Planning Commission and at the Standing Labour Committee held on the 28th July, 1953, the employers welcomed the idea of the Centre and expressed their willingness to share the cost. The workers while welcoming the proposal stressed that the experts should confine their activities to investigations and recommendations.

It was also pointed out that before maximum use can be made of existing equipments, adequate machine-maintenance procedure must be introduced. This calls for the increased use of technically trained men on machine maintenance work. Moreover, greater flexibility in the allocation of duties between different jobs was advocated. It was also stressed that the wage structure of the industries must be studied closely on a scientific basis before satisfactory systems of payment by results can be introduced and maximum labour productivity encouraged.

It is hoped that the national productivity centre which is now an established fact will envisage a number of measures concerning improvement of productivity of industry. Its first object will be to assist in the implementation of the proposals of the coming plan when industrialisation will be considerably stepped up. It will seek to further the application in India of modern techniques for raising productivity especially those which require little or no new capital investment. The central feature is the application of modern engineering and management techniques for the purpose of raising productivity and earnings by making better use of existing plant and equipment and by improving working conditions and human relations.

This would thus be the main task of the proposed centre. This fuller utilisation and this new approach are designed to meet the special needs of India in which capital is bound to be for a long time in short supply in relation to the great and expanding demand for it. As has been well said :

> "Fuller utilisation of existing capacity must necessarily be the prime consideration in policy for where such capacity exists increase in production can usually be secured at a diminishing cost per unit. The increase in productivity per unit of resources already employed can make a vital contribution to the increase in total production so urgently needed at the present time."

While it is not necessary to anticipate the line of action to be pursued by the National Productivity Centre, it is perhaps right to state briefly some of the known snags that stand in the way of productivity and

which are likely to engage the attention of the Centre in due course when the data collected by the Central Labour Bureau is critically analysed by it and a systematic study of the beginnings of different productivity schemes be made.

Regarding payment by rtsults for instance it has been suggested as a result of the experience gained so far to create statutory provision, if need be, for the wage fixing machinery to apply the principle of payment by results wherever feasible. A scientific system for this purpose involves time and motion study to determine the proper workload, job evaluation and the proper setting of piece rates. It is obvious of course that this system of payment by results will have to be supplemented by a guarantee of minimum quantum of work and employment. On the other hand, there will be need to ensure that the system does not work to the detriment of the health of the workers. Piece rates would have to be worked out in such a way that they prove disincentive after the worker crosses a safe maximum output. Thus before wages are fixed service of experts may be necessary to evolve a suitable system of payment by results, if one is not already prevalent in the industry. It is necessary in this context to secure in advance a change in the attitudes of certain sections of labour to the introduction of this system. It may also be necessary to provide for bonuses to individual workers if they show proper care in the use of tools and other equipments and also for saving raw materials.

While productivity over the whole field of organised industry has gone up since 1947, the increase in productivity has not been even in all sectors. In some industries like cement and paper there has been a notable increase both in installed capacity and in production. In certain other industries there has been no rise in installed capacity athough there has been diversification of production. Though the trend in productivity is unmistakable, industries in which output seems to have increased more than 50 per cent are plywood, teachests, wheat flour, cement, paper and paper board and the sewing machinery industries. But in some sectors productivity has declined and so the First Five-Year Plan recommended that scientific investigation should be held regarding the complaints of declining productivity. As already pointed out the work done by the team of productivity experts in demonstrating the possibility of greater output and the establishment of National Productivity Centre are measures taken in this direction. Now to take a few concrete cases, the productivity in industries is influenced by a variety of technical, economic and institutional factors including the nature of production-process, the capital structure of the industry, the composition of labour force, the availability of materials, the size of markets, the skill of output, scientific research, and exchange of information. The production process at a given stage of technology is generally fixed in advance by certain technical conditions involving physical agents such as heat, pressure and electrical energy and output cannot ordinarily be changed in a major way by the effort of workers alone. In many branches it is only in such operational stages as packaging and maintenance that workers can exert a substantial influence in the quantitative output of the industry. As a result of the nature of the prouction process in some industries the amount of capital invested per worker is very high, in fact, the highest being in the manufactures of chemicals and electrical equipment where the labour force is comparatively small and over one half of the working force commonly consists of indirect labour, while unskilled labour comprises less than one-fifth of the labour force. The high productivity in chemical and electrical industries is therefore directly dependent on the maintenance of a high level of scientific research which has revolutionised the entire chemical ahd electrical industry within the short space of two or three decades.

Though many of the factors are longterm and beyond the control of the individual undertaking in the short term, even here there is great scope for improveing productivity through co-operation by management and workers. Certain basic attitudes are required on the part of the management and workers before progress can be made in raising productivity rapidly. For instance in the chemical industry there should be not only a willingness to accept change but also a capacity to initiate changes which will improve the output achieved in a given input. In short, there is need for a basic stock-taking of attitudes, methods and, technique on the part of both management and workers and for the development of a co-operative and creative approach to the problem of production in most industries.

There are two major ways in which management may raise productivity in most factories : by improving methods of organisation and operation of the existing plant and equipment, and by increasing the effectiveness of available man power resources. Greater utilisation of existing plant and equipment can be achieved by improved plant layout, better materials handling, a planned maintenance programme, effective use of standard cost accounting and standardisation and simplification. Management may achieve the most effective utilisation of available man power resources through the adoption of measures which will take into account the basic motivations of workers, minimise labour discontent and provide for a clear definition of responsibility, and a proper delegation of authority and a recognition of the importance of technical competence in supervisory functions.

Where management has created a favourable environment for increase in productivity, workers and trade unions may contribute to higher productivity in a number of ways, such as, assistance in improving the technical efficiency of the plant, suggestion for developing new methods and techniques of production, the introduction of greater flexibility in apprenticeship sys-

tem, careful observance of safety-precautions and in general by care and attention to detail in carrying out their often exacting duties.

The training of management and workers to carry out their proper roles in increasing productivity is exceedingly important. As already indicated, careful attention is needed for on-the-job vocational training and a training of supervisors. Better training for members of the management can be achieved by improved facilities as contemplated in the Institute of Business Management and management conferences, and more easily by distribution of reading lists and management bulletins, group meetings, job rotation, committee assignments and multiple management plans.

There is growing interest in the possibilities of utilising the technique of work-study to raise productivity. The purpose of work-study is to analyse work-method in such a way as to stop any waste of materials, power, machine, time or human effort and to design work-method and procedures which will eliminate such waste. It is useful to divide work-study into two main stages, method-study and work-measurement. Method-study comprises selecting the work to be studied; recording in adequate detail the relevant facts of the existing method; examining each element of the operation critically, and in sequence, developing the best and most economical method in the prevailing circumstances; installing the new method as agreed standard practice, and maintaining the new standard practice by proper control procedure.

Work measurement is the determination by suitable technique of the proper time to be allowed for the effective performance of a specified task, due allowance being made for fatigue. Work measurement is an invaluable tool in increasing productivity in several ways. It helps to ensure that each factory is efficiently manned. It can provide a sound basis for planning and forward loading the work of both men and machines. It is also an important tool of management control. It can provide the means of carrying out a system of labour cost control. It provides an equitable basis for incentive wage schemes. Of the various techniques of work measurement time-study is the most widely used.

A number of technical, organisational and human problems have been encountered in the application of work-study method. The fact must be faced that the results of work-measurement are, as yet at least, highly variable even when carried out by experts and in many cases involve an element of subjective evaluation. Another problem is that of determining work measurement when there has been a sufficient change in method to justify revision of existing rates. There is also some danger that work simplification based on work study may be carried so far as to defeat its own purpose of raising productivity by depriving the work of all interest or meaning for individual workers. This problem may be dealt with in part by more careful selection and placement of workers where monotonous repetitive operations are inescapable and in part through changes in work organisation, enlargement of the job content or more mechanization. There is great need for the workers themselves to have more confidence in a work study programme. This will be ensured if a certain number of their own representatives, as well as management officials receive training in work study.

The launching of a work study programme is liable to create certain fears in the mind of the workers as already noted above. Will the increase of productivity through work study method result in unemployment? Will work study involve speeding up which will increase fatigue and may easily be detrimental to workers' health? Management can help to remove the fears of unemployment by assuming responsibility for absorbing as soon as possible any displaced worker by utilising the vacancies created by normal labour turnover and by expansion of capacity. The workers' fear of speeding up can be largely overcome if provision is made to have the checking by trade union representatives of the rates proposed by work-study men. (*i.e.* whether rates are disincentives after a certain stage.)

Finally, certain administrative problems may be encountered in the relations between work study staff and operational staff. Sound management principles require that work study remain a functional service and that it always be subordinate to operational management. It is particularly important that work study officers respect the foreman's authority and responsibility for the men under his control.

Since the second World War in all the advanced countries an increased interest has been taken in the system of payment by results as a means of increasing productivity. A number of important problems have been encountered in applying such schemes. In the first place, friction has sometimes developed between different categories of workers as a result of the difficulty of determining accurately the work-content of the various jobs. Because of the complexity of direct production processes, it is often difficult to identity the individual worker's contribution to the total output of the plant. The introduction of process instrumentation has however, solved this problem to some extent. Difficulties are also encountered in measuring the output of indirect production of some workers such as the maintenance-men.

Some problems are also encountered because of the frequent changes in basic rates. Many unnecessary changes can be avoided if method study of the work measurement of the job concerned has been completed in advance, if there is a provision for a trial period during which any necessary changes may be agreed upon between the management and workers' representative before the system is finally applied, and if an understanding is reached that modification in rate should occur only for agreed reasons and only in accordance with agreed procedure.

Quality control is important in all industries and if it is not possible to ensure frequent high inspection it is best not to attempt to put certain types of operations on a payment by results basis.

Several important human problems have also been raised as a result of the introduction of payment by results schemes. In some cases trade unions have opposed such schemes on the ground that they may tend to stimulate aggressiveness, competition, a spirit of rivalry and other individualistic quality in the workers which may, in turn, result in friction and ill-feeling in the factory. Removing any dissatisfaction or opposition that may be encountered on this ground is a problem of human relations requiring the assignment to workers and their representatives of a responsible role in the activities of the enterprise, and consultation on all major problems of mutual interest,—as has been advocated in the First Five-Year Plan and as is likely to gain added emphasis in the second Plan.

A problem sometimes arises because workers at an incentive system are earning higher wages than other workers for whom the management has not yet had the time to conduct the necessary work study. To cope with this situation "in lieu bonuses" have sometimes been proposed pending the proper installation of a payment by results scheme. In some industries again where production is the result of a team rather than individual effort, group incentive schemes may be preferable to individual schemes. The incentive value of such schemes is, however, usually greater, the smaller the groups to which they apply.

A major question in the minds of the workers is whether there is a fair distribution of the savings that accrue to the company as a result of work study and payment by results scheme. Benefits resulting from higher productivity should go to the workers in the form of higher wages or shorter hours or better working conditions. The consumers should also share a benefit in the shape of lower prices. Though no single formula can be devised to ensure an equitable and appropriate distribution of the benefits of productivity in all cases and though each case must be decided on its merit the stockholders' interest should also be kept in view. In the final analysis the success of payment by results plan is dependent on the goodwill, physical efficiency and co-operation of the workers, and the trade union representatives. All these key factors postulate an acceptance of the principle of adequate living wage. As Gandhiji said long ago:

> "This adequate living wage touches the very existence of labour and its efficiency depends very largely upon the right kind of living; and the greater the efficiency, the greater the possibility of increased production and of enhanced profits." (*Harijan*, 13. 2. 37).

After this living wage is assured goodwill and co-operation will follow, if management take workers into its confidence from the outset, explaining in advance all features, of the proposed scheme and the reasons for introducing it, and making specific provision for participation by representatives of the workers in the setting up and operation of the scheme as recommended by the I.L.O. Meeting of Experts on System of Payment by Results. This has also been advocated by the Planning Commission.

If improvement in working conditions may lead to an increase in productivity, either for physical reasons (for example, a reduction in fatigue) or for psychological reasons, (for example, by leading the workers to identify more closely with the undertaking in which they work), the converse is also true. The history of social progress shows that higher productivity, in its turn, makes possible further improvement in working conditions while go-slow by workers more often lowers not only productivity but also wages by creating conditions in which "the gradual beating down of the rate of remuneration follows as a corollary of the inferiority of the product itself which makes it unsaleable at accepted prices and which compels the payment of progressively lower wage rates." The manner in which the increased wealth yielded by higher productivity is distributed varies under different circumstances, but better working conditions are certainly one of the desirable ways in which workers may share the benefits of higher productivity.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that productivity is only a means and not an end in itself, and a plan that is conceived only in terms of production may be no plan at all. Planning has got to take into consideration, not only increased production but increased consumption by ensuring more plentiful purchasing power through more employment opportunities.

No country need have a monopoly of progress and the recovery of many war-devastated countries and others which were not sufficiently developed before, go to show that our economy may also change for the better with rising productivity and that it may be possible in a socialistic pattern of society to plan a wide and equitable distribution of the fruits of our common endeavour so that our children at least may have a better life than our own.

National Productivity Centre will, therefore, serve national interests, only if social aims of supplying the needs of the people and raising their standard of living are kept in the forefront of the schemes sponsored by it, if there is a balance of social and technological "Know-How" and if the nation can get not only more goods but a good life for each citizen by converting productivity into higher wages, lower prices and greater consumption.

resembling an animal with a waving festoon attached to it. The ship may be compared with the well-known ship-motif of Borobudur in Java, as well as with the sea-going vessels shown in one of the cave-paintings of Ajanta, which probably depicts a scene of the *Mahajanaka Jataka*[4]. In this connection, it may not be entirely irrelevant to point out that there is an opinion that the celebrated ancient port of the Ganges, placed by the classical writers in the coastal Bengal, is to be located in the region of the present village De Ganga just in the vicinity of Berachampa[5]. It is quite curious to note that the author of the *Periplus* (C. 1st. Cent. A.D.) mentions a type of sea-going vessels called 'Kolandia' which plied from the commercial emporium of the Ganges. As Ptolemy (C. 2nd. Cent. A.D.) places the city to the east of Tamralipta, her location amid the contiguous sites of Berachampa, Jhikra and De-Ganga[6] does not seem to be an impossible hypothesis. Being situated in Lower Bengal the region might have some connection with sea in the ancient days. The opinion in favour of this location of the Ganges in 24-Parganas gains some ground by the discovery of several pottery fragments with rouletted designs at this place which are supposed to be of Roman origin. Thus, Berachampa has become the second site in Bengal after Tamluk yielding Roman-type pottery. In Orissa and South-India rouletted wares have been discovered at Sisupalgad, Arikamedu, Salihundam, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli proving a very intimate trade-relation between India and the Roman world in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

That the region of Berachampa flourished during the age of imperial unity under the Mauryas has also been suggested by the discovery of numerous fragments of highly black-glazed pottery-vases which are generally recognised as Mauryyan.

Several pieces of stamped pottery are highly interesting, as the motifs not only consist of leaf-designs or star-like symbols, but also very archaic types of animal figures. A lot of fifteen silver punch-marked coins recovered from the place lend further support to this idea (Fig. No. 4). The present coins recall a find of punch-marked coins from a place in 24-Parganas in the last century[7], and they show many early symbols some of which seem to be quite rare. A description of these coins is given below :

4. G. Yazdani : *Ajanta*, Vol. I, Plate XIX.

5. *Banglai Bhraman* (written in Bengali) : Published by the Eastern Railway, Pt. I, p. 46. Sometimes, the port is identified with Tamralipta.

6. The name De Ganga may have some connection with Adi Ganga or the old course of the Ganges. For some important observations about the old course of the Ganges, See *District Gazetteer of 24-Parganas* : By L. S. S. O'Malley ; Calcutta, 1914, p. 8.

7. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p. 245.

Serial No.	*Shape*	*Obverse Symbols*	*Reverse Smbols*
1.	Square[8]	Sun, scorption, hollow cross surrounded by four round pellets, dots and arrow-heads (?) within frame.	Radiating sun, dots and traces of other symbols.
2.	Square	Fish, sun, tree (with fruits), six-armed symbol and mountain.	Dots, sun, six-armed symbol etc.
3.	Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol with alternate fish and taurines, and Rabbit.	Sun (or star), taurine symbol etc.
4.	Square	Six-armed symbol with alternate arrow-heads (or *chhatras i.e.*, parasols) and taurines, Sun, elephant etc.	Traces of few symbols.
5.	Round	Fish, sun, six-armed symbol, animal, tree (palm tree)	Plain
6.	Round	Scorpion (or river), six-armed symbol, sun, rabbit on a mountain.	Fish in a tank (?), Semi-circle.
7.	Square	Sun, three circles around an axis, rabbit on a mountain, six-armed symbol.	Plain
8.	Round	Sun, tree, bull (or elephant), six-armed symbol and circle with a pellet inside.	Plain
9.	Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol, rabbit etc.	Two sun-symbols, dots, zigzag design, etc.
10.	Square	Sun, elephant, *Jayadhraja*, six-armed symbol, bull etc.	Tree
11.	Square	Sun, *Jayadhraja*, bull on a mountain, elephant and six-armed symbol.	Sun and slight traces of other illegible symbols.
12.	Square	Two mountain-symbols of three arches, two fish in a river, sun and six-armed symbol.	Sun.
13.	Square	Six-armed symbol, sun, tree, elephant and bull	Traces of a symbol (three fish ?)
14.	Square	Sun, elephant, tree, six-armed symbol and bull	Plain.[9]
15.	Square	Sun, frog, three circles around an axis, rabbit etc.	Dots, and traces of other symbols.

As it has been already pointed out, some of the symbols as enumerated above are quite rare if not completely new on silver punch-marked coins. Thus, the hollow cross, bull on a mountain, and arrow-heads within frame are remarkable in their character and type. When Allan composed his well-known book on the *Indian Coins* in the British Museum, he came to the conclusion that the hollow-cross symbol was completely absent on the silver punch-marked coins. Thus, he remarked :

> "A striking feature about the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins is the complete absence of some well-known Indian symbols very common on other series of coins, such as the Swastika and simple triskeles, the so-called Ujjain symbol in its various forms, and the Nandipada so common in more or less elaborate forms elsewhere, the hollow cross common at Taxila."[10]

Economy

Now, a minute study of the silver punch-marked coins from Berachampa will naturally make us revise the conclusion of the famous numismatist regarding the association of hollow cross with the silver punch-marked coins which along with the copper-types undoubtedly constitute the earliest coinage of Bengal.

The buried treasures of Berachampa make a long way to prove that the region with a circular chain of mounds preserves most valuable relics of the past, which once scientifically unearthed will surely unfold a fascinating chapter of the forgotten history of Bengal. The rouletted wares, the black-glazed pottery, the Maurya and Sunga terracottas, as well as the punch-marked and cast coins evidence the growth and development of a high-grade civilisation in the region of Berachampa which probably made a great contribution to the general culture and prosperity of the ancient *Prachya i.e.*, eastern India.

Fig. 5. Terracotta Yaksini, [illegible] Tamralipta, C. 1st. cent. B.C.)

8. The terms 'square' and 'round' should not be taken too technically.

9. There are various interpretations regarding the true meaning of the symbols of the punch-marked coins. No doubt, many of these symbols have a pre-historic character.

10. J. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Intro. xxii.

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EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTIVATION INDISPENSABLE FOR WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

It is nearly 20 years ago that I began cultivation of Egyptian cotton as Agricultural Officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. There had been many difficulties in the beginning, as the climate and soil of the place of its origin, is very different from Bengal. With the kind help of the Calcutta University, who undertook Research work on the subject, the difficulties were removed. Since then, I have been cultivating it every year with success and have succeeded in acclimatizing it. My cultivation and cotton have been acclaimed every year by experts as follows :

(1) "An unprecedented thing in the history of India,"—Bengal Mill Owners Association.

(2) "The cotton has staple length above 1-5|16" and is fit to spin 80s warp."—The Mohini Mills Ltd.

(3) "The cotton is good with staple length of 1-7|16"."—The Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd.

(4) "I could not believe before I saw its cultivation this season 1954-55 in the Bhagirathi Silpasram, Nadia, that such superior cotton can be grown in India. Both from quality and quantity of yield it is commendable."—T. P. Chakrabarty, Mng. Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Member I.C.C.C.

(5) "I had the pleasure to visit the plots under Egyptian cotton for 1955-56 in Shamnagar (24-Parganas). The plants had strong bolls, just beginning to burst. A rapid examination of Karpas in field revealed that the fibre was long, fine, silky and strong, etc." 28-11-55. Sd/- R. S. Sankaran, M.A.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM BERACHAMPA

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,
Assistant Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

The locality of Berachampa lies in the Barasat Sub-division of 24-Parganas and its distance from Calcutta is almost twenty-three miles. The place with its neighbouring village Ba-Ganga are not only hallowed with some romantic and pathetic annals of the past, but their impressive mounds also hid most valuable objects of art and archaeology which may excite the imagination of the students of history. The local legends ordinarily associate the extensive mounds of Berachampa with the heroic and tragic end of a king named Gunabhadra who stood up as a champion of the Hindus against the Islamic wave. There are other legends also which will intimately connect the place with the celebrated aborigine people Khasa and Mlêchchha who are said to have flourished in the Gupta age.

Fig. 1. Terracotta Head of a Yakshi. Sunga period (c. 2nd cent. B.C.)

Archaeologists are yet not sure whether these semi-mythical stories have any historical basis, the first archaeological exploration of Berachampa in a manner beyond any doubt. The most remarkable feature in this that the place so near to Calcutta has evaded from time to time several valuable and unique antiquities which undoubtedly enriched a forgotten chapter in the ancient history of Bengal.

In 1917, Lendrum first carried out an exploration at Berachampa in response to a petition sent by some local gentlemen including late archaeologist Late of Bengal, Umesh Chandra Chosh. Although the former explored only some pottery examples as well as bricks and moulded tablets (2"×2½") in the area, he was not fully convinced about the real archaeological importance of the site. Consequently, no other enquiry of this locality about Berachampa was made until more than a decade after when five rectangular cast coins were fortunately recovered from the area and found their place in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta. As a result of this discovery some of the ancient

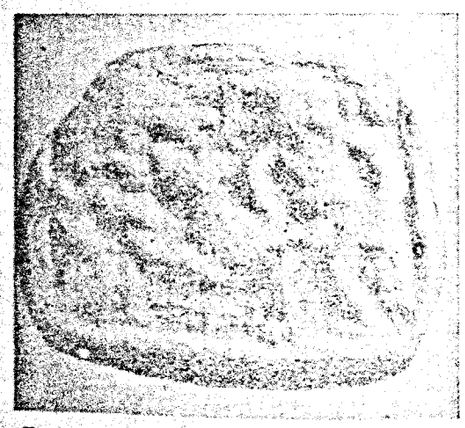


Fig. 2. Terracotta plaque with *Mithuna* motif (c. 2nd cent. A.D.)

mounds of the locality came under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act on November, 1920, and the then superintendent of the Eastern circle arrived at the conclusion that the place was one of the earliest settlements of Lower Bengal.[1]

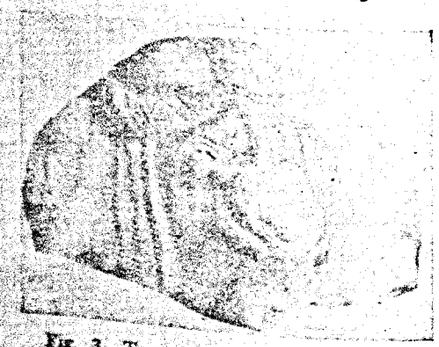


Fig. 3. Terracotta Elephant. Berachampa (Mauryyan?)

After this, again the importance of Berachampa was long neglected until several years ago when the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University conducted some

1. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 129. R. D. Banerji: *Bangalar Itihas* (in Bengali), Pt. I, p. 33.

preliminary explorations in the area with a view to making a general impression about the site. Finally, the importance of Berachampa was greatly increased only several months ago when a unique terracotta figure of Surya of the Sunga period luckily entered the gallery of the Asutosh Museum as a gift from a local gentleman. Here the Sun-God is standing in his celestial chariot drawn by four horses trampling the brute of nocturnal drakness against whom he has waged a perpetual war. The god is flanked by his two female consorts and behind his head may be seen a halo probably symbolising the solar orb. The turban and jewellery of the figures, as well as the sensitive and almost two dimensional modelling of the figures bear clear traces of the plastic art of the early Sunga period; while it is quite alluring to compare this terracotta with the almost similar depiction of the aerial journey of the Sun among the relief-compositions of Bhaja near Poona.[2]

After the discovery of the Surya figure the present writer carried out a series of explorations at Berachampa on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University, which resulted in the discovery of a number of rare terracotta figures, pottery-fragments and coins.[3] The terracotta figurines include some remarkable examples of the art of the Maurya, the Sunga and the Kushan periods. A slightly mutilated figure of an elephant of a toy chariot (Fig. No. 3) displays a massive and vigorous modelling recalling the similar rock-cut elephant of Dhauli in Orissa which seems to be an immortal lithic creation of the Maurya period. The *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* figures of Berachampa belonging to the Sunga period (C. 2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 1st. Cent. B.C.) bear close affinity not only with the relief figures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya and Bhaja, but also with the similar terracotta sculptures of various other Indian sites like Kausambi, Patna, Tamralipta, Bangarh and others. The jewellery and ornaments of these figures, which are noted for their delicacy, beauty and abundance are typical of the general Sunga art. The fine head of a *Yakshini* (Fig. No. 1) wears a very elaborate coiffure and jewellary consisting of stringed beads, necklaces and earnings with floral motifs. Here the fashion and style of the hair-arrangement are also interesting as some of the hairs are cropped low and arranged in straight lines upon her forehead. The general style and treatment of the terracotta, which is marked with wonderful loveliness, make it comparable with some of the finest examples of northern India, particularly the so-called 'Oxford figurine' of Tamluk in Bengal. The present figure has also a great resemblance with another terracotta female head from Tamluk (Fig. No. 5) collected by the present writer a few years ago. The general treatment and perspective in both the figurines are similar,

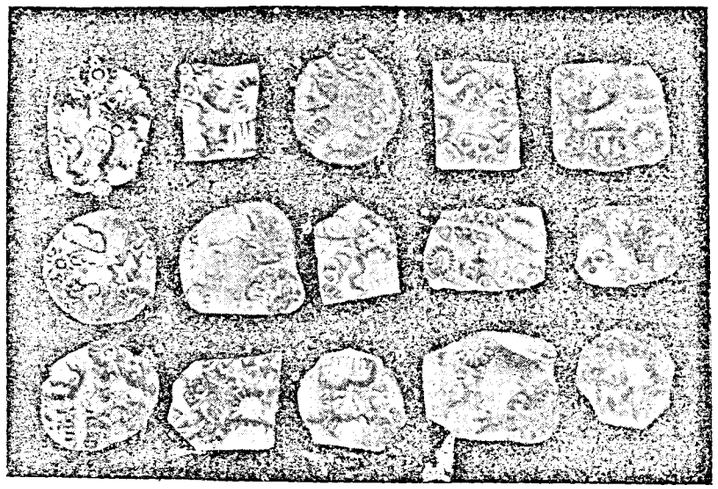


Fig. 4. The Silver Punch-marked Coins from Berachampa

which probably indicates that the Sunga art of Berachampa had a particular link with the contemporary terracotta art of ancient Tamralipta.

The most outstanding example of the present collection from Berachampa is a terracotta rectangular plaque showing the union of a couple (*mithuna*), (Fig. No. 2). Stylistically, this unique plaque may be assigned to C. 2nd. Cent. A.D. *i.e.*, in the Kushan period, while the general treatment makes it comparable with some of the plastic examples of Amaravati. as well as with another terracotta plaque with *mithuna* motif discovered during the Indian Archaeological Department's recent excavations at Tamralipti (or Tamralipta).

A mutilated terracotta moulded *Yakshi* shows an increase of depth in the relief, with a heavy girdle contributing to the fleshy character and the voluptuous trend of the figure. Stylistically, the terracctta may be placed in the 1st Cent. A.D.—2nd. Cent. A.D. Similar types of *Yakshis* were discovered before at Tamluk and Bangarh in Bengal.

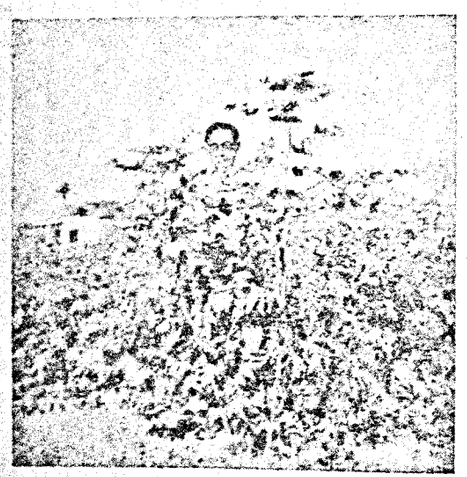
A fragmentary terracotta plaque shows the front part of a quaint-looking vessel with riggings and the prow

2. Devaprasad Ghosh, Curator of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta, first drew the attention of scholars to this remarkable similarity.

3. During these brief explorations the present writer received co-operation from the local people, particularly from a gentleman of the place, named Sri Satyen Ray.

Ph.D. (London), D.I.C., Dy. Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee.

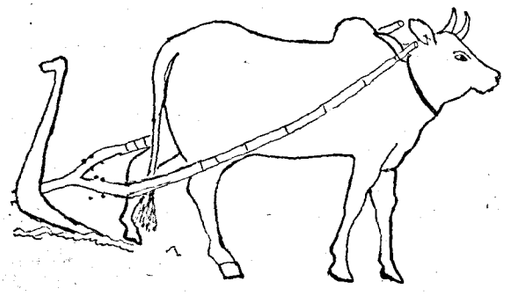
The price of this cotton is more than double that of the American cotton. The cost of cultivation is Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per acre and yield of seed-cotton is 6 to 9 mds. per acre which at Rs. 70 comes to Rs. 420 to Rs. 630 and is always profitable. Owing to the gradual increase in demand for such cotton. The Cotton Mills have to depend entirely on foreign imports for such superior cotton. To stop this heavy drainage of money, the Central Government has been through I.C.C. financing in full for 15 years from February 1954, all schemes to cultivate cotton with staple of 1⅛" and above. (Letter No: F—1—14|55 II, dated 15|16 December, 1954 re-iterated on 7-6-55 to the Secretary Indian Central Cotton Committee from the Under-Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi).



Egyptian cotton showing excellent growth at the Calcutta University Agricultural Field Station at Mandori, Haringhata

Almost all the States in India as Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Behar, Assam have taken advantage of this help. Considering the great importance of this cultivation I hope West Bengal, though late, which has been producing cotton with staple of 1 5|16 and above for the last few years, may work on such cotton with the above help; further, the recent working of the Government Cotton cultivation scheme for 3 years from 1950 to 1952 has proved that American cotton grows well in this State. So there is no reason why Egyptian cotton, acclimatized here, will not behave similarly. Recent opinions on this cotton, quoted above, are also encouraging. If the Agricultural Department apprehend difficulties, they have a well-equipped Research-Institute staffed by eminent scholars, which they can easily utilize for smooth working of the scheme. Even in Egypt, a heavy amount is being spent to maintain a Research Institute to help them in cultivation and improvement of cotton. It is fortunate that the Calcutta University has taken up its cultivation for 1955-56 in their Haringhata field station at Mandori, 6 miles on the bus route from Kanchrapara (E. Rly.) to Haringhata (Nadia), and I have to supervise the general cultivation. Their object is to study the Botanical, Agronomical and Economic aspect of its cultivation. Cultivation for 1955-56 at Shamnagar (E. Rly.) 24-Parganas is being sponsored by the Annapurna Cotton Mills under my supervision and is

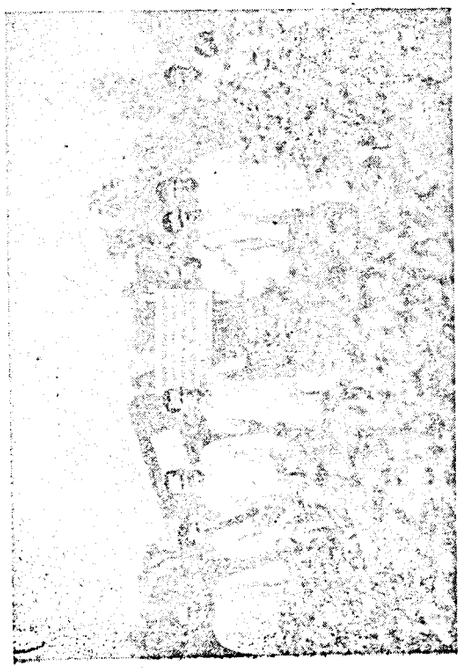
Egyptian cotton field at Shamnagar (1955-56) Grower and others to show relative heights of cotton plants



One-bullock-driven plough

Hand-driven plough

Children spinning



Egyptian cotton grown (1955-56) at Shamnagar, 24-Parganas. Sponsored by Sri T. P. Chakraborty, Member, I.C.C.C. and Managing Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Ltd. Photo taken by Bose & Co., Shamnagar, on 28-11-55 during inspection by Dr. R. Sankaran, Ph.D. (Lond.), D.I.C., Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C. *Left to right*: (1) Sri T. P. Chakrabarty, (2) Dr. H. Choudhury of the State Agricultural Department, (3) Dr. R. Sankaran, (4) Stand for a Bee Box kept in the field to increase yield, (5) Sri M. Ghosal, (6) Sri Sarada Charan Chakraborty, the grower

only 10 minutes walk from the Railway station near the above Mills. All interested in its cultivation are invited to see them personally. The Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C., when inspecting the cultivation at Shamnagar, requested me to cultivate at least 5 acres in 1956-57. In case, any one undertakes its cultivation, I am ready to place my long experience and supervision at his disposal. I generally undertake supervision with guarantee about quality of above 1¼" staple and yield of at least 6 per acre. Considering its great economic possibitities the Community Development Authorities may will undertake it to benefit cultivators. The advantages of its cultivation are as follows :

(1) It can be grown as mixed crop with Aus paddy.

(2) Its high price is bound to make its cultivation profitable and improve the condition of cultivators.

(3) Wide introduction of its cultivation will to a great extent stop the heavy drainage of Indian money spent in importing high quality cotton.

(4) This will further, if widely cultivated in small quantities also, make cotton easily available for ordinary and Ambar Charkha spinning indispensable as one of the means to solve the persent unemployment problem among villagers.

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RAJIAH—THE CREATIVE ARTIST

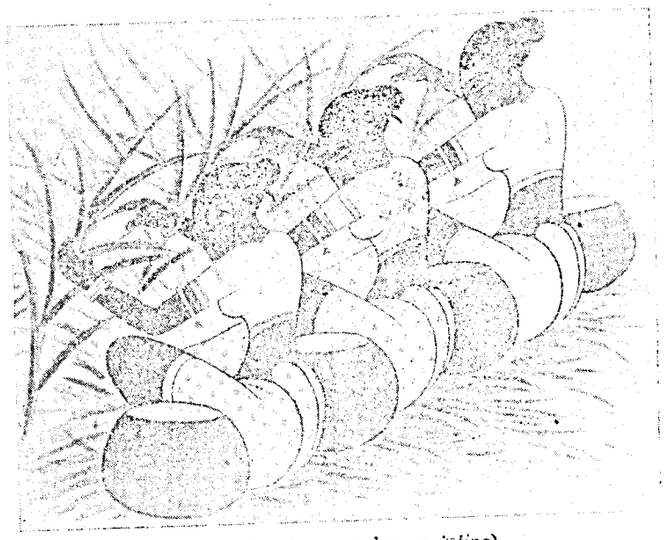
By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THIRTY-ONE-year-old K. Rajiah, a humble Art Teacher, by profession, who hails from Siddipet Taluk in Hyderabad State is a creative artist whose significant accomplishment as a highly original painter of mythological and *genere* studies in the folk and decorative art styles entitle him to a place of honour among Indian artists, who, without ignoring tradition and technique, have produced outstanding works in the truly Indian style. He belongs to the small, successful and noteworthy group of young Hyderabad artists, the others in the distinguished group being Badri Narayan and D. Doraiswamy, whose works have deservedly won fame essentially because of their gay and bright colours, fresh and fertile imagination, firm and flowing lines, and intimately Indian patterns and prototypes. It is certain that these three extraordinarily gifted artists will create art history when their works attain maturity of content and expression.

Born in a poor family with no artistic or cultural background, and waging an incessant war against a host of unfavourable environments, Rajiah the boy was determined to become an artist, and so he worked hard and

A Village Belle at Leisure
(*water colour painting*)

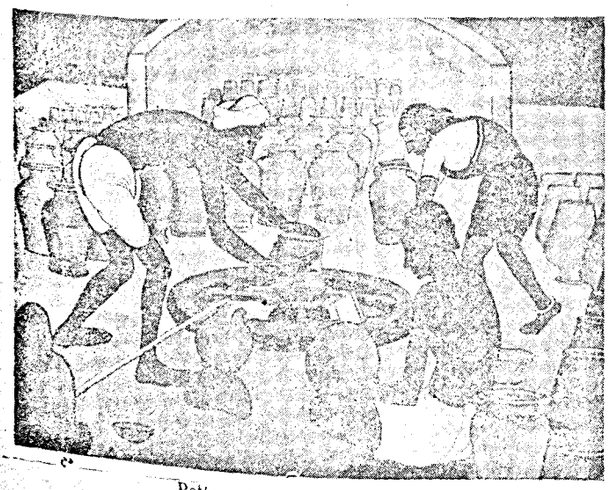
Village Women to a Festival
(*tempera painting*)



Harvesting (*water colour painting*)

Steps towards Devotion (*water colour painting*)

won success. While a student of Fourth Form he gave up his studies and joined the Hyderabad School of Arts in 1943 where he always won the first place in the examinations. The famous artists Syed Ahmed and Sukumar Deushkar taught Rajiah to draw and colour



Potters (*water colour painting*)

with meticulous care, to value tradition and technique but not to be their slave. They encouraged him to sketch from life in the villages. The advice of these stalwarts and a careful study of the cave paintings of Ajanta have been the primal inspiration for Rajiah's art which is remarkable for its current vitality notwithstanding its traditional inspiration.

Since 1953 Rajiah has been exhibiting his realistic, imaginative, primitive, and colourful paintings in vibrant style, enlivened with deft dashes of lyrical and romantic flavour, in the leading art shows in India and abroad and winning honours in quick succession. "The young artist of Telengana" soon came to be recognised in art circles as a painter of solid achievement with a resplendent future, and his works begun to be acquired for top-ranking States and private collections all over the world.

Rajiah paints on mounts, plywood and card-boards, using tempera and water colours in daring contrasts, and adopting modern styles of art expression. The rich and vital folk tradition and convincing decorative idiom have profoundly influenced his art which has the supreme virtues of simplicity of form, pleasing colour harmony, and intense and intimate emotional effect. The vigorous and aesthetically delightful statement of form and the soul-searching expression of the dominant *rasa* render his paintings fascinating and quite extraordinary. In any Art Exhibition, his paintings compel attention by their rhythmic organisation of form and colour, ornate patterning, and disarming *naivete*. His glamorous magic of sombre colours is obviously pleasing and striking and is reminiscent of the lofty achievements of the famous masters of mural art. Red, green, yellow, blue and terraverte are used with consummate technical virtuosity by Rajiah, the wizard of primary colours. He achieves

Telengana Festival (*water colour painting*)

From the Well (*Vasantam*)
(*water colour painting*)

solidity, plastic continuity, and coherence through bold composition. In the interpretation of mythological themes Rajiah conceives them with greatness of imagination and construction, laying emphasis on strength and movement, giving the illusion that life is rich and joyous. Areas of colour are definitely and unmistakably separated from one another to create brilliant pictorial effect. His convincing interpretations of common subjects in Indian idiom in a new, original, and progressive technique is of astonishing merit.

A Girl at Garland-making
(*water colour painting*)

It is refreshing to find that his passionate love of and increasing fascination for folk and decorative idioms have not driven him to resort to cheap, weird, and grotesque exaggerations of form and style, and to play havoc with the grace of line, the harmony of colour, and the balance of composition. His art is a happy yet original blending of folk art, decorative idiom, the lyricism and romanticism of Indian painting, and modern influences in manner and method. But it is not hybrid, not imitative; it is essentially Indian in soul, drawing its abundant charm and strength from the spontaneous reaction to the infectious immediacy of life itself which envelopes the sensitive artist in its endless variety and complexity of form, texture and colour. He has a spontaneity of expressing his own emotional reactions to life which are so fundamental a part of his racial tradition.

A hardworking artist with a discerning and insatiable appetite for colour, sometimes archaic, Rajiah reduces line and form to absolute simplification and balances his compositions with perfect ease and grace, and makes his studies compelling in vigour, vitality and charm.

K. Rajiah

The beauty of form and design and the spectacular contrast of colours in Rajiah's paintings invest his art with rare grandeur, wonderful pictorial effect, and popular appeal. Whether he paints a bloody *Cockfight*, the favourite pastime of the village folk, or the hard life of the *Veddars*, poor stone-cutters, or a colourful *Telengana Festival*, or a *Koya Couple* belonging to the wandering primitive tribe, or village life such as *Girl at Garland making*, *Finishing the Toilet*, *Harvesting*, *Flower Maiden* and *From the Well* (*Vasantam*), or Puranic themes like *Bata ratrasayi* (Sri Krishna on the peepul leaf), *Anna Data* (Balaram and Krishna) and *Humanism* (Sri Rama fondling the helpful squirrel, and Lakshmana), Rajiah the creative artist vividly visualises them in a

realistic-*cum*-idealistic manner and remains first to last true to typically traditional inspiration. In all these paintings the feeling for figures, tackling of space with taste and sensibility, the powerful handling of rich saturated colours, formalised but not rigid contours, and flat yet resplendent colour patterns, extort admiration. His fine pastoral study in tempera, *The Heartless Shepherd* illustrates his evocative dexterity and the delicate handling of animal motifs which renders his compositions tender and touching. His art provides both *anandam* and *vinodam* to the looker-on and helps him to recognise the true, the good and the beautiful in humanity, nature and mythology. Rajiah's art recalls to mind Gaugin's saying that "in the creation of a picture the eye is not to play a more important part than feeling and reason." He has achieved a rare mastery over the language of indigenous Indian painting.

Humanism (Sri Rama fondling the helpful squirrel and Sri Lakshmana) (*water colour painting*)

Flower Maiden (*water colour painting*)

An exceptionally gifted and resolute artist who sees all the colour and light, multiple form and movement, rich lyricism and romanticism of humanity and nature around him and in Hindu mythology, who interprets them in his own inimitable way in firm and flowing lines, and warm and pleasing colours, for his own delectation and for imparting joy to others, and who assiduously follows the age-old "Indianism", young Rajiah is one of India's few truly national painters with a great future. Too genuine an Indian artist with vision, Rajiah, the humble art-teacher who has dedicated his life to Art, has not fallen a victim to the glamour of fame and name and does not imitate the language of the modern "isms" in Art. His best work is yet to be, for his amazing creative faculty, mastery over lineal expression, and arrangement of form and colour, and abundant love of his great motherland are sure to capture newer ranges of aesthetic expression.

THE AMBAR CHARKHA AND OUR ECONOMY

By P. SRINIVASACHARI,
Gandhi Vichar Parishad, New Delhi

The invention of the Ambar Charkha could not have taken place at a more opportune moment than the present one when the best minds of the country and of those in authority are engaged in formulating a second Five-Year Plan. It is really a strange coincidence that while the plan lays great emphasis on heavy industries and concerted efforts are made to build our economy on solid foundation of large-scale industrial structure, the Ambar Charkha should have made its appearance, holding a great prospect for the de-centralization of the major industry of our country. Those who are well versed with the situation prevailing in the rural areas hail the invention as they find in it a great opportunity to solve the unemployment problem. The Ambar Charkha, it is claimed, will meet the requirements of yarn of handloom weavers and will go a long way to mitigate their sufferings. But some, on the other hand, are sceptic about the place of the Ambar Charkha and the role it can effectively play in the present set-up of an industrial age. Needless to dwell upon, that an invention of this kind should have brought in its wake a bitter controversy by expressing doubts about its potentialities and also on the wisdom of making use of it on as wide a scale as possible in contrast to the centralized method of production now in vogue. The fact that the controversy rages at the ministerial level and sharp differences of opinion are expressed by those in responsible positions denotes that the invention of the Ambar Charkha cannot be brushed aside as of no important significance; and, it has made its claims to be felt even at the highest quarters. But it should be borne in mind that while evaluating its claims we should not be guided by sentiments and that for a correct appraisal of its use in contributing to our economic progress we should take into account the actual conditions existing in our country and should not ignore or underestimate the difficult problems that demand our utmost attention.

The chief criticisms that are levelled against the Ambar Charkha are that (i) it will not be able to meet the yarn requirements of the handloom weavers, especially when the handloom industry is expected to meet the increasing demand of the public for cloth during the second Five-Year Plan and (ii) the production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha will not be economical and can be undertaken only at a great cost to the public or will involve large subsidies from the government.

Let us briefly examine how far the criticisms mentioned above hold good and analyse the place of the Ambar Charkha in the national economy.

Yarn Requirements of the Handlooms

The number of handlooms in the country according to the figures furnished by the All-India Handloom Board (based on latest census) is 2.8 millions. There are about 2 lakh of handlooms engaged on silk and about 80,000 on wool. Leaving out about 5 lakhs of domestic looms in Assam, Manipur and Tripura, the total number of looms engaged on cotton comes to about 20 lakhs. If we take the average daily production by a handloom weaver as 6 yards, these 2 million handlooms—if they work to their full capacity (300 days in a year)—should be capable of producing at least 3,600 million yards in a year. The production of the 5 lakh domestic handlooms should come to about 900 million yards. But the actual total production by handlooms has been estimated as 1,500 million yards of cloth for the year 1954. This figure shows an improvement when compared to the figures of the previous years thanks to the various ameliorative measures taken by the Government in the interests of the handloom weavers.

The production of 1,500 million yards as against the inherent capacity of the handlooms to produce more than 3,000 million yards clearly indicates that quite a large number of looms, nearly half the number of the total number of looms existing in the country, are remaining idle. Even those looms that are active are not working to their full capacity. The Textile Enquiry Committee has estimated that only 1.2 million handlooms are effectively working. The production of 1,500 million yards by the handlooms points out clearly that even the 1.2 million looms that are active are run only for 200 days in a year. Thus one finds unemployment as well as underemployment prevailing on a large scale in the handloom industry.

The reason for this sad state of affairs cannot be traced to any one particular difficulty facing the industry, as the grave situation threatening it has not arisen all of a sudden but as a result of the cumulative effects of neglect and lack of proper policy of the Government all these years. But it cannot be gainsaid that the chief cause for the acute distress experienced by the industry is due to the utterly inadequate supply of yarn. The weaver is not provided with a regular supply of yarn of uniform quality at economic price. For instance, if all the 2.5 million handlooms are to be active, the total quantity of yarn required will be about 900 million pounds per year. But the supply of yarn available to the handlooms is far below their actual requirements. During the three years ending 1952, the free yarn available to the handlooms was 204 million, 282 million and 343 million pounds, respectively. It can be seen that the handlooms get with great difficulty only a third of their requirements of yarn. It is no wonder that a large number of looms are remaining idle and the present active looms also are not working to their full capacity.

Dependence on Mills

The handloom industry has to depend completely on the mills for the meagre supply of yarn. It is curious that the weaver has to depend for his primary raw material upon his chief rival. By the time supply of yarn reaches him the cost of yarn is 10 to 20 per cent more than the cost to the mills. This precarious dependence on the mill industry and the high cost of yarn account largely for the present plight of the handloom industry. From the experience of the past many years it has been found that the virtual dependence on the mills for the supply of yarn has not in any way contributed to the progress of the handloom industry. As it will be evidently clear from the following table, in spite of the vast expansion in the production in the mill sector during the last thirty years the total quantity of yarn available to the handlooms has remained more or less constant.

*Yarn available for consumption in India**
(In million lbs.)

Year	Production of yarn by Indian mills	Balance of yarn for sale in India after consumption by Indian mills and export
1922-23	706	335
1930-31	867	339†
1940-41	1,349	451†
1952-53	1,478	472

The production of mill yarn has increased from 700 millions to nearly 1,500 millions but there is no appreciable increase in the supply of yarn available to the handlooms commensurate with the rapid increase in the mill production. The handloom industry, unlike the mill industry is not concentrated mainly in any particular area but is spread out far and wide in the country. The best way of providing relief to the weavers is to take adequate steps that will enable them to get regular supply of yarn of good quality in their own neighbourhood instead of depending on mills in far-off places. If regular supply of yarn is assured, not only will the 1.2 million handlooms that are active for only 200 days in a year be enabled to work to their full capacity but also more than a million handlooms remaining idle can be actively engaged. If we evaluate the immense benefit arising from this measure in terms of employment it will be found that more than a million persons who are now partly employed will be fully employed and in addition to this fresh wholetime employment will be created for nearly 1.5 million persons. It should not be forgotten that the handloom industry has been existing in our country from time immemorial and today it is the largest single cottage industry in existence, and stands next only to agriculture in providing employment to our people. It is hardly necessary to point out that only such measures that will provide employment on a large scale and also give succour to this languishing industry will be most effective in relieving the distress of the teeming millions and also will be suitable for an underdeveloped economy like ours.

* Figures from the *Eastern Economist Records and Statistics*, January, 1954.

† The actual quantity of yarn available to the handlooms is much less than this figure, as provision has to be made for the consumption of yarn by the power-looms and hosiery industries.

Handlooms and the Second Five-Year Plan

The Planning Commission has provisionally laid down the target for the total production of cloth as 8,700 million yards by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period. This represents an increase of about 2,000 million yards from the present level of cloth production of 6,700 million yards, of which the share of the mills, powerlooms and handlooms comes to 5,000 million yards, 200 million yards and 1,500 million yards respectively. According to the estimate of the Planning Commission the target fixed is to be achieved by increasing the production of handlooms to 3,200 million yards, an increase of 1,700 million yards from the present output. The Karve Committee also, after giving due allowance for the increase in the national income estimated to accrue by the end of the plan period and also for the increase in population during the period, has calculated that the total demand for cloth including for exports of 1,000 million yards may come to about 8,450 million yards.

We have already seen that the handlooms can easily produce more than 3,000 million yards, if the required quantity of yarn was supplied to them.

Supply Through the Mills no Solution

It has been arrived at that the additional requirements of yarn to bring about the increase in production contemplated on a five-year phased peogramme will be about 400 million pounds. There is no doubt that the additional requirements of yarn can be had from the mills. If proper steps are taken the mills can be made to meet the entire requirements of the handloom industry by installing new spindles. But as experience has shown the increase in mill production will not of its own accord help the handloom industry to tide over the crisis and make further progress. Moreover, the policy of increasing the supply of yarn through the mills will not touch even the fringe of the unemployment problem not to speak of the dire necessity at present to provide immediate gainful employment to the vast labour force that is remaining idle or only partly employed for want of sufficient work. This will be evident from the fact that even after a century of progress of the textile mill industry and in spite of the fact that more than Rs. 110 crores have been invested in it and the mill industry supplying almost the entire requirements of yarn and three-fourths of our total consumption of cloth, the number of hands directly employed in it is only about 7½ lakhs. This is far less than the number

dependent on the handloom industry alone. Hence, from the larger point of view of the all-round economic progress of the nation, the policy of encouraging textile mills will be a negative approach in the task of wiping out unemployment.

The Ambar Charkha

It is precisely because of its capacity to provide additional supply of yarn to meet the requirements of the handloom industry and also give full-time occupation to millions in the process, the Ambar Charkha has established its claim over the mill industry and demands our utmost consideration while planning for the development of the country. It should be made clear that it is not the blind veneration of the past or attachment to any sentiment but that the pressing problems of the day compel us to understand the vital role the Ambar Charkha can play in our economy.

Suitability of Ambar Yarn

The Ambar Charkha is a four-spindle, hand-operated wooden spinning wheel. It is simple in structure and machanism and most of its parts are either locally available or can be easily made locally. The counts of yarn that can be spun on it are in the range of 12's to 40's even though higher counts can be spun depending on the types of cotton and slivers made thereform. The output of yarn on it is, on an average, 16 hanks of 20's per day of 8 hours. Intensive field tests and experiments conducted in different parts of the country have shown that the Ambar yarn is as good as the reeled mill yarn and the Charkha is capable of producing yarn of good quality acceptable to the handloom weavers.

The yarn spun on the Ambar Charkha is also suitable for producing such varieties of cloth that are popularly in great demand in our country. The bulk of the production and consumption of cloth in our country consists of coarse and medium varieties. It will be evident from the tables given below, giving the trend of production that almost our entire production of yarn is within 40's and more than 80% of our demand for cloth consists of qualities falling within this range.

Table 1*

Production of yarn in various count groups from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand lbs.)

Year April March	Upto and including 20's	Per cent of 2 to 8	Above 20s including 40's	Per cent of 4 to 8	Above 40's	Per cent of 6 to 8	Total
1950-51	643,658	54.53	415,460	35.23	119,986	10.18	1,179,104
1951-52	735,734	55.17	470,376	35.27	127,578	9.57	1,333,688
1952-53	908,730	61.53	482,585	32.68	85,456	5.78	1,476,771
1953-54	921,210	60.65	481,076	31.85	114,065	7.50	1,519,351

Table 2†

Production of cloth of different varieties from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand yards)

Year April March	Total Production	Coarse	Per cent of 3 to 2	Medium	Per cent of 5 to 2	Fine	Per cent of 7 to 2	Superfine	Per cent of 9 to 2
1950-51	3,717,502	401,446	10.8	1,644,401	44.2	1,406,418	37.8	265,237	7.1
1951-52	4,134,123	361,320	8.8	2,332,193	56.9	1,163,482	28.1	257,128	6.2
1952-53	4,757,402	644,141	11.4	2,816,410	59.1	1,183,815	24.9	213,036	4.6
1953-54	4,905,227	591,683	12.1	3,270,302	66.7	717,795	14.7	325,447	6.6

The production of superfine cloth forms only a negligible percentage of the total production. The handlooms, we should not forget, are depending mostly on imported yarn for producing fabrics of finer quality. Taking these facts into consideration it is hardly necessary to emphasize that the yarn manufactured from the Amber Charkha ranging from 12's to 40's will greatly help in increasing the production of such types of cloth by the handlooms as well readily meet the felt requirements of the people at large.

Employment Potentialities

It has already been pointed out that in order to increase the production of handlooms to 3,,200 million yards the additional quantities of yarn required will be about 400 million lbs. The increase in the supply of yarn can be brought about, according to the scheme submitted by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, by the introduction of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkhas during the Second Five-Year Plan period. The production of yarn by the Ambar Charkhas to meet the rising demand of the handlooms will provide direct employment, full time, to nearly 50 lakhs of people.

Apart from 50 lakhs of spinners, the provision of regular supply of yarn, as pointed out already, will give enough work to 15 lakhs of handloom weavers and

* Figures from M. P. Gandhi, *Indian Textile Industry Annual*.

† *Ibid*.

also enable the 10 lakhs of weavers who are at present remaining idle for part of the year to be active throughout the year.

We should not overlook the fact that the total number of persons directly employed by all the industrial units in the country coming under the Factories Act comes to about only 3 millions. Hence, the stupendous task of providing gainful employment to the idle labour force would be greatly eased by this single measure of undertaking the production of yarn in a de-centralised manner.

Remuneration

The spinners working on the Ambar Charkha can on an average earn about As. 12 a day. This is not a low remuneration when we consider the ruling agricultural wages and the enforced idleness of the army of unemployed persons in the country. The income of the spinners compares favourably with the per capita national income (Rs. 275), which represents not the average income of every person but is arrived at after taking into account the income of those who earn many times more than this figure. It is needless to point out that the income of the vast majority of the people is actually less than the figures of the per capital national income. The recent survey conducted by the Government brings to light the plight of the agricultural labourers, *i.e.*, those who are mere casual labourers.

Number of agricultural labourers—350 lakhs.
Scope for work per capita :
Average No. of days in a year—189 days.
Annual income—Rs. 104.
Expenditure—85 per cent on food, 6 per cent on clothing and foot-wear, remaining on miscellaneous items.
Indebtedness—45 per cent indebted, average debt for indebted family Rs. 105.

A vast number of people in rural areas are occupied only for half the period in a year. Their income also is very meagre, and, it is not surprising that nearly half of them are indebted. And whatever little they earn is hardly sufficient just to make both ends meet, and they do not have any other resources to spend on such necessary items like education, medicine, recreation, etc. The survey also points out that the nutritive value of the diet consumed by the agricultural labour families falls short of the normal requirements by about 25 per cent.

Subsidiary Occupation to Agriculture

The Ambar Charkha, by providing ready employment at a wage that cannot be considered as low under the existing conditions will decrease the pressure of population on land. Nearly 70 per cent of the people depend on land and a moderate estimate points out that our agricultural classes remain idle for 3 to 4 months, in a year. The need for subsidiary employment to agriculture was always felt and it needs no argument to put forth the claim of Ambar Charkha that apart from giving full-time employment it is also pre-eminently suited to be a supplementary occupation to agriculture.

The Ambar Charkha can be owned individually or by a group of people who can ply it in their leisure hours. The price of it today is estimated at Rs. 40. The price of a complete set with carding and drawing machine besides the Charkha is estimated to be Rs. 100. It should be borne in mind that the Ambar Charkha was invented only very recently and the efforts that are going on now to make improvements on it and the arrangements to manufacture replaceable parts at selected central factories will bring down the cost considerably in due course. The Government, by advancing loans and recovering the amount in instalments, can easily popularize the use of the Ambar Charkha.

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha in creating employment opportunities on a large scale. It will be seen that the Ambar Charkha, in creating employment, can be adapted for the relief of all kinds of unemployment, whether, partial, temporary or long-time. It in essentially a domestic equipment and it can be wholly operated at home or elsewhere, singly or in groups. It does not require any specialized training or acquirement of technical skill to operate the Charkha and can be easily learnt by the poor, illiterate rural masses. The organization required is not large, or complex or expensive. To be brief, it offers an immediate and practicable solution for the problem of unemployment that is stunting the progress of our country.

Problem of Cost

There prevails a wrong notion regarding the cost involved in the scheme of producing the additional requirements of yarn through the Ambar Charkha. Often, criticism is heard that the production of yarn in this manner will not be economical as the Ambar Charkha yarn will cost more than the comparable counts of mill yarn. It is pointed out that the higher cost of Ambar yarn will adversely affect the interests of the handloom weavers. If yarn is to be supplied to the weavers at economic price, it can be undertaken only if the Government subsidize the production of Ambar yarn, which will involve a heavy burden on the consumers. It has been estimated that the amount of subsidy that will be required during the Second Five-Year Plan period will come to about Rs. 80 crores. Some consider it as a retrograde step to tax the consumers and the public in order to increase the production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha.

It is true that the cost of Ambar yarn will be more than the mill yarn. According to the calculations made, the difference in prices of medium counts of yarn (16s to 20s) varies between 68 and 85 per cent. It may appear to a casual observer that it will be a sound economic proposition to use the cheap mill yarn when

it can be made readily available. But we will be committing a grave error if we hastily judge the cheapness of a product from its selling price. For, if we base our calculations only on market price ignoring other social considerations that are vitally important for the all-round development of a country the low price of a product may ultimately prove to be only apparent or illusory.

If we take the production cost into consideration, the social cost or cost to society arising from a particular pattern of production should not be ignored. The sum total of these will only give an accurate estimate of the real cost to the consumers since it is they who ultimately bear all the indirect and invisible costs to society due to a particular structure of production. It may appear to be cheaper to produce yarn in the centralized mills, but when we turn our attention to the urgent necessity of providing employment on a vast scale and calculate the cost involved in this gigantic task, the production by the mills is not actually so cheap as the market price of the product. The prospect for additional employment in the textile mill industry, as we have observed earlier, is for all practical considerations negligible. In fact, centralized method of production involves a constant tendency to reduce the labour force as much as possible, adopting labour-saving devices. The following table will bear testimony to this.

Table*

Year	No. of registered factories	Fixed capital invested to manufacturing concerns (in crores)	Working capital employed (in crores)	Number of persons employed
1948	6,144	195.64	482.19	17,04,230
1952	7,155	300.94	730.77	16,48,443

It is a curious phenomenon to note that inspite of the increase in the number of factories and also of large increase in the amount of investment (nearly 54%), the total number of persons employed had actually declined, instead of showing an appreciable improvement in the level of employment.† This clearly brings out the fact that we cannot solve our unemployment problem by having recourse to the large-scale method of production. In fine, if we base our calculations on practical grounds in terms of employment and proper utilization of the resources for the overall development of the country, it will be evident that the price of mill yarn or for that matter, the price of the products of the large-scale industries, are not cheap as the centralized method of production leaves many problems unsolved in the process. On the other hand, the higher cost of Ambar yarn will be more than amply compensated by the large volume of employment created by the use of the Charka. It has been said, that nearly 50 lakhs of persons will find employment by its use, besides the improvement that is bound to follow in the position of the 25 lakhs of weavers. The weavers need not depend on the uncertain supply of mill yarn coming from distant areas but will be able to get almost all their requirements of yarn from their own neighbourhood. The cost of transporting yarn from the place of production to the weavers will also be reduced to the minimum.

We should also bear in mind that the production of yarn in the decentralized way carries the work to the doors of the rural classes and avoids such social evils like uneven growth of cities, concentration of industries in a few places, overcrowding in towns and slums, etc. By providing employment to such a vast number of persons, additional purchasing power will be generated which will give fresh impetus for other economic activities and revival of many industries as the classes possessing new consumptive power had not thitheto enjoyed even elementary necessities of life. We should not also forget that the large volume of employment that can be created through the use of the Ambar Charkha is to meet the requirement of internal demand and unlike the mill industry, this does not depend on the demand for external markets. The employment of the handspinners will under no circumstances be affected by the fluctuating demand in the foreign countries. The capital outlay required is also very modest (Rs. 15.5 crores), when compared with the big investment necessary for the erection of new spinning mills, where the possibility of persons employment even to a fraction of 35 lakhs of persons is very remote. No amount will be spent on importing machinery form other countries. Almost all the parts of the Ambar Charkha can be manufactured from the local resources with the available local skill in the countryside. The manufacture of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkha sets, it has been calculated, will give employment to nearly 75,000 carpenters. If we make provision in our calculation for the cost of undertakings that will create fresh avenues for employment on such a large scale as well over such a vast area as can be achieved by the de-centralization of the spinning industry it will be easily found, that even though the Ambar yarn costs more than the mill yarn the production of yarn through Ambar Charkha on a planned basis will be more economical and beneficial considering the collective welfare of the society at large.

Question of Subsidy

There is also a criticism that as the supply of Ambar yarn at economic price to the weavers will involve a subsidy of Rs. 15 to 20 crores a year, the consumers will be unnecessarily penalised. The cost

* Figures from the *Census of Manufactures*, 1952.

† The same conclusion is reinforced by the results of the survey of unemployment carried out by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Calcutta University. The disquieting feature disclosed by the survey is that there has been a decline in employment between 1951 and 1952 in the organized private sector consisting of 2,200 firms.

of subsidy, it is said, will throw a heavy burden on the community and strain our economy, especially when we are undertaking big development programmes under the Second Five-Year Plan.

We have explained in detail, that considering the benefits that will accrue to the millions, the cost involved in the scheme of producing yarn through the Ambar Charkha is not much. To avoid repetition, it is enough if we mention here, that there is no other alternative way of development which will be more economical and less costly than the Ambar Charkha Scheme for tackling the problem of mass unemployment and widespread poverty in the country. The expansion of spinning mills or big mills of that type is no solution for our problems. In fact, the cost involved in this kind of development to create adequate employment opportunities is many times more than the cost of subsidy.

Doles not Possible

When we are planning for the decent standard of living of the people, it should be remembered that the question of bringing life to millions of proverty-stricken people who are not able to eke out a living for want of work cannot be measured in terms of cost and gain. People should be provided with work or they should be entitled to get sufficient relief when they are in distress. All our planning should be for achieving this state of prosperity as rapidly as possible. Considering the vastness of our country and the pitiably low standard of living of the teeming millions it is simply not within our capacity to undertake any measures for unemployment relief. The cost of subsidizing Ambar Charkha yarn will be found to be practically negligible if we work out the expenditure involved in such relief measures. Moreover, it is much better to provide the unemployed with work rather than to give them doles. Work instils in a man a sense of self-respect whereas the system of doles breeds indolence and mars the development of the personality of the individual. The cost of subsidy should not stand in our way unless a better method of providing jobs to the unemployed and underemployed is found.

Protection and Centralized Industries

There is a fallacy in the argument against granting subsidy to the Ambar yarn. This is due to confused thinking regarding the policy of giving help and encouragement to an industry that is considered to be vitally necessary for the progress of the nation. A survey of the economic development of the leading nations of the world will show that they were able to develop their industries only by deliberately creating necessary conditions for the proper growth and progress of the industries and sparing no efforts to protect them against foreign competition. In our own country, the big industries have attained their present position thanks to the various kinds of help they had received at the hands of the Government and protection granted to them for a number of years.

Example of the Textile Mill Industry

It will be evident from the above table that all the big industries owe their present position to the protection given to them against foreign competition. Our leading industries like Iron and Steel, Cotton Textiles and Sugar had enjoyed protection for more than twenty years. To cite the instance of the textile mill industry, the premier industry of our country, it would be well to bear in mind that it would never have made such spectacular progress as one of the leading cloth manufacturing industries in the world, but for the unstinted support given by the people and protection granted to it for a long period. Apart from protection it had also received various kinds of help indirectly, like favourable freight rates, supply of power at concessional rates, sustained research and subsequent efforts to increase the cultivation of long staple cotton, etc. The people bore the brunt of the charges of these undertakings which benefited the mill industry to a great extent. It should not be forgotten that not long before we were meeting nearly half of our requiremens form imports.

Table

Year	Total imports from all countries	Output by Indian mills	Exports from India of mill piecegoods	Total consumption of mill cloth in country	Percentage of Indian mills in the total consumption
1922-23	1593	1725	152	3166	52.5
1953-54	4858	4878	702	4181	99.9

If the people had not patronized our mill peicegoods and protection was not given on the grounds of criticism that the price of our mill cloth was higher than the imported stuff, the textile mill industry would have collapsed before the onslaught of the severe competition of Japan and U.K. in the thirties. The cost of protection and other kinds of help given to the industry for nearly a quarter of a century would run to a staggering figure. If the textile mill industry, which gives employment to a few lakhs and which is in the hands of a few mill-owners could be nurtured for so long a time at a huge cost to the public, there can be no valid argument against giving subsidy to the Ambar Charkha on account of its capacity to meet the renuirements of yarn of the handloom weavers and afford immediate relief to as many as ten times the number of hands employed in the mill industry.

The Only Way

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha and have also examined critically its place in the nation's economy. Those who put forth the view that the need of the hour is increase in production and progress can be achieved only through large-scale production betray their lack of understanding of the actual conditions existing in the country.

Table Showing the Progress of Protected Industries*

Name of the industry	Date of protection	Date of de-protection	Unit of production	Production in pre-production/ protection year	Production in 1954	Remarks
A. *Industries first protected in pre-war years*						
1. Cotton Textile Industry						
a. yarn	1927	1947	Mill lbs.	807	1564	
b. piece-goods	1927	1947	Mill yds.	2259	1532	
2. Iron & Steel Industry	1924	1947	Thousand tons	131	90	for Jan.-Oct., 1954
3. Paper Industry	1925	1947	"	27	158	for Jan.-Nov., 1954
4. Sugar Industry	1931	1950	"	214	490	1 case—50 gr. matches
5. Match Industry	1928	1950	Thousand cases	1070	4886	Fig. relate to ingots,
B. *Industries first protected in post-war years*						
a. Metallurgical Industries:						
Alluminium	15.5.48	..	Tons	1166	3811	relates to 1953
Ferro-silicon	10.5.48	31.12.53	"	17918	48293	
b. Chemical and Allied Industries:						
Soda ash	22.2.50	..	"	1350	19562	for 1953
Starch	12.4.50	..	"	42984	348666	
c. Engineering Industries :						
Bicycles	22.3.47	..	Nos.	8913	31288	
Electric Motors	12.4.48	..	"	470	4604	
Hurricane Lanterns	25.1.47	31.12.54	Thousand Nos.	6871	80299	
Sewing Machines	22.3.47	..	Nos.			

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It is true that we can bring improvement in the living standards of the people only through industrialization. But in our haste to industrialize the country we should not forget that the expansion of spinning mills and such like big industries producing consumers goods will not take the country on a forward step. On the other hand, the development of such industries will only add to the misery of the ptople. We should not blindly copy the experience of the highly industrialized countries of the West as our problems are totally different in character and scope from theirs. The unemployment prevailing in our country is a chronic one and not a temporary phenomenon that occurs in countries where full employment had been achieved.

The industrial development that had taken place in the country during the last thirty years, however, haphazard it might be, should be an eye-opener to us. The growth of the large-scale industries has not effectively arrested the deterioration in the living conditions of the people. The widespread unemployment and the appalling poverty of the people remain the same in spite of the tremendous advancement in the productive capacity of these industries during these years. The pressure of population on land is still as severe as it was prior to the development of the large-scale industries and a great majority of the populatian even now depend on agriculture for a precarious living. The recent Census Report after making a thorough analysis of the change that had taken place in the occupation of the people and the livelihood of the masses during the period 1931 to 1951 says that "It is reasonably certain that non-earning dependency has not decreased but has, on the other hand, probably increased to some extent in the country as a whole during the twenty years between 1931 and 1951."† The Report points out beyond any doubt the limitations of the large-scale industries to provide adequate employment to a growing population.

In spite of the fact that nearly Rs. 2,000 crores have been invested during the period of the First Five-

* From *Records and Statistics*, Eastern Economist publications,

† *The Census of India*, 1951, Part I.B., p. 106. A person, who does not secure any income either in cash or in kind, is a non-earning dependent.

Year Plan the unemployment problem has become worse in recent times . . . . To quote the *Fourth Annual Report* of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan:

> "Employment has increased with an accelerated rate of development but there has also been a simultaneous increase in unemployment. The most optimistic of additional employment directly created by the Plan over the Five-year period would be of the order of five million. But even this rate of increase in new jobs is not sufficient to absorb the normal annual addition to the labour force estimated at two million."

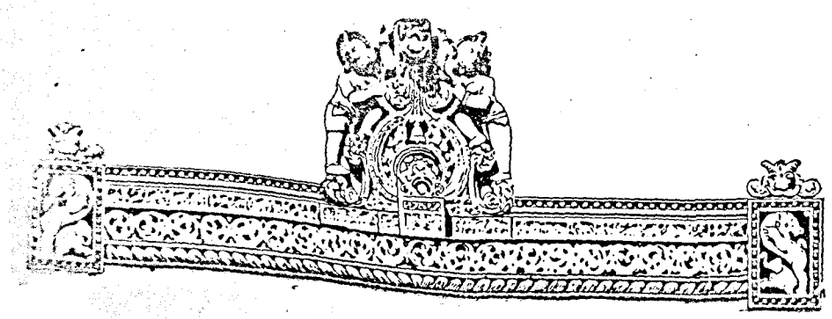
The seriousness of the problem is also being increasingly recognized by our Plan-framers. It is now admitted that large increase in investment in the public sector about Rs. 4,800 crores during the Second Five-Year Plan Period will not result in increasing the level of employment in commensurate with the growth in population. The early optimistic hopes of diverting the excess of population from depending on agriculture to other gainful occupations have been abandoned and we are told that it will take another 10 to 15 years to reduce the pressure of population on land.

We should evaluate the place of the Ambar Charkha in the nation's economy against this background. We are not against big industries as such. But the unpleasant truth is that we will be sadly mistaken if we place undue reliance on big industries in solving our economic problems. The pattern of our industrialization will have to be different to suit our underdeveloped economy and the rapidly increasing population. Unless we de-centralize the big industries manufacturing articles of consumption, barring a few heavy industries like, iron and steel, chemicals, engineering, etc., which are essential for the development of the country, it will not be possible at all to banish unemployment and promote the economic welfare of the people.

Among the industries producing consumers' goods, the textile industry is the predominant one which can give employment to the largest number of people. Next to food, cloth is the most important commodity for the people. There is always a ready demand for cloth and hence the demand for yarn is always constant. The products of other village industries, however important or artistic they may be, are not so much desired by all classes of people in the society, as cloth is consumed by us. The de-centralization of the spinning industry alone will afford relief to the maximum number of persons.

While appraising the correct role of the Ambar Charkha in our economy, it should also be made clear that the present Charkha is not the last word on the technique of handspinning. Constant efforts should be made to increase its technical efficiency, consistent with social necessity. It has been suggested that in order to increase the productive capacity of the Charkha we should make use of electric power. While none can be averse to making improvements on the Charkha or use of power, we should not also lose sight of the fact that such a thing is not immediately practicable as conditions exist today. Even if it were planned to electrify the entire country so that each peasant could have an electrically-driven Charkha or other small productive machine in his house, such a scheme would take many years to put into effect under the most favourable conditions. Until such vast changes take place the simple hand-driven Ambar Charkha has got a place in our economy.

In fine, we can conclude, that the healthy relationship between the Ambar Charkha and the handlooms will give great fillip to productive activity in the countryside on a wide scale and pave the way for the further economic progress of the country. We have seen that the cost involved in the scheme of the Ambar Charkha is not in the least burdensome considering the resultant benefit that will be derived by its use. It is needless to emphasize, that in our battle against unemployment and poverty which prevent the material and moral progress of our people, the Ambar Charkha should be given all encouragement and support both by the Government and the public.



NATURE AND NURTURE

BY "DEEPAK"

THE adage "Breed is stronger than pasture" by George Eliot has almost always been taken for granted. But, it has, more recently, been contended that whereas the impact of heredity cannot be underestimated, the influence of environment, circumstances of one's upbringing and the atmosphere in which he breathes cannot be overlooked. Opinions differ and people look at things through different coloured glasses. The view that it is nature alone which is the sole factor responsible for the development of human personality and which pre-determines an individual's place in his life has been challanged by those who hold the view that none is by nature incapacitated to achieve anything, which his fellow beings can, provided he is placed in the same environment and circumstances.

Supporters of racial superiority have been harping on the hypothesis that nature decrees inequality among men, and control of the weak by the strong, the stupid by the wise, the timid by the courageous, and the poor by the rich. They emphasize dissimilarities in native capacity among human beings, and contend that the intellectual and moral differences of men are inborn and are not substantially modifiable by training and environment. They support their view by applying principles of genetics and biometrists' records of kinship among distinguished men and the psychologists' measurements of human intelligence, which show that only the germinal structure, not "acquired characteristics", form the source of heredity. In applying these laws to man, they maintain that the most significant differences among men are the hereditary ones, and that the variations in the achievements of men are definitely related to fixed characters in the native germ plasm and not to environment and training.

Regarding the inheritance of superior human capacity and "heredity of genius," Sir Francis Galton's investigations over sixty years ago are worth taking into consideration. He made elaborate biographical summaries to show that eminent judges, statesmen, military commanders, literary men, scientists, artists, divines, and sportsmen had had a relatively large number of eminent relatives in the same fields; he believed, therefore, that his summaries established a "decided law of distribution of genius in families." He attempted to demonstrate that there was a specific inheritance of superiority and it was only the illustrious men in a given field who gave birth to illustrious descendants and ninsmen. He contended that the intellectual and artistic superiority in general is inherited.

Psychologists have also shown, while measuring "general intelligence," that mental differences within the general range of normal individuals are also inherited. Whereas earlier tests were usually limited to measuring specific qualities of perception, such as accuracy of vision and discrimination in taste and smell, or strength of memory, quickness of response and capacity of attention, the newer tests have been widely regarded as showing that individuals can be differentiated not only as to their specific mental traits but also as to their mental levels, so that they can be classified as of superior, average, or inferior general intelligence. The aim of these men and many of the popular writers has been to show that these differences in the mental levels of normal human beings are congenital.

Another method employed to demonstrate the inheritance of intellectual superiority has been to take some particular group of relatives and show the large number of proficient individuals among them. This method is exemplified in the popular American canvases of the distinguished posterity of a seventeenth century Connecticut couple—Richard Edwards and his talented wife, Elizabeth Tuttle. The descendants of this famous pair include two presidents of the United States and an impressive number of senators, congressmen, judges, college presidents, professors, clergymen, authors, lawyers, and physicians.

Talking about the influence of various factors on the development of human personality, parents' economic position and social status has not been overlooked. Alphonse de Condolle in France and Karl Pearson in England presented statistical tables to show that men of distinction in various fields are generally descended from parents whose superior ability is demonstrated by their economic or social position in the community or by the vocational class to which they belong. Galton indicated that somewhat excessively large number of English scientists were descended from the "noble, wealthy and gentlemanly classes." Havelock Ellis's canvas of over a thousand "British men. of genius" showed that over a third came from the professional classes and only a fifth from the far more numerous groups of clerks, mechanics, farmers, and labourers. By showing correlation between the test-ratings of the children with the occupational positions of the parents, Prof. Terman shows that of 1,000 children whom his tests classify as "gifted," 31.4 per cent were descended from parents of the professional class, 50 per cent from parents of the semi-professional and business groups, 11.8 per cent from skilled labourers, 6.6 per cent from semi-skilled and slightly skilled labourers and 0.13 per cent from common labourers.

Prof. Osborn holds that

> The modern study of biology "has compelled us to realize the superior force and stability of heredity as being more enduring and potent than "environment;" and Prof. Edward M. East has declared that "no matter what value one may assign to precept and example in moulding the mind of man, his mentality is due fundamentally to his hereditary endowment, to his inborn traits."

"Biology warns us," says A. E. Wiggam. "that nearly all the happiness and nearly all the

misery of the world are due, not to environment, but to heredity; that the differences among men are, in the main, due to differences in the germ cells from which they are born. . . The social classes which you seek to abolish by law, are ordained by nature."

Men of higher native capacities, it is maintained, are found chiefly in the socially, professionally, and economically "upper classes." The general idea is that average intelligence ascends as we ascend the economic and social scale. Wage-earners, small businessmen, farm tenants, small farmers have a generally lower mental capacity and moral stamina than professional men, big businessmen and others of the upper social strata. It has been said that the leaders of today are the only ones who can be depended upon to produce the leaders of the future.

"We have pretty good evidence," says Prof. William McDougall, "that capacity for intellectual growth is inborn, that it is hereditary, and also that it is closely correlated with social status."

It was on this assumption of biological differentiation and congenital differences that the supporters of racial superiority based their conclusions. But though there can be no denying the fact that there are certain definite mental and physical natural inequalities among men, the myth of racial superiority has, in fact, completely exploded in recent years. The antagonists of congenital superiority hold their opponents guilty of over-emphasis on birth, social status and economic position, and under-estimation of the influence of factors such as, environment, upbringing, opportunity, etc., which play a substantial part in the development of human personality.

Human Nature is Dynamic

The vital role played by environment, training and nurture in moulding human personality is now acknowledged as a truism all over the world. A study of the gradual development of child's habits and faculties proves that human nature is not rigid but easily pliable and flexible. The minds and personalities of adults too are by no means so fossilized as is generally supposed. This is substantiated by various instances of metamorphosis of hardened criminals and evil-doers into gentlemen and saints, under the impact of a sudden mental or emotional impulse or through the inspiring influence of a lofty soul.

The protagonists of the definite influence of training and environment regard as untenable, the arguments of those who over-stress the biologic or blood basis, not only for varieties in intellectual capacity among individuals but also for differences in the levels of culture among the various peoples of the world. They support their view with the newly devised "mental tests" which have been employed in comparing whites and Negroes in the United States. It has been seen that when external environmental influences were completely eliminated and various groups had received generally similar education and lived under generally similar conditions, the results showed some superiority of the Negroes over the whites in sense of rhythm and in the discrimination of time intervals in music; some superiority of the whites over the Negroes in copying geometric figures, drawing models, and fitting blocks into holes; and an equality between the two groups in the accurate repetition of numerical figures. When the ordinary tests have been used to compare American whites with Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, no differences in favour of the whites have generally been revealed.

It is contended that no scientific case has been established in support of the claims of a biologic supremacy of some particular racial group, such as the Aryans, Teutons, Nordics, Anglo-Saxons, Celts, or Jews.

It has been held that good and bad characteristics are apparently not, for the most part, unit characteristics; and we do not know what are the elementary characters in the native germ plasm that in combination make one man better than another. Most psychologists and educators appear now to agree that there are numerous traits which, although not revealed by any formal tests are of fundamental importance in determining the quality of human conduct or the ability of individuals to make social adjustments satisfying to themselves and others; they further agree that many such traits are to a significant degree subject to development under the influence of training and environment.

They deny any kinship among eminent men and utilize more recent scientific experiments and facts to disprove the biologic doctrine. Galton's study of English judges showed that, of the one hundred able judges whom he listed as ancestors of able judges, ninety were apparently the sons of fathers of average standing, and only ten had eminent fathers. Scientific geneticists of today express doubts as to the practical implications of the tables set up to demonstrate the inheritance of exceptional ability. Prof. Raymond Pearl shows that, of the eighty-five poets given most extensive mention in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, only three were descended from parents of sufficient distinction to be mentioned separately in the Encyclopaedia; that of the sixty-three prominently mentioned philosophers, most were the sons of obscure clergymen, shopkeepers, peasants, watch-makers, clerks, or petty office-holders and that only five of the eminent philosophers produced any descendants of distinction. Other canvasses have been made of the lowly parentage of great men of the past. We are reminded that Jesus was son of a carpenter and Leonardo da Vinci, the illegitimate son of a domestic servant; that Shakespeare's father was a butcher and glover; Beethoven's, a "confirmed drunkard;" Schubert's, a peasant; Faraday's, a poor blacksmith; Carlyle's, a stone-mason; Lincolon's, a roving carpenter; Pasteur's, a tanner; Browning's, a clerk; and that Socrates' mother was a mid-wife; Beethoven's, the daughter of a cook; and Schubert's, "an ignorant drudge." The author of one of the canvases, a distinguished geneticist concludes that "most of the great leaders of mankind come from humble parents."

As to the correlation between innate ability and occupational status, Professors E. L. Clarke and J. M. Cattell—from whose canvases of the occupational distribution of the fathers of American men of literature and science—drew no such conclusions themselves. Both challenged the extreme claims of Galton and Pearson as to the great predominance of heredity over opportunity in determining the achievements of men.

> "There have been," said Clarke, "three especially important factors in the development of American men of letters: a good heredity furnishing stock capable of being developed, an education adequate to develop latent ability, and a social environment furnishing incentive to the naturally endowed and amply educated to turn their attention to literature."

The differences in ability, Prof. Cattell believed, "may be properly attributed in part to natural capacity and in part to opportunity"; in the present state of our knowledge we cannot heavily weigh one factor over the other.

Further,

"The single human individual," says Prof. Herbert S. Jennings, "has not a single definite prearranged fate or tendency, but a vast number of capabilities, a vast number of keys, as it were, through which the environment may play upon him; a multitude of impulses, tendencies toward action in diverse directions."

We cannot measure innate capacity by achievements, for we cannot differentiate the effects which opportunity has had upon the achievements. The mental traits we observe in adults are often the product of an environment that obscures the nature of the inheritance. Environment influences the development of the individual from the beginning of the life of the fertilized egg.

So great has been regarded the influence of environment, training and nurture that an eminent writer once said:

"Give me a newly born, normally healthy baby, and I can make anything out of him."

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DEFICIT FINANCING AND INFLATION

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH, F.R.E.S. (London)

The question whether a full employment economy is allergic to inflation has assumed some importance in India, in view of the fact that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crores will have to be resorted to to finance India's Second Five-Year Plan. According to the estimate of the Planning Commission for financing the development programme of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector, not more than Rs. 2,400 crores will be available from normal sources (including additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 450 crores) and the expected external assistance will be in the region of Rs. 800 crores. To fill the gap deficit financing will be of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores leaving a still uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores. The Plan involves a total development expenditure of Rs. 7,100 crores, (Rs. 2,300 crores of investment expenditore in the private sector) an increase of over 100 per cent over the total provision in the First Plan, and the Commission expects that the investment programme will augment the national income by 25 per cent, and create 10 million additionl jobs over the next five years. The question that has been causing worry to many minds is whether such a heavy magnitude of deficit financing will give another dose of inflation and lead to spiralling of prices.

Meaning of Deficit Financing

The Planning Commission has defined deficit financing as "the direct addition to gross national expenditure through budget deficits whether the deficits are of revenue or capital expenditure." Deficit financing takes place when there is additional creation of money or credit. When Government finances a deficit budget by borrowing from the market it is not deficit financing since the funds are transferred from the account of private individuals and businessmen to Government account, and there is no additional creation of new money. But when Government spending exceeds the total revenue estimated from different sources, such as taxes, income from the state enterprises, etc., as well as loans from the public, and the deficit is met by resort to the printing press or by borrowing from the banking system (the Central Bank creating new money to that extent) there takes place deficit financing to the extent of the net additional creation of credit. The Reserve Bank of India will create I.O.U.s. in favour of the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 1200 crores for financing the Second Five-Year Plan.

Multiplier Effect of Deficit Financing on Price Behaviour

The funds which will be available to Government by creation of credit, will be spent on development projects. Thus the expenditure will be on investment for the building up of productive assests in the country. The deficit spending of Rs. 1200 crores will add to the total income of the people, and given the propensity to consume, some portion of this additional income will be saved and deposited with the banks on the basis of which the latter will raise a further superstructure of credit. The the total creation of money will be greater than the net credit created by the Central Bank, and

this will produce a further accelerating effect upon the rise in prices.

Because of the high consumption function of demand in an underdeveloped economy like India most of the additional money created by government, and accruing to the people in the shape of higher income will be spent on consumption goods, and unless the consumption industries are geared up to meet the increased demand, or other safeguards are taken this will lead to a spurt in the prices of consumption goods.

CASE FOR DEFICIT FINANCING IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED ECONOMY

In an advanced economy like that of Great Britain or U.S.A. production is organised on a sufficiently high keel so as to leave a sizeable surplus over consumption, and this leads to saving and capital formation. But in an underdeveloped economy like India production is in a stagnant condition, and as there is no sufficiently available surplus over consumption apart from the fact that the propensity to consume is high and capital is shy, there is the problem of replenishing and additing to the existing capital equipment of the country by formation of new capital in order to meet the increasing consumption needs of the growing population. In such circumstances deficit financing enables government to embark on a policy of development expenditure for building up productive assets of the country through forced saving in the shape of higher prices. Thus in an underdeveloped economy deficit spending by government on development projects is a necessary desideratum as the required saving is not forthcoming from the private sector, and as such it ultimately proves to be a boom, although in the short run it may cause hardship to the people due to rise in prices.

DEFICIT FINANCING AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF FISCAL POLICY

From the time of Adam Smith it has been an article of faith with the classical economists that the ideal budget is that under which both taxes and government expenditure are restricted to the minimum as all such expenditure was considered to be wasteful and infructuous. This philosophy is now treated as an anachronism since there has been a definite shift in emphasis on public expenditure to achieve full employment which is now accepted as the goal of economic policy. Since the publication of Keynes' *General Theory* the concept of national income with its constituent elements of consumption, saving and investment has acquired a new meaning, and the total income today is equated with total spending by the community. In order to maintain community spending on consumption and investment at the high level appropriate to a full employment economy deficit spending by government has come to occupy an important place in the public fiscal policy. Whenever the community spending on consumption and investment falls short of the optimum level sufficient to maintain the effective demand for goods and services to ensure full employment of the economic resources of the country government steps in to stop the deflationery gap by increased expenditure in the public sector, and by appropriate remission of taxes and other fiscal measures. The opposite happens when there is an inflationery gap, and the total community spending on consumption and investment exceeds the level of full employment income, and spills over in the shape of higher prices and inflation. The optimum par of income at the full employment level is a moving par shifting with changes in population, standard of living, etc.

INFLATIONARY POTENTIALS OF DEFICIT FINANCING AND THE QUESTION OF TIME-LAG

Deficit financing will lead to a rise in prices in the short run due to two factors: (1) an increase in the overall demand for consumption goods, (2) a rise in operating cost due to wage increase. Strictly speaking, however, there will be no runaway inflation in the sense of price spiralling, for as soon as the investment will begin to fructify production will gradually increase, and price fluctuations will smoothen out. Thus the time-lag during which prices will register a rise will depend on the period intervening between investment and production, and the pace of production. The time-lag can be reduced if the investment quickly yields a rich harvest in the shape of higher production, and no wastage occurs in the process.

THE CORRECTIVE MECHANISM

To neutralise the inflationary potentials of deficit financing, and to counteract the rise in prices the following remedial measures may be adopted:

(1) The cash reserve ratios of commercial banks may be raised to offset the tendencies towards credit creation on the basis of deposits made available by deficit spending.

(2) The additional purchasing power released by deficit spending may be mopped up gradually by sliding income-tax scales tapering towards the end of the plan period.

(3) The possibility of yield from indirect taxation such as sales tax and excise duties should be fully exploited after gauging their anti-cyclical effect on price situation.

(4) A scheme of deferred pay on the lines of compulsory saving suggested by Keynes in his book *How to Pay for the War* may be introduced to sterilise the surplus purchasing power in the hands of the community.

(5) A close eye should be kept on black-marketers and profiteers, and any attempt at cornering or underground ing of stock should be ruthlessly dealt with.

It should be remembered that nothing should be done which will affect the smooth functioning of the plan. With sufficient safeguards adopted it is hoped that the phenomenon of inflation if it at all makes its appearance will be a short-lived thing, and will soon disappear leaving in its wake a rich harvest of increased production, employment and income.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Capital Formation in the Underdeveloped Economy"

PROF. K. KRISHNA RAO'S comment (February, 1956) on Miss Bose's commendable article on capital formation was read with interest. He attempts to bring out a difference between the implication of capital formation in a highly developed economy and that in an underdeveloped economy. He contends that as in a highly developed economy the natural resources which are limited by quantity are fairly well-exploited (or he might argue due to the operation of the law of diminishing returns) capital can be accumulated only by way of abstention from consumption. Contrariwise, since in an underdeveloped economy there are vast idle resources and a reserve of unexploited "productive capacity" capital formation does not necessarily connote a corresponding curtailment in consumption.

What is wrong with this argument is not the logic as such but the basic premises of it. The above conclusion stems from his failure to conceive of two distinguishing characteristics of an underdeveloped economy. Firstly, an underdeveloped economy is predominantly agrarian in character. Two corollaries immediately suggest themselves; (*a*) it has a narrow deflationary gap, (*b*) elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low.

The second fundamental feature that he seems to lose sight of is the "money function" of an underdeveloped economy. Money plays almost a dynamic role in an underdeveloped economy in that it mobilises the idle resources or as Keynes puts "sets the ball rolling" (but this is not to say that money has no significance in a mature economy). The employment of the idle resources calls for monetary incentives. These incentives take the form of deficit financing by which the lacuna between the available resources and the actual requirements is bridged. But though qualitatively money plays a dynamic role, quantitatively it has a restricted scope. Since the deflationary gap is very small and elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low, an exorbitant rate of deficit financing generates serious inflationary pressure and brings devastating consequences in its train. Thus there is a safe limit to which deficit financing can be undertaken.

Let me illustrate this point with a simple instance. consider a community in which the population consisting entirely of labourers is engaged in the production of consumption goods.

Let ra be the average wage-rate and p the total population. Now if we assume that all the wages paid to these labourers are spent upon the consumption goods only and that part of the income is saved, then it is obvious that

pra = total income of the community,
= total expenditure of the community,
= total cost of the consumer goods.

Hence in such a situation if consumer goods are supplied at the average cost, ra the demand of the community would be fully satisfied.

If, however, we assume that a proportion say, $\frac{i}{q}$ of the total labour force is engaged in producing capital goods and that the average wage rate in this industry is rb the above equality between total income and total expenditure of the community will no longer hold good. Income to the wage-earners from the capital goods industry $= \frac{p}{q}rb$ and income from consumer goods industry $= (p - \frac{p}{q})ra$ = total cost of consumer goods. But since the wage-earners from capital goods industry apart from the labourers engaged in consumer goods industry, would appear on the market with their income, $\frac{p}{q}rb$ for consumer goods, a paradoxical situation, a relatively greater amount of money chasing a relatively limited quantity of goods, would emerge. Price of the consumer goods would automatically rise to meet the increased effective demand.

Hence, it is obvious that greater is the investment expenditure, $\frac{p}{q}rb$ through deficit financing greater would be the rise in price. An increase in the price of consumption goods would force the community to consume less. There is, however, something to be said in favour of a small rise in prices of consumption goods This may serve as an incentive to existing idle resources to produce more of such goods. Apart from this, a little rise in price-level as Hicks has pointed out, is the inevitable result of economic progress.

Prof. Rao has also asserts that as more and more idle resources are brought into employment, incomes of the population would increase to a corresponding degree. But, in fact, the effects of the construction schemes on the real income and standard of living are felt only in the long run. Suppose, a person is in possession of the broken parts of an old machine and he resolves to repair it. If he is to pay the cost of repairing, he must either fall back upon his past savings if any, or must pay out of his current income by reducing his daily consumption. His income would only be increased when he utilises the machine in producing commodities. To conclude, therefore, capital in an underdeveloped economy must be taken from the current income-stream for a two-fold reason:

(*i*) The idle productive resources can be brought into employment only with the mechanism of deficit

financing which has a definite limit; or in other words, the rate of exploitation of the productive capacity, is relatively fixed over a period.

(ii) And real income does not increase immediately along with the exploitation. Hence, the increase in investment expenditure and the maintainance of the existing level of consumption cannot go simultaneously.

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FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE BACKWARD AREAS AND DISCRIMINATORY POLICY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

BY ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

THE countries in Asia and Africa, which in recent years have succeeded in freeing themselves from the clutches of colonial imperialism naturally expected considerable help from the United Nations for economic reconstruction. But their expectation ultimately resulted in disappointment owing to the discriminatory policy of the United Nations.

At a Press conference held recently in Bangalore different types of questions in respect of the U. N. financial assistance were put to Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld, the United Nations' Secretary-General. It was seriously complained that the backward areas in Asia were not receiving adequate assistance from the United Nations, as a result of which their economic progress was being hindered. Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld treated this complaint as baseless and was also of the opinion that in some cases the failures of the United Nations, though not motiveable, had been exaggerated by the Press. But the reports received so far which we have no reasons to doubt have belied what Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld stated at the Press conference and indicate that the United Nations is not eager to offer assistance for ensuring emergence of Asia as a strong economic unit and has not even considered it essential in some cases to ascertain actual requirements.

Nowadays we all are familiar with the works of the ECAFE which stands for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and is an integral part of the United Nations. Its main object is to collect data in respect of the economic condition of Asia and the Far Eastern region. It has admirably done its allotted duties, though it has not been empowered either to sanction loans or to authorise investment of capital. The data collected by it in respect of Asia and the Far Eastern region give us a clear picture of the economic problems and indicate also the possible ways along which raw materials and other resources available in Asia and the Far Eastern region may be profitably used.

Inaugurating the ECAFE session in Bangalore Mr. Nehru dealt with the economic problems of the backward areas. He told the assembled representatives that there was a marked difference between the backward and industrially developed countries, which ought to be clearly understood. In his opinion as the industrially developed countries are not generally worried about the bread problem they naturally remain somewhat indifferent regarding other economic questions. But in the backward areas, on the other hand, the bread problem always assumes greatest importance. Unless this problem is solved it will be difficult for men living in the backward areas to be freed from worries and troubles.

Mr. Nehru expressed hope at the ECAFE session in Bangalore that no political strings would be attached to assistance to be given by the United Nations to the backward areas. But it is doubtful whether Mr. Nehru's hope will have any influence on the countries who control the U. N. policies. We have noticed that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has on many occasions sanctioned loans for different sets of purposes. For example, the loans sanctioned by this Bank have been used to augment capital of the government-sponsored Industrial Finance Corporation and to place the shipping industry on a firm footing. At the ECAFE session Mr. Nehru also stressed the need for importing machineries and technical experts from abroad so that the backward areas might be developed. But the volume of such imports should be determined with reference to the actual condition of the areas desirous of having foreign assistance. Moreover, the question as to desirability of laying stress on industry in the backward areas which have agriculture as their mainstay ought to examine very carefully lest an unwise decision should lead to disastrous economic consequences.

It is quite likely that the assistance from the industrially developed countries to be received by the backward areas may not be proportionate to their requirements and as such determined efforts should be made to make the best use of the internal resources and to develop the spirit of mutual co-operation among the areas adjacent to each other. As Britain and the United States of America hold the largest share of the Internatitonal Bank for Reconstruction and Development, they come to control its operations. That's why the Bank adopts more liberal attitude in those cases which involve British and U.S. interests. It is, perhaps, known to all of us that the Bank refused to sanction loans applied for by the Damodar Valley Corporation of India for the first time to finance the irrigation projects. Similar was the treatment accorded by the Bank to two other applications for loan also submitted on behalf of India. The first application related to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, and the second to the Industrial Finance Corporation which was in need of working capital.

We all possibly know that Egypt requested the World Bank to sanction loans for enabling her to complete the Aswan Dam. The Bank kept silent for two years. But when Egypt-East German negotiations on the issue of the Aswan Dam were in progress and Egypt concluded a pact with Czechoslovakia for purchase of arms the Bank authorities immediately sent a representative to Cairo who informed the Egyptian Government of the sanction accorded by the Bank to loans applied for. Along with the Bank authorities British and U.S. Governments also gave an assurance to this effect that they were ready to help Egypt in all possible ways. It is, therefore, clear beyond any shadows of doubt that the United Nations is following a discriminatory policy in respect of those areas where the interests of the Powers now controlling U.N. operations are not involved.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA (A Study on the Pauranic lists of the peoples of Bharatavarsa, Part I—Northern India) : *By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. January, 1955. Pp. xviii + 212. Price Rs. 10.*

The rich material of the Puranas and the astronomical works relating to the distribution of Ancient Indian tribes and races after the recognised regional divisions of our great sub-continent has been utilised in past years by a number of foreign and Indian scholars like Fleet, Pargiter, Kirfel and Dr. B. C. Law. The most thorough and systematic examination of this material so far has been done by the author of the present work. The author's aim as he tells us in his Preface (pp. xvi—xviii) has been firstly "to present a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition," secondly, to assess the authenticity of this tradition to its widest possible extent with the help of inscriptions and foreign evidence, thirdly and lastly, to present in the light of the above a general survey of the activities, habitats and geographical environment of the peoples and races of Ancient India with the exception of those of the South. These aims have largely been fulfilled in the present work. In the course of his first seven chapters the author gives us a general survey of the regional divisions of Ancient India, a bird's-eye view of the geographical data of the Puranas and associated works and a detailed critical account of the data relating to the Central, the Northern, the North-Western as well as the North-Eastern, the Western and the Eastern divisions respectively. Summing up his estimate of the above in the concluding chapter the author observes that "the geographical traditions of ancient ethnic settlements, as embodied in the Puranas and astronomical works, present us with a stage intermediate between the conventional notions of the past, and an intimate acquaintance with the far-flung and numerous tribal (*sic.*) establishments of a later age" (p. 201), that the settlements in Ancient India were "not a simple unitary process" but were "carried over several broad periods of time from the Vedic times onwards" (p. 205), and that they "certainly led to modifications of geographical environments" (p. 206).

The work bears throughout the evidence of the author's complete mastery of the extensive literary and epigraphic material and capacity for sound judgment. High praise is due to him for the great care which he has taken to establish the correct list and identifications of the geographical names. The value of his work is enhanced by the addition of two tables illustrating the regional divisions of India and six charts giving in parallel columns lists of the tribes and peoples living in those regions after the different authorities, and a good index. Altogether this work is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the related topics of the ethnology and geography of Ancient India (Southern India being purposely excluded from its scope) during the early centuries of the Christian era.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857) : *By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri. Introduction by Prof. S. C. Sarkar. The World Press, Ltd., 37, College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. xxiii + 231. Price Rs. 8-8.*

The book, as the name indicates, deals with various civil disturbances in India during the rule of the John Company. By the term 'civil disturbances,' the author means mainly 'every species of rebellion and insurrection against the ruling authority started by large bodies of people or by their chiefs or by both jointly, as also the revolt of the ryots against their landed chiefs protected by British arms, and depreda-

tions committed upon persons and property on either side.' He does not except 'purely political combinations' as also 'communal struggles' from his study. The book consists of six chapters. A political map of India as well as an Index is given in the book. Chapters I and III contain 'Historical Background' and 'Concluding Remarks' respectively. The actual narrative appears in Chapters II to V, and this covers the 'civil disturbances' in Bengal and Upper India, Madras and Southern India, Bombay and Western India and Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The book, written in a lucid style, is a sad commentary of the early period of British rule in India. The Britishers never sought to understand the people, to respect the local leaders, and to honour things held in reverence by those whom they were destined to rule. There was much in the local system of government, to be retained and improved upon. But the Company, in the exuberance of their newly-owned power, totally neglected and overlooked it. Some people meekly submitted to the foreign yoke, but there were others who were strong enough to resist and revolt. They had, however, to submit to the stronger arms of the Britishers. The author has done well in bringing to the forefront this aspect of the early British rule in India. His narrative is well-documented. We expect with the author that this maiden attempt may stimulate further research on the subject.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

ON YOGA (I): *The Synthesis of Yoga by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry (1955). Pp. 1034. D.C. 1/16. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 15.*

This is the fourth volume of the collected works of Sri Aurobindo, being published under the auspices of Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry. The previous Volumes being (1) Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother. (2) Savitri (and a few letters and poems). (3) The Life Divine. The Synthesis of Yoga—an well-known work of Sri Aurobindo—delineates the actual spiritual discipline and the laws of dependent causation revealed to him.

It is a fitting publication on the eve of the *Buddha Jayanti Celebrations*. For about a century various Yoga expositions have been given by master minds like Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, *vide Brahmagitopanishat*), Swami Vivekananda (*vide Raj Yoga*, Jnan Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga) and others. Sri Aurobindo's Yoga is a cult by itself, revealed in the process of his *Sadhana*. It differs from the Yoga of the Gita. It also differs from the Vedantic and Patanjali Yoga system which depend entirely on the *Purushakara*. Here is a Yoga which is an inflow of the life of the Divine from above. It is not getting away from life to the Divine, but envisages a Synthesis; it reaches the Divine and brings the fulness of what is gained into life for the transformation of humanity.

We congratulate the Publishers on this grand publication and draw the attention of Philosophers and *Sadhakas* to the study of the book and to put it into practice.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TOWARDS INTEGRATION: *By Rohit Mehta. Published by Indian Book Shop, Banaras-1. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 3.*

Sri Rohit Mehta, General Secretary of the Theosophical Society in India, has already several interesting books to his credit. The present book is a collection of his nineteen essays and addresses. Most of the essays originally appeared in the *Indian Theosophist* as leading articles and are herein reproduced in a slightly revised form. The addresses were delivered as principal lectures at the annual conventions of the Theosophical Society and subsequently published in the *Theosophist*.

The central theme of the essays and addresses as collected in this book according to the author is that the present world-crisis is rooted in fundamentally psychological disintegration and results from modern technological civilisation. Man can transcend this stage of chaos and confusion only when he rises to the level of intuition. None can solve mental problems as long as he lives in the realm of mind. In the intuitive plane alone the psychological conflicts are resolved and a unifying factor of the inner life is discovered. Integration is, therefore, the best antidote to the present crisis that has distraught and distracted the world of ours. Integrated individuals are the spiritual men par excellence and are sorely needed today to save us from the impending destruction.

DIVINE DISCOURSES AND POEMS: *By Minocher K. Spencer. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, R. S. Puram Post, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 145. Price not mentioned.*

Sri Minocher Spencer is the distinguished author of eight more books excepting the one under review. This book is divided into two parts—the first part containing 22 short discourses and the second part having 24 poems. Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh in a foreward observes that this book bears the stamp of revelation and has been aptly christened 'divine.' He is further of opinion that the discourses are illuminating and the poems are inspired.

I am, however, led to think that this book will prove interesting and instructive to almost all sections of the reading public. For instance, the seventh discourse entitled the 'mystic seven' shows how seven is considered a sacred figure in many lands and ages. It is said in this chapter that the beautiful rainbow is made of seven colours, in the spinal chord there are seven yogic chakras, the eternal city of Rome was built on seven hills, the Great Bear is a constellation of seven stars, in Zoroastrianism there are seven celestial beings, there are seven deadly sins according to medieval Christian theologians and so on. Both the discourses and poems comprising this handy volume are above the ordinary and somewhat original.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SONGS ON THE HILLS: *By Lakshminarayan Sahu, M.A. To be had of the author, Deulsahi, Cuttack-1. Price Rs. 3.*

Sri Lakshminarayan Sahu is a reputed poet and a veteran social worker. He has been taking keen interest in the cultural life of the aboriginal tribes for more than a decade. His enthusiasm in collecting folk songs of the aborigines is also praiseworthy. The book *Songs on the Hills* contains translations of a good number of songs of Oraons, Sontals, Mundas, Hos, Kondhas and some other aboriginal peoples inhabiting the different parts of Orissa and Chhotanagpur. Sri Sahu's translation seems to be faithful renderings of the original songs which are really the spontaneous outflow of poetic souls. The reader may not find literary embellishment in the songs composed orally by these simple folk, but he will certainly feel that most of the songs are vibrating with life. The simplicity of expression, the realistic touch which enlivens most of the songs, the similes used

by unknown aboriginal poets will certainly be a revelation to the reader. The note of sincerity which rings through these songs has given them enormous vitality and it is due to this vitality that they have stood the test of time and have, orally, been transmitted from generation to generation.

Sri Sahu has not only collected and translated folk songs of various types, but also he has, in his charming style, written introductory notes on some of the festivals, such as, Maghe Durang of the Hos, Karma festival of the Mundas, etc. These introductions are an additional attraction of the book under review. On the whole the author has spared no pains to make the book a representative one.

"Cradle Songs" and some other songs included in the book confirm the theory of oneness of human mind and though our language and manners and customs are totally different from those of the aboriginal tribes we feel a sort of mental affinity with them when we go into the inner spirit of those songs. *Songs on the Hills* will thus be immensely helpful in getting an insight into the psychology and sentiment of our neglected neighbours who like ourselves are the sharers of the cultural heritage of India. Sri Sahu by collecting and translating the folk songs of the aboriginal tribes is rendering valuable services in establishing cultural link between them and us. Some of the songs touch our hearts deeply and stir the innermost in our consciousness profoundly. *Songs on the Hills* has undoubtedly enriched the folk-literature of our country.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

A MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND INDIA (Part II, Economic History of India): *By T. Srinivasaraghavan, M.A. (Econ. and Phil.). Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and London, 1955. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is a comprehensive study of the history of economic development in India from the Mogul era to the modern times. The importance of the British period is marked by elaborate discussion. The trend in agriculture, industry, trade, transport, currency, banking, national finance, labour movement, co-operative movement, population, etc., in India has thoroughly been dealt with in this volume. The students of Indian Economics will get much benefit and references in these studies. At the end of each chapter a short summary is given which will help the readers to grasp the outline of the subject discussed. At the end a statistical appendix is also attached. The volume would have been more interesting and thorough if the author had discussed the trend of planning in India and devoted a separate chapter on the recent planning policy of the government, although the Five-Year Plan is often discussed whenever it has become necessary in relation to the topics concerned.

B. K. SEAL

TOWARDS WORLD PEACE: *By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by the Indian Foreign Affairs Association, 1, Jiwanlal Buildings, Queensway, New Delhi. Pp. 198 + viii. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author of this book is an internationalist but he is no less a nationist. A former peasants' leader, now a Congressman, Prof Ranga holds an important position among members of the Parliament.

The book under review consists of eighteen chapters dealing with various subjects, such as, India's Foreign Policy, Redistribution of Wealth, World Peasant Problems, Rival Imperialisms, World Parliamentary Democracy, Achievements of World Democracy, One World Ideal, the Bogor Conference, etc. The author believes that 'Democracy shall never die' in spite of progress of Totalitarianism in certain countries. Some of the chapters are the speeches the author delivered, in world gatherings and in the Parliament. While supporting the one world idea, the author advocates peaceful co-existence of nations and races as a condition of world peace. Colonialism and exploitation of weaker races must cease and economic emancipation of under-developed countries must be undertaken in right earnest by progressive nations if world peace is to be attained and preserved.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

ACHARANGA SUTRA (Prathama Sruta Skandha): *Translated by Sri Hira Kumari, Vyakarana-Samkhya-Vedantatirtha. Published by Sri Jaina Svetambara Terapanthi Mahasabha, 3, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.*

For the first time this important work of Jaina scriptures appears in Bengali. The tenets of Jainism, a very important branch of Hinduism, are described herein. They ought to be known to all Indians because they at once reveal to us the essential unity underlying the teachings of all our spiritual leaders.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MARKINE CHARI MASH: *By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by Yugajatri Prakasak Ltd., 41-A, Buldeopara Road, Calcutta—6. Pp. 109. Price Rs. 2.*

As one of the very early leaders of Indian nationalism the name of Bepin Chandra Pal has found a place in our history. Besides being an orator in English, as well as in Bengali he was a powerful writer in both these languages. The present book on travels in U.S.A. is written in Bengali and was published in *Bangabani* in 1329 B.S., *i.e.*, 33 years back. Mr. Pal was invited by the National Temperance Society of New York in 1900 to deliver a course of lectures and he was in U.S.A. for four months only. He had also occasions to address meetings held under the auspices of the Unitarian Church. It was here that he came in touch for the first time with Mrs. Ole Buel, who was a great patron of Swami Vivekananda in America and Sister Nivedita (Miss Noble). During his short stay he had the unique opportunity of addressing on Hindu Religion and Philosophy at the Congress of Religions held at Boston.

In these pages will be found a pen-picture of the then American intelligentsia—particularly women with whom the author came into contact. He is all praise for American women, who were very kind towards him. The book is all the more interesting because it gives a portrait of American life 56 years back. Mr. Pal was very much impressed by the freedom-loving people of America. The publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out this and other writings of this great journalist, author and philosopher and making them available at a reasonable price. We wish this interesting publication a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PANCHAMRITA: *By Balashauri Reddy. Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 4.*

Five classics of the Telugu literature: *Andhra Mahabharata* by Poet Tikanna, (1220-1290); *Andhra Mahabhagawat* by Bhakta Potanna, (1405-1470),

Manucharitra by Allasani Paddenna, (16th century), *Vemanna Padyamulu* by Vemanna (1412-1480), and *Vijay Vilas* by Poet Chemkur Venkata (17th century), have been translated into Hindi by the author with unusual acumen. His illustrating introduction and glossary of Telugu words with their Hindi equivalents are very useful to the Hindi reader. The publishers have, indeed, rendered great service to the Indian litteratures by thus presenting one of the principal Southern literatures in the national language. One would await further similar presentations with eagerness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) SHIKSHA PATRI: *By Swami Sahajanand. Price As. 6.*

(2) KAVI GANG KAHE, SUN SHAH AKBAR: *By Kantilal Shridharani. Price As. 3.*

Above books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Swami Sahajanand, the founder of the Swami Narayan cult, has composed in Sanskrit verse several pieces of advice for his followers in order to enable them to lead moral and righteous lives. They have been translated into Gujarati, and a very learned Introduction by K. G. Mashruvala, the follower of Gandhiji and a follower of the Swami Narayan Samprataya, as well as a thinker and able writer, sets out the principles enunciated in the *Shikshapatri*. Sahajanand's creed has humanised the lives of many of its devotees who come from the artisan and illiterate class. Kavi Gang's poems in Hindi, supposed to have been recited before Emperor Akbar, are of India-wide reputation. To have made them available at such a cheap price is very creditable to the Society.

(1) KABIRSAHEB: *By Manilal T. Mehta. Price As. 6.*

(2) SANT MULDAS: *By Morarji C. Thakkar. Price As. 6.*

(3) SHANKARACHARYA: *By Vawanrao P. Patel. Price As. 10.*

(4) MAHAYOGI SHRI ARVIND: *By Sundaram. Price As. 4.*

Above books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These four biographies of well-known Indian saints and philosophers are so well-written and in such a small compass and easy language that they are sure to find a place in the hands, if not in the Library, of everyone interested in Gujarati literature and in the lives of saints and doers of good to humanity.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Benjamin Franklin

Philosopher For Human Rights

Henry Butler Allen, Executive Vice-President of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, writes in *The Aryan Path*:

During 1956, hundreds of Societies and Institutions in more than forty countries will unite to honour the memory of Benjamin Franklin on the 250th anniversary of his birth.

It is interesting to study why so much of the civilized world is eager to pay tribute to a man born two and a half centuries ago. Some measure of his status is reflected in the fact that young and old, of diverse religious faiths, of widely differing economic and social backgrounds, and from many nations, are aware of his contributions to civilization. Here is a man born and bred in eighteenth-century America, whose philosophy has appealed to generations of people in many lands, and whose penetrating observations and recommendations on science, economics, social welfare and international relations are still valid after more than two hundred years.

The great Mirabeau, in his famous Eulogy before the French National Assembly in 1790, perhaps explained best why so many people always venerate the memory of Benjamin Franklin. He said:

"Would it not become us gentlemen . . . to bear a part in this homage, rendered, in the face of the world, both to the rights of man and to the philosopher who has most contributed to extend their sway over the whole earth."

Benjamin Franklin's lifelong crusade for Human Rights was his greatest glory. To him, every man and every woman, regardless, of class, caste, colour, creed or race, was entitled to stand straight and tall in dignity—and not have to bow before an accident of birth. He wrote to Joseph Huey on June 6th, 1753: "Mankind are all of one family," and again to David Hartley in 1789, when close to the end of life, in the wisdom of his years:

"God grant that not only the love of Liberty but a thorough knowledge of the Rights of Man may pervade all the nations of the Earth so that a Philosopher may set his feet anywhere and say 'This is my Country'."

Many men have written and spoken of the great objective of equal human rights as the only way to world peace.

Franklin not only stated his Philosophy—he lived it himself. He once wrote: "A good example is the best sermon." and then proceeded to make himself that example.

Born in an age of imperialism, religious intolerance and privilege for only the few, Franklin fought all his life for Freedom of Speech and of the Press; for Freedom of Religion, Education and Opportunity for all men and women of any class whatsoever. He dared imprisonment for the right to speak and write his beliefs. He helped to build churches of all faiths and even a House "expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people . . . so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service."

He was President of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and he finally signed the American Declaration of Independence because he saw no other way to gain complete freedom for his people.

To Franklin, the great goal of Science and Statesmanship alike was to benefit mankind. "He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from the tyrants," Turgot said—and explained, in that one line, the dominating philosophy of Benjamin Franklin's life. A brief review of some of the things he did is the best way to know the man.

Born on January 17th, 1706, in Boston, Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin was the youngest son in a family of fourteen children. With but two years of formal schooling, he went to work in his father's candle-making shop at the age of ten and was apprenticed to his brother, James Franklin, at the age of twelve. Seeking larger opportunities, he came to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen, arriving with capital consisting of a Dutch dollar and a shilling.

He exemplified the homely virtues of thrift, honesty and industry so well that he was able to retire from business with a competence at the age of forty-two, and taught the maxims of his "Poor Richard's Almanacks" so well that they became household words throughout the land. The introduction to the last "Almanack" was printed in broadsides and posted on walls in England, and translated and distributed by the French clergy among their parishioners. It has been translated into fifteen languages, and reprinted at least four hundred times. A pertinent quotation follows:

"Friends," says he, "the taxes are, indeed very heavy, and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement."

Aiming at "moral perfection," he made a list of the useful virtues, which turned out to be thirteen—Temperance, Silence, Order, Resolution, Frugality Industry, Sincerity, Justice, Moderation, Cleanliness Tranquillity, Chastity and Humility. To each of these, in turn, he gave a week's strict attention, marking down in a book the measure of daily success achieved in the practice of each. Thus he went through "a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses a year."

He wrote that he was surprised to find himself so much fuller of faults than he had imagined; but, persisting for some years, he had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To propagate these simple doctrines and practices, Franklin designed (1732) to write a book on "The Art of Virtue," and to unite all men of good will in a society for the practice of it.

At the age of twenty-one he organized "The Junto," a club of twelve members, for mutual self-improvement. It existed for forty years, and it was said in that period that "the chief measures of Pennsylvania received usually their first formation in this club."

Self-educated, Franklin became one of the most learned men of his time. He acquired his extensive learning through books, his unusual powers of observation, discussion and correspondence. He taught himself three foreign languages. As a boy he developed his literary style by an intensive study of the writings of Addison in *The Spectator*.

Franklin was the leader in many movements for the benefit of his community. He initiated projects for establishing a city police, and for the paving and better cleaning and lighting of city streets. He was largely instrumental in establishing a circulating library in Philadelphia, the first in America, 1731; in founding in 1745 the American Philosophical Society, incorporated, 1780; a city hospital, 1751; and an Academy for the Education of Youth, opened in 1751 (the origin of the University of Pennsylvania). During his active citizenship in Philadelphia, it was said that it was practically impossible to carry on a drive for funds for a worthy project without soliciting his aid, so accustomed were the people to his leadership in such matters.

He conducted experiments in electricity (1745-1752), making discoveries that "have secured his undisputed rank amongst the most eminent of natural philosophers." He established the identity of lightning and electricity. He was interested in all fields of science, including aeronautics, agriculture, astronomy, botany, chemistry, electricity, geology, hydrostatics, hygiene, mathematics, medicine, meteorology, navigation, oceanography, optics, orthography, paleontology and physics. In many of these fields, he made important investigations and discoveries. He carried on an active correspondence with the leading scientists of Europe and America, and was a member of twenty-six of the great societies and academies of the arts and sciences of his day.

Franklin invented the lightning-rod, bifocal glasses, the first American wood-burning stove, the first draft for a fireplace to prevent smoking, a musical instrument which he called the "Armonica," a letter-copying press, a laundry mangle and other contrivances; but never owned a patent. When offered a monopoly on his stove by the Governor of Pennsylvania he asserted his belief that "as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by an invention of ours, and this we should do freely and generously."

In 1764, there having been two insurrections of the frontier inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania in December of the previous year, in which twenty friendly Indians living under the protection of the government had been murdered, Franklin, to strengthen the hands of the weak government by rendering the proceedings of the rioters odious, wrote his "Narrative of the late Massacre in Lancaster County of a number of Indians, friends of this Province." In it he appealed to the people to "maintain the honour of the government and protect peaceable citizens, even though they be Indians." Afterwards, when armed rioters started for Philadelphia with the avowed intention of murdering 140 Indian converts who had been brought by the government for safety to that city, Franklin, at the request of Governor Penn, formed a military association of nearly 1,000 citizens to resist these rioters, the so-called Paxton Boys, who, on reaching Germantown and learning of the measures taken for the defence of the city, desisted from further action.

Franklin was a thorough pragmatist. Once, nearly shipwrecked on a rocky British coast, he wrote to his wife that some men in his position would have wanted to erect a shrine to a divinity on the coast, but such was his nature that he felt more like erecting a lighthouse. In the course of his vast scientific investigations, he was always on the lookout for ideas that would be of practical value to his fellow men. He made American farms more productive by introducing mineral fertilizers into America. He also introduced into America rhubarb, turnips, Scotch kale, Barbary barley and yellow willow for basket making. He advocated enclosing fields with hedges to conserve wood, and wrote "Observations on Mayz, or Indian Corn." He promoted silkworm culture in America.

Franklin rarely solicited public office, but was too public-spirited to avoid such honours. In 1729 he supported the popular demand for paper money. He was clerk of the Pennsyvania Assembly (1736-51) and member for Philadelphia (1751-64), deputy postmaster at Philadelphia (1737-53) and, jointly with William Hunter, deputy postmaster general for the colonies (1753-74). This was one of the few offices he ever solicited. In the latter capacity he made visits of inspection to nearly every colony, and not only increased

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the frequency and efficiency of the mail deliveries, but made the post office a financial success as well. In 1775, he became the first American Postmaster General, upon appointment by the Continental Congress.

For a number of years prior to the Revolutionary War, he was the agent of Pennsylvania and other colonies before the Court of Great Britain, and became the bold defender of the rights of America in general. It is said that the light he threw upon colonial affairs in his memorable examination in the House of Commons relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Tax, probably more than all other causes combined, determined Parliament to repeal the bill.

His last words to the British government at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War included the following statement: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

In signing the Declaration of Independence, he delivered his famous quip: "Yes, we must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Franklin was a delegate of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the Second Continental Congress and served on ten important committees. He served on the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was President of the Convention which framed a Constitution for the State of Pennsylvania in the same year, 1776. Later in the year he was appointed one of the three Commissioners to the Court of France to secure the aid and co-operation of that country. He was then seventy years old, and in accepting the appointment made his memorable remark: "I am but a fag end and you may have me for what you will." Before leaving for France, he collected all the money he could, amounting to between 3,000 and 4,000 pounds, and loaned it to the Congress, thus encouraging others to lend their money in support of the cause.

Franklin remained in France for eight years. Of his service as a diplomat, an eminent French historian has said:

"His virtues and his renown negotiated for him; and before the second year of his mission had expired, no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and an army to the compatriots of Franklin."

Although he was in his seventies and a frequent sufferer from gout and "the stone," in addition to his diplomatic duties he was kept busily engaged in purchasing supplies and munitions of war and shipping them to America; in acting as the Judge of Admiralty; in commissioning and equipping privateers (such as John Paul Jones) to operate against British commerce; in negotiating loans and honouring the numerous drafts drawn on him by the Congress; in attending to the needs of American prisoners in Great Britain, and in various other ways.

Upon returning to America, he was chosen President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and served in that capacity for three years. He wrote to a friend that the public, having devoured his flesh, now wanted to pick his bones.

Franklin was active in promoting the foundation at Lancaster of a college for the education of young Germans, now known as the Franklin and Marshall College, and it is said that in 1787, notwithstanding his physical infirmity, he travelled to Lancaster to lay the cornerstone of its principal building.

In the same year he took an active part in establishing "The Society for Political Enquiries," which had for its object mutual improvement in the knowledge of

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government and the advancement of political science. He was elected its first president.

Franklin was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States and, despite his age and infirmity, attended regularly. Though some of the principles he advocated were defeated in the Convention, he urged the adoption of the Constitution as the best instrument that could be devised at the time, and his great influence was a potent factor in securing its adoption.

One of Franklin's last public activities was in helping to organize the first society formed for the abolition of slavery, and, as its President, writing and signing the first remonstrance against slavery addressed to the American Congress.

Franklin died in Philadelphia on April 17th, 1790, aged eighty-four years and three months. In his will he gave a hundred pounds to the schools of Boston, his native city; and gave a thousand pounds to the city of Philadelphia and a like amount to the city of Boston as trust funds—the income to be let out upon interest to young married artificers under the age of twenty-five years.

It is one of the great tributes to Benjamin Franklin's practical mind that the funds he left in his will are still doing good for mankind after 166 years. So wisely had he planned it that the moneys he bequeathed have grown greatly in size and service.

The Franklin Technical Institute in Boston, founded in part from the funds in Franklin's will, is one of the pioneer schools for giving technical training to young men who cannot afford college. More than 75,000 young people have been enabled, through this one Institute, to take part in the technological improvements for mankind.

The Franklin Institute in Philadelphia also benefited from the thoughtful provisions of Benjamin Franklin. Founded in 1824, it established not only a service for young craftsmen, but also helped to poineer in the practical education for young women—one of Franklin's great objectives even at a time when women were not given education equal to men.

Through the years, the Franklin Institute has served to continue the ideals and objectives of the Philosopher for equal human rights. More than 300,000 visitors, half of them boys and girls, learn something each year of the wonders of science in its great Museum and Planetarium. Its research laboratories and associated research foundations have contributed, as Franklin wished, to the service of all mankind.

Here was established one of the world's first weather bureaus, based upon Franklin's studies of storms and winds. The standardization of bolt and screw threads was developed here so that peoples of all nations might benefit more easily by the interchange of technical equipment. The problems of steam-boiler explosions, air pollution and the wider use of asphalt have all been constructive projects.

Here, too, were developed the aids for the blind that have brought greater comfort to those so afflicted. The first motion pictures—which have given so much happiness to so many millions of people—were first exhibited at the Franklin Institute

Thus the influence of a truly great Philosopher continues to bring benefits to men and women through the years.

It is said that all human progress springs from the creative ideas of great minds. Benjamin Franklin made enormous contributions to the development of science for the benefit of mankind—but history will, some day, pay him even larger tribute for his teachings on the equality of all Human Rights.

For humanity's greatest goal is Peace. And Peace, Franklin taught, never could come from any source except full and international respect for the Rights of every Man. No finer tribute could be paid to him during this Anniversary than to emphasize again this deathless Philosophy.

Students in British Universities

Bruce Burton writes in *The Indian Review*:

"You can lead a boy to college, but you can't make him think" so the old adage runs. The recognition of this important truth by the university authorities contributes greatly to a harmonious relationship between teaching staff and students at British universities. "A British University . . . both teaches and researches but is primarily a teaching body, and in teaching it believes that the essential is less that the pupil should be trained to know than that he should be trained to judge." These are the words of one of the most celebrated figures ever to participate in British University life—Sir David L. Ker.

To be trained to judge, to learn how to learn, to be encouraged to use one's initiative, these are all regarded as essential ingredients of our university education. Every student at my own university of Oxford has to produce for his tutor at least one orginal essay a week. On the other hand, attendance at lectures is not compulsory (though it is definitely encouraged). This means that some lectures are poorly attended. A Glasgow University Professor of Medicine, on an occasion when his lecture was attended by one student sent an attendant to bring in the skeleton, in order that he could begin his address with "Gentlemen."

The life of the British student is not all work. Pliny remarked, "*Studia hillaritate proveniunt*"—"Cheerfulness is the key to success in studies." Students all over the world know that!

Recreational Activities

In all British universities there is a Students' Union, responsible not only for general student welfare, but also for organising facilities for recreational activity. As in India, the officers of these Unions are elected by the students themselves. There is keen competition in the universities in all sports, but especially between Oxford and Cambridge, and their century-old rowing rivalry in the annual Boat Race is well known. There are, of course, other spheres of relaxation besides sport, and at Oxford I remember, there were countless societies and journals functioning regularly throughout the term, for the poet, the philosopher, the writer, the musician, the artist, the bridge or jazz enthusiast, and many others.

There are political and religious groups which cater for all views, the political societies mainly confining their activities to the propagatitn of the policies and ideas of the National Political parties they support.

Indian Student Makes History

Probably the most famous institution in Oxftrd is the Oxford Union Society. As in Indian universities, debating is popular among Britain's students and like its Cambridge counterpart, the Oxford Union functions primarily as a debating society. As each of the Oxford's thirty colleges has its own student welfare body, membership of the Union is a purely voluntary affair for the six thousand men students. None of the thousand women students are permitted to join, but they are invited to view 'House' from the gallery of the debating chamber. Occasionally a lady undergraduate is invited to participate in one of the debates. Nearly a year ago I heard a fine speech by an Indian undergraduate, Miss Nandini Mehta (Lady Margaret Hall), who was the first woman ever to address the Oxford Union. The President at that time was Raghavan Iyer, her finance, and the third Indian to become President of the Oxford Union. However, although at Oxford women are rarely allowed to participate in the Union debates, as in all other British universities they contribute greatly to student social life in other spheres.

International Forum

In most other British universities, the proportion of women students is larger, education for women having steadily developed since the last war. Indeed, there have been a number of silent revolutions in British universities since the war. 'Oxbridge' is no longer the playground for the son of the idle rich. The majority of students at the two older universities are assisted by some kind of scholarship or grant, and the proportion is probably greater in the other universities. Educational democracy has come to stay.

An increasing amount of Britain's total student population is from overseas, perhaps 20—25 per cent of Oxford's students are visitors, particularly from the Commonwealth and the U.S.A. Indian students play an active and often prominent part in university life, and there have been many distinguished Indian cricket Blues.

One of the greatest needs of this generation is for some 'intellectual ivory towers' where young people of all nations can meet and discuss quietly together for a short time and then, refreshed by this intellectual pause, can go forth wiser as a result of the interchange of ideas.

A Scheme, Plot and Plan

J. C. Kumarappa, observes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan is before the public. One has to read it carefully to grasp the full implications put forward therein.

Ours being a poor agricultural country we were looking forward to see the interests of the farmers placed at the centre of things. All other considerations should buttress their uplift and be subordinate to that one consideration. Then alone it could be styled a "Plan." We find that the whole document is coloured by the needs of big, centralised, large-scale industry and the requirements of the rest of the nation are calculated to further the wellbeing of such an economic organization. Such a layout would well be termed a "scheme" or a "plot". Hence we may say that there is more scheming and plotting to expand exports, to raise foreign exchange and industrialise the country.

The little that is put forward as Community Project Schemes or Community Development Programme or National Extension Service are in the form of pacifiers. When the baby demands milk, the rubber nipple, with a bone disc stopper, is placed between its lips to suck. The baby sucks and sucks and gets no nourishment. The country loudly calls for rural reconstruction. It is presented in a few selected areas with these expensive welfare schemes that produce next to nothing. These should be fundamentally linked up with increase in the productive capacity of the villagers by being coupled with agriculture and agro and village industries. Such is not now the case. There should be a wide-spread network of rural development, manned by well-trained village level workers, backed by a high-powered Government body, headed, perhaps, by the Planning Minister. Only then we can expect anything more than mere propaganda to hatch out of these politically impregnated schemes. Tinkering with rural development will, in time, exhaust the patience of the people.

As we have already indicated in the past, the country should be reorganised along riverine valleys so that canals can carry the snow waters of Himalayas to the Cape through parched fields. What we need is that our economic requirements of the farmers should outweigh any political set-up of a party government or their patrons and bosses. Politics should now be satisfied with its subordinate place as a handmaiden of economics. Accordingly our Cabinet portfolios have to be recast to allow of the rebuilding of the nation on predetermined rational lines.

We trust these considerations will be brought to bear on the discussions of draft plan and in the end it will be recast to enable us to go forward with the development of a state devoted to the needs of the people.

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The Hebrew University

The official opening of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus on April 1, 1925, was an outstanding event in Jewish cultural life. A distinguished company assembled to pay homage to the Jewish people and its efforts for national reconstruction; Lord Belfour, the veteran statesman and author of the historic Declaration, urging the Jewish National Home in Palestine; Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, then the heads of the Zionist Organisation; Sri Herbert Samuel, the First British High Commissioner; Achad Haam and Chaim Nahman Bialik, Chief Rabbi Kook and Chief Rabbi Hertz of Great Britain; Dr. J. L. Magnes, representing the Provisional Board of Governors of the University, and many other illustrious persons.

The University's first Board of Governors was presided over by Dr. Weizmann and among its members was Prof. Albert Einstein, who later became its Honorary Chairman. Prof. Einstein was also President of the then existing Academic Council, consisting of distinguished Jewish scholars throughout the world.

The work started with only three research institutes: for chemistry, Jewish studies and microbiology, to which soon more branches were added. Expansion followed quickly and steadily, in spite of many vicissitudes. More buildings were added to the site, and the number of teachers and students substantially increased. By 1948 the University consisted of a Faculty of Humanities and a Faculty of Science, a Pre-Faculty of Medicine, Schools of Agriculture and Education, the Jewish National and University Library, and the University Press.

Then came the tragic set-back when during the War of Independence, Mount Scopus became inaccessible. New premises were hired provisionally in Terra Sancta College in the centre of New Jerusalem, and the various faculties and administration were housed in other available quarters, all in 50 buildings. But the immense growth of the Hebrew University made a permanent solution to the problem of accommodation absolutely imperative. It was therefore decided to erect new premises on the western outskirts of the town.

Since the formal dedication of the site on June 2, 1954, construction of the new campus has been proceeding apace, and the first building, Canada Hall (a lecture hall for Botany), a gift of Canadian friends, was inaugurated as early as May, 1955. The adjacent six laboratories are also nearing completion, and the entire Botany Department will be able to occupy the new premises. Moreover, four student hostels are in the course of construction. The hostels are intended to ease the acute shortage of students accommodation in Jerusalem. By 1957, other buildings to arise on the campus will be the Abraham Mazer Memorial Building (Institute of Jewish Studies), the George and Florence Wise Auditorium, and premises for the Law Faculty (also a gift of Canadian friends of the University) and other buildings.

It is expected that the new campus will take six to seven years to complete, and the work of the University will be transferred to it in stages. The estimated cost is $30,000,000. It is, however, explicitly understood that the new site is not intended to supersede but to complement the premises on Mt. Scopus; the use of the latter is still being demanded by the Hebrew University.

The financial situation of the Hebrew University has, at all periods of its existence, been a difficult one. Nothwithstanding the increased funds received from the Israel Government and its close connection with, and assistance given by, the Jewish Agency, the major share of the budget must still be sought abroad. The Development Budget for the next three years has been fixed at IL. 7,500,000 of which Government has been requested to contribute, as a loan, an amount of IL. 2,900,000, and the Jewish Agency, which contributes IL. 500,000 to the current budget, has been asked to extend her aid also to the Development Budget, and further to make a grant of IL. 1,000,000 for the year 1955-56 to the current budget. The Jewish Agency's contribution so far has been made in recognition of the University's unique role as the cultural centre of the Jewish people.

The office of President of the Hebrew University for the last two years has been occupied by Prof. Benyamin Mazar, an eminent archaeologist and scholar whose subject is the History of the Biblical Period and the Historical Geography of Palestine. He has conducted important archaeological expeditions in Israel and is the author of numerous work.

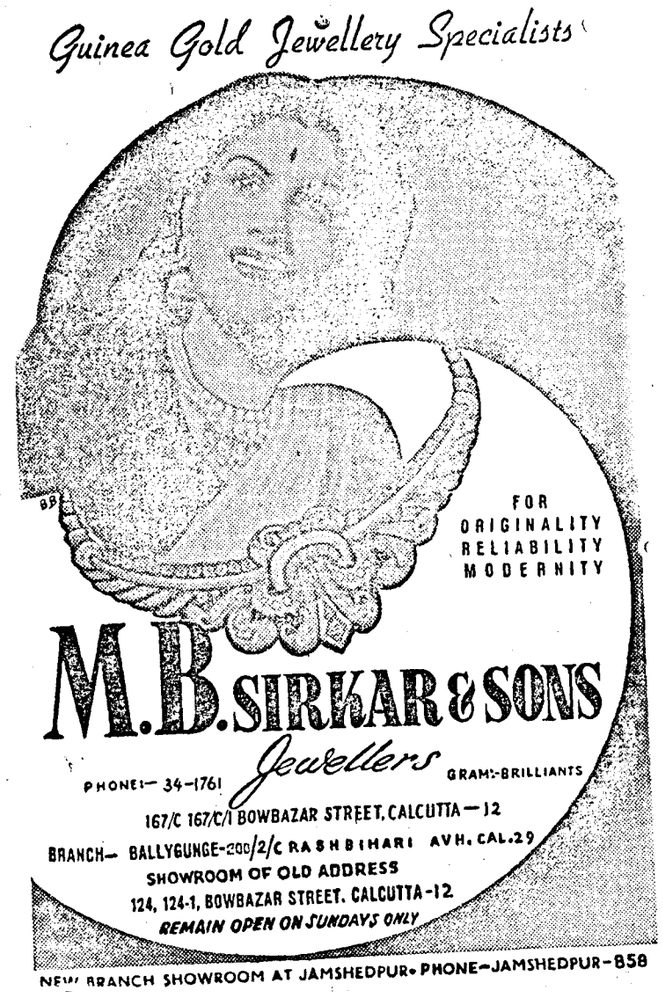
The teaching staff of 520 includes a number of men eminent in their fields. Of great assistance are the visits of guest professors and lecturers of note who come to Israel under various exchange programmes and grants. A number of Hebrew University teachers are also invited as guest professors to universities abroad.

There are six Faculties: Humanities, Science, Medicine (the University-Hadassah Medical School), Law, Agriculture and Social Sciences (the Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics and Social Sciences). Some of them have been established or expanded only recently, as for instance: the Medical School and the Faculty of Law in 1949; the School of Agriculture was expanded in 1952 into a full-fledged faculty; in 1952 the School of Education was established under the joint auspices of the University and the Ministry of Education and Culture for training teachers, and in 1953 the Faculty of Social Sciences was set up, and the Schools of Dentistry and of Pharmacy inaugurated. Of all the branches of learning, the Institute of Jewish Studies is the one which gives the University its most distinctive character, because it includes the teaching of Judaism in all its aspects.

The Hebrew University students come from about 47 countries and number 3,263. The majority, however, including 53 Arab and Druse students, have received their secondary school education in Israel. Up to the beginning of 1955 the University awarded 2,590 degrees; its graduates fill responsible posts in the Government, national institutions and other public bodies, and occupy

key positions in scientific research institutes and as teachers at colleges, secondary schools and at the University itself.

The Hebrew University, whilst concerned with the general aim of extending knowledge, has made a vital contribution to the development of the Jewish National Home and Israel. This it has done through its researches in the medical, chemical, industrial and agricultural fields. Agriculture has benefited from the researches in many ways. Underground water has been made available for irrigation, thanks to indications for drilling sites given by its geologists. Irrigation has permitted a transition from dry farming to intensive cultivation over large areas, thus increasing yields. The University's bacteriologists and parasitologists help to control malaria. The control of plant diseases and of epidemics, of field mice and locusts is the special province of its entomologists. Industry in Israel has been aided by the research of the University's geologists and chemists in particular. The former have discovered in Israel essential raw material like phosphates, cement, peat and absorptive clays, while the latter have worked out processes for the commercial utilisation of various local minerals and chemicals. Particular importance attaches to studies in the chemistry of bromides and other Dead Sea minerals. In the fields of public health service intensive studies are made in endemic and epidemic diseases. Diseases investigated include cancer, sandfly, fever, typhus, dysentery, etc. In connection with recent epidemic of poliomyelitis researches are in progress on the relative degrees of immunity of different sections among Israel's population.—*News from Israel*, January 15, 1956.



Asia as Presented in Western Schoolbooks

Obstacles to western understanding of the east—important because they are often at the bottom of points of disagreement and tension—may well be the result, if only partially, of the very curious ideas about Asia that the average western schoolboy gets from his school textbooks.

This is brought out in a survey made by educators in eighteen countries at the suggestion of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Ogranization which concludes that the image of Asia as presented to school children is badly out of focus in many countries.

As one report puts it, Asian history when seen through Western-coloured glasses too often is "superficial, episodic, fragmentary and distorted."

The survey, covered extensively in the March issue of the *Unesco Courier*, adds up to a near-indictment of the teaching of Asian history in many countries. Typical of most of the reports are the conclusions reached in a survey made by the Belgian Federation of History Teachers:

"From the majority of textbooks in use, it is apparent that, despite their authors' evident attempts at objectivity: (1) little space is devoted to Asian countries in these books; (2) Asian history is seen almost exclusively from the European standpoint; (3) these peoples remain little known, since their dealings with other countries teach us nothing about them, (4) our view of Asia remains fragmentary and biased, and (5) though 'modern' Europe may be familiar to us, Asia is not.".

Here are some other criticism lebelled, not by Unesco but by the countries themselves:

Italy: "Certain authors limit Indian history to the period of British rule. In some books, Chinese history begins in 1895 with the Sino-Japanese peace treaty of Shimonoseki, as if the life of the Chinese people had been of little interest until that time."

Germany: "In general, books are silent about cultures other than those of the north of India and China. In the books examined, the whole of the South-East Asian region is almost entirely neglected."

Sweden: "Nowhere is an account given of the part Mohammedanism has played in the foundation of states both in the past and present. Most pupils leave school without having clear ideas of the literature, art and world of ideas of Persia, India, Indonesia and China."

United Kingdom (a limited survey of England and Wales): "In books which cover ancient history, there is frequent omission of the early periods of Asiatic history. There are common references, for example, to Darius and Alexander, to Marco Polo and later voyagers, and then no further references until Western impact upon what are presented as decadent or disorderly states of later times is noted."

Prior to Unesco's international survey, a study was made ten years ago of the teaching of Asian history in the United States. Among its conclusions were:

—Backwardness in industrial development is too often left to mean backwardness in every aspect of development.

—The great personages of Asian history are virtually ignored. Asia's place in contemporary affairs receives insufficient attention.

A new report submitted to Unesco early this year, however, notes "encouraging" improvements. The U.S. office of Education comments: "Changes come slowly and pressures for the status quo are strong yet some action and change can be detected."

But no one has a monopoly on the one-sided presentation of history, as the *Unesco Courier* notes in an article which shows how, throughout the ages, nations have seen themselves as the hub of history and "the centre of the map.". The ancient Chinese, for example, called themselves the Middle Kingdom because they believed that the Temple of Heaven at Peking was the exact centre of the earth's surface.

The medieval Hindu thought that, in the benighted lands to his east and west, souls were doomed to be born as barbarous Mlecchas and to live unhallowed lives until they earned the right to be born in India.

But his Moslem contemporaries divided the world into seven temperature zones. Writing in Syria or Iran, they explained that, in the hot south, men grew lazy and remained backward while, in the far north (northern Europe, that is), their skins were pallid and their minds sluggish.

Even modern maps are distorted by old ideas. On the Mercator world map, as the *Unesco Courier* points out, not only is Europe in the upper centre, but it is also represented as much larger than other areas south of the fortieth parallel.

Controversies kept alive by history textbooks are recalled in an article by D. W. Brogan. "An American schoolboy told of the burning of tht White House, but not of the burning of the parliament building of Upper Canada in what is now Toronto, was likely to be at cross purposes with a Canadian who had received a different version of the war of 1812," he writes. "An English schoolboy would be under another disadvantage —he would not know of either."

"At school in Scotland," comments Mr. Brogan, "I was taught a great deal about the wickedness of King Edward I of England. But he died in 1307 and such teaching did not seriously distort the mind, although it may have wasted school time. It was very different when German schoolboys were told more than once of the burning of the castle of Heidelberg by the French, and French schoolboys of the burning of the castle of Saint-Cloud by the Germans."

However, warns Mr. Brogan, care must be taken in clearing up these controversies to avoid a "neutral least-common-denominator-history that is hardly worth teaching." He pleads the case of new legends, not merely the elimination of the old ones. "Let the French hear about Florence Nightingale, the North Americans about Bolivar or even the Russian pioneers in Siberia."

Th textbooks that some well-meaning reformers would like to produce have one great weakness, he charges: they would be unreadable. The beginning of wisdom will be when we take to our hearts the heroes of other people, not when we write off heroism, concludes Mr. Brogan.—*Unesco*, March 7, 1956.

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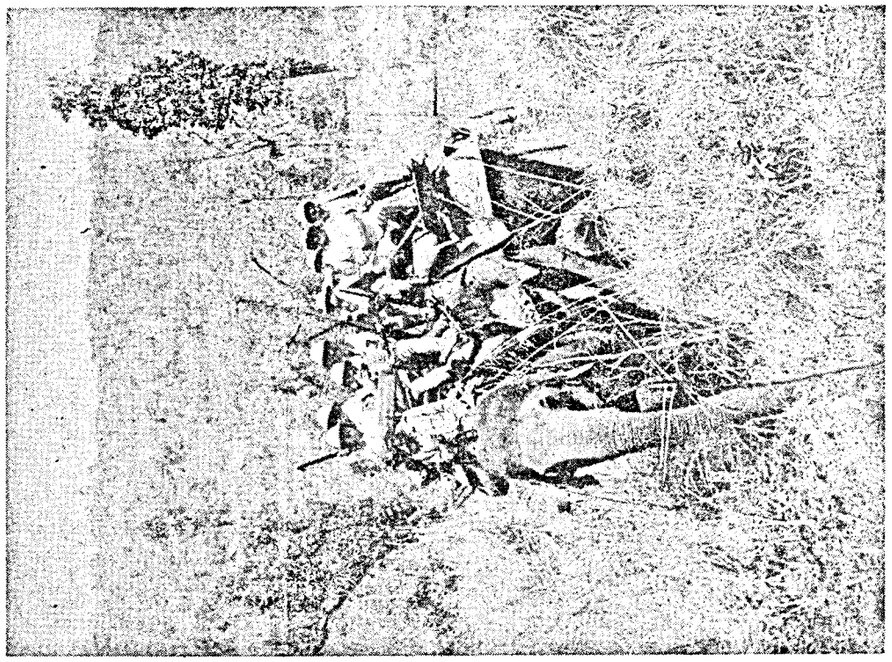
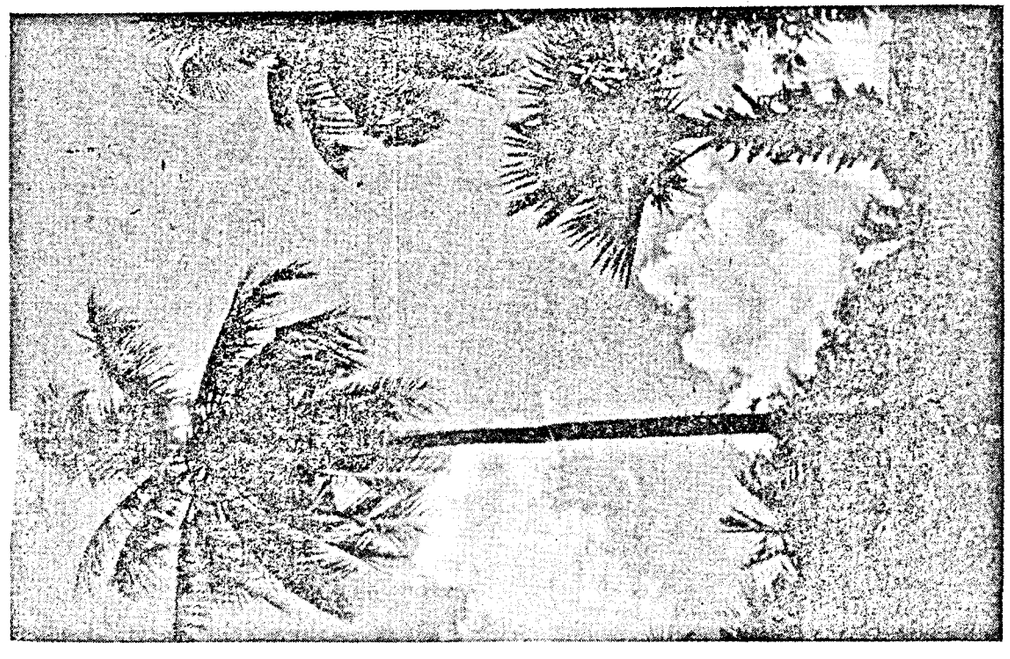
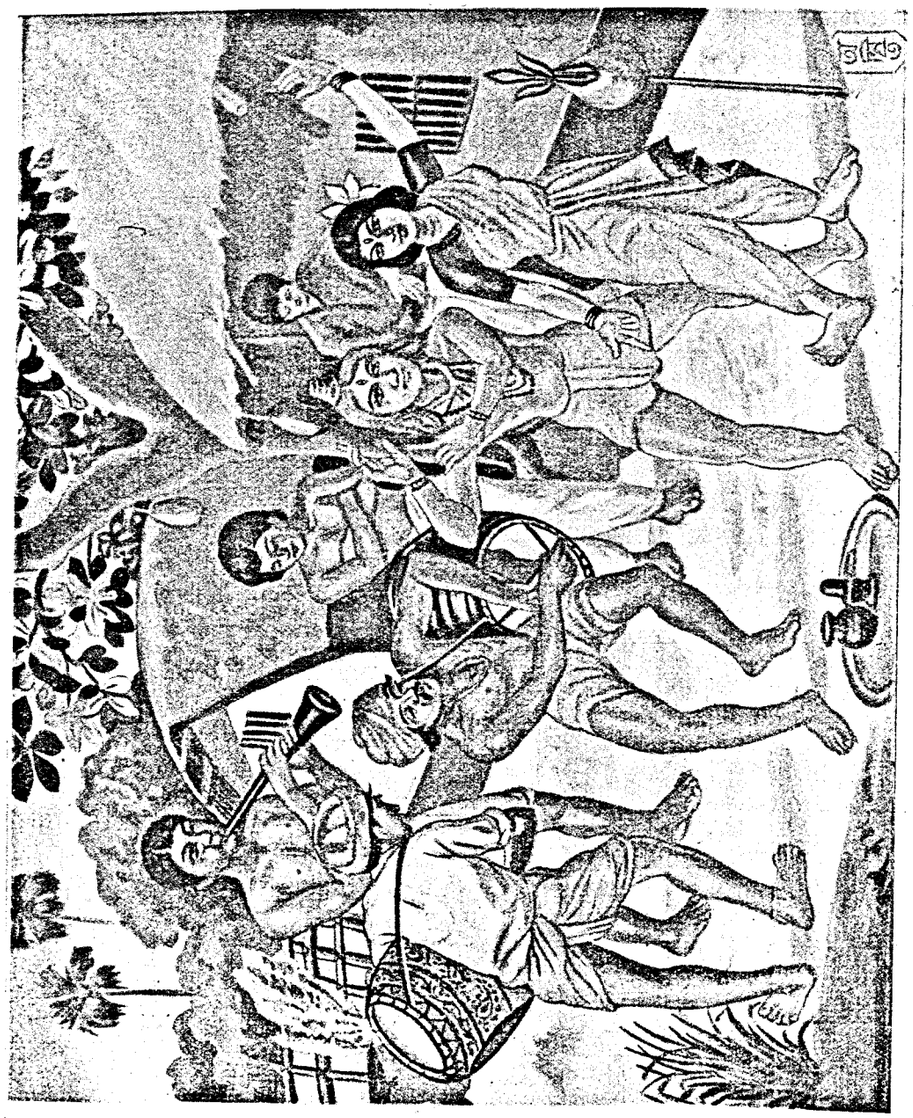


The Shahanshah and Empress of Iran accompanied by the Rajpramukh of Mysore went for a big shoot into the Mysore Forests on elephants



In Summer Photo by Ananda Mukherjee



CHARAK FESTIVAL
By Asitranjan Bose

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NOTES

Political Forebodings

The next elections are not even a year off. This and the Congress defeats in local and Central bye-elections, that have taken place recently all over the country, added to the election results in district board and municipal constituencies, have caused a great deal of uneasiness to the Central and State Governments and the Congress High Command.

Pandit Pant has realised that under the present bureaucratic procedure our tin-gods of the administration have become not only more arbitrary and irresponsible, where the public is concerned, but have become as corrupt—or even more so—as in the glorious *Nokarshahi* days of the *steel-frame*. Even Pandit Nehru has woken up to the fact that the service rules are obsolete and confusing. As a result both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister are out to bring in reforms, one in the service itself, right from the recruitment stage, and the other in the service rules.

But the days of miracles are past—although we admit that it is a minor miracle that Pandit Nehru should have taken notice of affairs at home—and we have to wait and see what these reforms are like. With the somnolent and extremely mediocre composition of the Lok Sabha it is not likely that much will come out of that assemblage of Rip Van Winkles. The Congress members will say "Yes" to everything mooted by the Congress Government, be it good, bad or indifferent, and the opposition will howl "No," to all official propositions.

But the fact remains that the administration is now highly inefficient and corrupt to the core. And the long-suffering public might take the only way to express their disapproval to the present set-up, as they did in East Pakistan, to undoing of the Pakistani Moslem League Government.

The administration has become actively oppressive in many areas, due to the total neglect of public considerations by high officials. There is no way to obtain redress unless one has influence with the Party. For it is Party rule that is obtaining all over the country today, from the Centre outwards. In Pandit Nehru's own Cabinet there is rampant parochialism, there is communalism of the most atrocious type in one ministry and efficiency is a matter of jokes. Under these circumstances the reforms under view are most likely to remain on paper, or if at all exercised it would be so in the breach.

Corruption in the Police is attaining a new high in most places, the railways are back to their blackest form. Even the Posts and Telegraphs department, which was the one shining example of efficiency and integrity in the days of British administration has followed suit to the rest of the communications section. Regarding the efficiency the following news-item speaks volumes:

"There has been some delay during the past

few days in the delivery of mail in Calcutta. This, it is stated, is due to the fact that as a result of the high temperature some of the mail vans have gone out of order.

It has also not been possible, because of the heat, to supply some of the post offices with sufficient stamps."

It should be noted that the temperatures reached during the days in question were nothing beyond what is seasonable.

The main trouble today is the immunity of the inefficient, the corrupt and the arrogantly oppressive elements in the services. The public has no means to redress, except by going right through the courts, up to the Supreme Court, at enormous expense of time, energy and money. The guilty officer is immune in every way because if the aggrieved obtains a favourable jujdgement, it is the government that pays. It is the same in the case of corruption. The loot goes to the corrupt official, damages—if any—that are paid to the looted, have to be borne by the government.

Service rules have to be amended, and if necessary the Constitution also has to be amended. The Constitution, as it stands today, is a safeguard for every evil-doer without being in any way a bulwark for the honest and the poor. Like the proverbial mass of good-intentions, gathered at random, it is heading the nation towards a hell of corruption and inefficiency. It is about time we realised that it was not at all an efficient job, and that it needs substantial amendments and additions in order to protect the good people from the machinations of the evil-doers. Particularly, is there necessity to provide condign punishment for those who use the powers of their office to oppress or mulct the helpless common man.

The Congress, that is Pandit Nehru's Congress, is astir at the prospects of the coming election as we learn from the following news:

"New Delhi, April 16.—The discussions at the Congress Central Election Committee's meeting here today are reported to have proceeded on the assumption that the General Election will be held according to schedule early in 1957."

We dare say the same lot of mediocrities, nonentities and notorieties would be elected. The Congress itself now is a festering pool of corruption, so what hopes of any reforms anywhere unless it starts there?

Administrative Services

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, made an important announcement in the Lok Sabha on April 12 about the recruitment, organisation and the future of the Administrative Services in India. He disclosed that the Union Government proposed to set up a Committee to go into all aspects concerning the Administrative Services and the higher cadres of technical and non-technical posts that would be created in future. He also announced the Government's intention to constitute an Emergency Recruitment Board composed of the Chairman of the Union Public Services Commission or his nominee, another member of the UPSC, a senior official and another officer, to recruit suitable candidates to fill up vacancies in the States and the Centre. Pandit Pant further stated that with a view to effectively deal with the evil of corruption in the Services a Vigilance Division had been set up in the Union Home Ministry and Vigilance officers had been posted in every ministry.

Pandit Pant said that the services had been organised by an alien Government for purposes other than national reconstruction and it was therefore quite remarkable that they had shown such an excellent capacity to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Yet there were many points of shortcomings. First there was not the proper realisation on the part of everyone that the services existed for the people and not the people for the services. Members of the public were not always treated with the courtesy they deserved. Then there was bad economy in many places. In olden days service conditions, emoluments, etc., had been determined with an eye to attracting overseas officers. All these things needed change, Pandit Pant said.

Moreover, the Minister added, the services were now facing many new duties which they had not to perform in earlier days. This had given rise to the problem of the reorganisation of the services. The Enquiry Committee would consider these questions and apprise the Government of its recommendations.

Referring to the question of general recruitment to the services Pandit Pant said: "I do not feel quite sure if the system of *viva voce* or oral examinations is essential to such an extent that one should necessarily qualify in it. This should be a part of the system of recruitment, but all marks should be added up in order to see whether a candidate is fit. Failure in the *viva voce* examination, while one is otherwise qualified, should not come in the way of his entry into the Public Services, because one cannot be too sure about the judgment formed by him (the examiner) about another man's capacity, personality, genius or merits in the course of a few minutes. So it is worth considering whether this change should not be made."

Government Service Rules

Pandit Nehru recently drew attention to the need for changing the Government Service Rules. Presiding over the second annual general meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi on April 7, Shri Nehru said that the Government Service Rules had become outdated and required to be revised.

The *Statesman* reports: "He had an occasion, he said, to look at the service rules and was astonished how the Government of India continued to live so long. Apart from complexity of the rules and their amendments, what was worse was that rules framed 20, 40 and even 50 years ago continued to be in force. The rules were not only pre-independence but pre-everything and he could not conceive that they could be applicable today.

"Even in countries like England, Mr. Nehru said, rules had been changed from time to time, but those in force in this country had become static. The whole background of independence required a 'new change' in this matter. If the administrative machinery did not fall in line with the objective of a Socialistic pattern of society, it would have to be changed."

Referring to Pandit Nehru's remarks on the need for changing the Government Service Rules the *Statesman* writes that obviously they should have been revised "but it is also pertinent to ask why they have not been changed. Mr. Gorwala wrote in 1951: 'In the last decade, hardly ever have the years passed without some report becoming available at the Centre or in the provinces on the subject of administrative reorganization and reform.' Since then there have been yet more reports and committees presided over by Indian and foreign experts; the field, it would seem, has been well ploughed and a larger harvest might have been expected."

The newspaper points to the absence of a systematic policy on recruitment and retirement ages, to the complicated nature of the leave rules and to "an excessive tendency to take on 'temporary' officials" often affecting the morale of the administration, and says that other rules were also equally open to criticism.

The newspaper refers to the remarks of Paul Appleby who had written in 1953 that "the rules of business, Secretariat instructions and office manuals seem . . . too didactic and confining, too detailed and unimaginative . . . They seem to assume, and to encourage, that literal-mindedness which damps the spirit, imagination and judgment which are important to good administration. Their basic pattern undoubtedly originated in colonial administration."

"Practice, however, has for many years tended to render the effects worse," the *Statesman* notes. "The complications and delay which at times dog an officer who is transferred or newly joins, or goes over to another department, and which prevent him for many months from drawing any salary are well known. Temporary appointments are too often used to fend off the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commissions and result in officials working for years together, and even retiring without confirmation and pension benefits. Leave facilities, although existent, may be denied, in fact, until accumulated leave 'rots away'."

U.P. Congress Faces Crisis

The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee meeting in Lucknow on April 28 and 29 would be of great significance, writes the special correspondent of the weekly *People*. According to the correspondent the meeting would discuss many important issues touching on the organisational affairs of the committee and would also discuss on measures for its revitalisation.

The type of subjects which were going to be discussed might be guessed from the resolutions tabled by Shri Mohanlal Gautam, former Minister for Local Self-Government. One resolution tabled by Shri Gautam required the disbanding of the *ad hoc* committees in the

pendent agency. Industrial undertakings in the private sector have necessarily to fit into a framework of the social and economic policy of the State and will be subject to control and regulation in terms of the Industries Development and Regulation Act and other relevant legislation. The State however recognizes that it would in general be desirable to allow such undertakings to develop with as much freedom as possible, consistent with the targets and objectives of the national plan. When there exist in the same industry both publicly and privately owned units, it would continue to be the policy of the State to give fair and non-discriminatory treatment to both of them. India's is an endeavour to build democracy from below, as distinguished from those of Russia and China that endeavour to build economy from above. India's economic revolution is no less spectacular than those of Russia and China. The only difference is that what the latter obtained by bloodshed and civil war, India obtained by persuasion and legislation. India's revolution escapes attention, because it does not glow with the flowing bloodshed.

Five Years of Bhoodan

The inaugural issue of the *Bhoodan*, a weekly journal in English published from Poona by the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh as the official organ of the Bhoodan movement, contains an editorial article summing up the experience of the Bhoodan movement in India during the last five years. In March, 1951, when Vinobaji, a lone, frail Satyagrahi had started on foot from Wardha for Hyderabad to see things for himself in the disturbed and unhappy Telengana, nobody—including Vinobaji himself—could foresee that it was going to be the beginning of a new revolutionary movement in India —the land-gift (*Bhoodan*) movement. The movement—from its modest beginning in the Pochampalli village, where one Ramchandra Reddi responded to the call of Vinobaji with an offer of one hundred acres of land as a free gift for distribution among the landless—had grown into an all-India one in course of these years. By the beginning of April, 1956, 43 lakh acres of land were collected, 370,355 acres distributed, the total land of 1,037 villages were obtained (*Gram Dan*). Besides, hundreds of young men and women came forward to get themselves enlisted as volunteers for the cause of Bhoodan. The target, as fixed by Vinobaji, was to collect five crore acres of land by the end of 1957. The total collection so far however was much below the target.

The *Bhoodan* writes: "Like all movements the Bhoodan revolution has had its ups and downs. Its progress has not been very even. In some States it may be said to have caught root in the soil, and it has produced spectacular results; but in some others, it is still no more than a beautiful idea preached by a great disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. In the towns, it can hardly be said to have affected the people deeply. They are already talking of the waning popularity of Bhoodan."

Personality Cult in India

"Sri Krishna" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that in Delhi, capital city of India, "the personality cult has been developed into a regular science. There is, however, a marked difference between the Russian variety of the cult and the Indian variety of the cult. In Russia, it was the worship of the supreme leader, Stalin. In India, it is the worship of the chair and not of the occupier of the chair."

The writer calls the cult as "Minister-Navazi." It included the "most respectable art of being seen with a Minister. There were men in Delhi, Sri Krishna writes, "who have a schedule of rates for the photographer in which they were seen with a Minister. Others have furnished houses, particularly in the hills, where Ministers are invited to give a rest to their overtaxed nerves . . ."

The Ministers also got undue publicity in the newspapers. In fact, Ministers had become a lead story and columns were regularly devoted to describe even the most routine duties of a Minister.

The writer quotes a letter purported to have been issued by the President of the Committee formed to celebrate the 48th Birthday of Shri Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Communication, inviting friends to contribute to a Rs. 48,000-purse to be presented to the Minister on his birthday. At the same time he notes that no committee had been formed to offer felicitations to the former Works Minister, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, former Labour Minister, Mr. V. V. Giri and former Rehabilitation Minister, Babu Mohonlal Saxena.

Merger of Vindhya Pradesh and U.P.

The Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed by voice vote a resolution on April 11 proposing the merger of Vindhya Pradesh with the Uttar Pradesh or in the alternative merger of "those areas of Vindhya Pradesh like Baghelkhand which were adjacent to Uttar Pradesh," the *Hitavada* reports.

This enthusiasm for merger was apparently not shared by the leaders of Vindhya Pradesh some of whom have come out unequivocally against the proposal of any sort of merger or division. Shri Shivanand, Speaker of the Vindya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, sharply criticised the proposal for the merger of V.P. with the U.P. In a speech before the first proposed Madhya Pradesh Homoepathic Conference convened at Jabalpur, he said that the merger proposal was the handiwork of certain vested interests.

The *Hitavada* report adds: "Shri Shivananda further observed that it was most deplorable that even the Chief Minister of a neighbouring State (apparently alluding to Dr. Sampurnanand) aligned himself with these elements without paying any heed to the wishes of the people of Vindhya Pradesh who had unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of merger with the new Madhya Pradesh."

Future of Nagpur

The *Hitavada* in its leader on April 15 discusses the problem of finding a capital for the new State Maharashtra which would soon come into being. It writes that if Bombay city was eventually included in the State of Maharashtra then Bombay would naturally become the capital of the new State. But in that case also the claim of Nagpur to be a part-time capital could not be disregarded in view of the provisions of the Nagpur Agreement which stipulated that Nagpur would be the capital for four months if Bombay was the capital of Maharashtra. "That Agreement," the newspaper adds, "cannot be written off as something not worth remembering. The Agreement is the basic minimum recognition of the importance of Nagpur in the future set-up."

If, however, it came to pass that Bombay was eventually left out of Maharashtra, the newspaper would like Nagpur to be made the capital of Maharashtra instead of Poona. "There are overwhelming reasons for pressing this clam. Nagpur has the layout of a capital, buildings, communications, a well developed Secretariat and is further in the centre of an industrial area. The dollar-earning area of Maharashtra will be Nagpur as the manganese of Nagpur and Bhandara are sold in American markets. It is the head of a network of railways which have heavy responsibilities to discharge in regard to the marketing of the steel products of Bhilai."

The newspaper notes that though Bombay might be considered to possess equal or perhaps more advantages as Nagpur "definitely Poona does not have even these advantages." Further, Poona was already highly developed with the Khadakvasla Academy, the Penicillin Factory, the headquarters of the Southern Command and the office of the Meteorological Department. There would thus be no point in "over-developing one area at the expense of another." Except on the grounds of history, Poona did not have greater claims than Nagpur. But historical consideration could not be the deciding factor in such matters. If that was so Ujjain instead of New Delhi should have been made the capital of India.

The *Hitavada* concludes: "Large numbers of families have built their hopes on Nagpur being the capital of a State. Nagpur has been the capital for nearly a hundred years, while Poona has not had that distinction. Even our Poona friends, we are sure, would see the wisdom of developing all centres in Maharashtra. The development of Nagpur will be to the advantage of Maharashtra. It is not as if Maharashtra would be developing a city which is outside its area. Nagpur is part of Maharashtra and if Nagpur becomes a big capital, it will not be to the detriment of Maharashtra. These are basic facts which have to be recognised and we trust that Vidarbha leaders would take a firm stand on this issue."

The Problem of Bombay City

Bombay still remains a Gordian Knot for the Union Government. The last report in the Lok Sabha proceedings was as follows:

"New Delhi, April 24.—Reports of Mr. Deshmukh's threatened resignation and the arrest of Maharashtrian demonstrators outside the House

country, the Finance Minister has showed much leniency which is not explicable. The rates of estate duty in India are much lower in comparison with those of other neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Ceylon. The maximum limit of 40 per cent of levy on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs is much too low. In Britain the maximum limit works out to nearly 90 per cent and that is on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 26 lakhs. We fail to understand why the Finanec Minister is so much reticent about the low incidence of estate duty in this country. He has said much about indirect taxation and widening the net so as to catch even the poorest in India, but why does he not say anything about enhancing the rate of estate duty? We think that the rate of income-tax may be lowered to 50 per cent, but the rate of estate duty should be considerably raised and higher levies will enlarge Government's revenue resources.

There is a great diffrence between the effect of estate duty and income-tax. Estate duty does not destroy potential capital and it is the final settlement of income-tax after death. Estate duty does not affect a man's spending power, while income-tax does. Further, the scope of estate duty might also be enlarged by the introduction of legacy duty. In India the State undertakes to prevent the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of private persons, and to achieve that end, both estate duty and legacy duty are essential. The Finance Minister always quotes the Taxation Enquiry Commission's report whenever it suits his purpose and ignores it whenever it does not support his contention. In this country there is no integrated tax structure, and as a result Union levies are further enhanced in their incidence by States' excise duties and sales tax. Tax evasion is still widespread and to prevent such evasions, taxation of total wealth might be introduced. For the second Five-Year Plan, greater reliance has to be given on taxation and deficit financing.

Small Savings

The savings of the middle and lower strata, economically speaking, have also a good deal of significance in the Second Five-Year Plan. In this connection the resolution at Shaheednagar, as given below, is to be noted:

"Shaheednagar, February 10. Mr. S. K. Patil (Bombay) moved the official resolution on the call for small savings.

"The resolution called upon the nation in general and Congressmen in particular to help in the campaign for small savings. It indicated that fresh taxation and large-scale borrowings by the Central and State Governments would become necessary in order to find outlay for the allocations proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan.

"Mr. Patil said that in the past loans for Government purposes were subscribed by insurance companies and others. The rich people were being liquidated and somebody had to take their place. The money had now to come from small people.

"Mr. Patil said that the total outlay estimated under the Second Plan was the minimum. They had to find resources for financing the Rs. 4,800 crores Plan. Of this, taking into account the gap of Rs. 400 crores in the Plan, they should make an effort to collect about Rs. 1,000 crores through small savings. The Congressmen would have to devote themselves to this great task of reconstruction.

"Mr. Patil said that at present the small savings were to the tune of Rs. 50 crores which was nearly one and a half per cent of the national income. This was much small as compared with the small savings in the Western nations.

"Mr. Patil said that the process of capital formation in the New India would have to be on different lines. Instead of a handful of rich people who helped in the past for the capital formation millions would now have to come forward with their savings of Re. 1 or Rs. 5. He instanced Germany where, he said, some time back when the economy of the country was tottering a call was given to the German people for two crores manhours. The call had a big response from the people and the economy of the country was resuscitated. Similarly, they would have to take steps to finance their own plans.

"Mr. Patil said that the Small Savings Department was at persent a neglected department of the Union Finance Ministry. It would have to be treated as an important subject of the Ministry."

Foreign Aid During the First Plan

The figures recently published by the Government of India about the external assistance

received by India during the first Plan indicate that India has received so far external assistance to the extent of nearly Rs. 300 crores. The USA has been the largest single contributor to this amount. Excluding the Wheat Loan granted to India in 1951, the total United States assistance authorised to India to date under the Indo-US Aid Programme amounts to Rs. 142 crores ($298 million). If we take into account the Wheat Loan and the assistance rendered by the Ford Foundation, then the total US assistance will rise to the order of Rs. 238 crores (nearly $500 million). India has also received assistance from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, on a loan basis, and from the commonwealth member countries of the Colombo Plan, namely, Australia, Canada and New Zealand on a grant basis. The aggregate amount of loans sanctioned by the International Bank amounts to nearly Rs. 60 crores ($125 million). Of these over Rs. 20 crores ($42 million) were utilised before the first Five-Year Plan was started. Of the balance amount of $83 million, $58 million have been sanctioned to the private sector. During the period of the first Plan, the public sector has received only an amount to a little over Rs. 12 crores ($25 million). The loans sanctioned include the Railway Loan, the Agricultural Machinery Loan, the two D.V.C. loans, the loan for the expansion of HSCO, the loan for the Trombay Power scheme (TATA) and the loan for the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

Of the total external assistance authorised to the extent of Rs. 300 crores during the first Plan, utilisation up to the end of 1955-56 is to the extent of Rs. 204 crores. The main reason for this delay in utilising these resources is the inevitable time lag involved between the authorisation of assistance or sanction of a loan and its utilisation on agreed projects by procurement of stores, equipment, etc. The result is that an amount of Rs. 94 crores of external resources authorised during the first Plan will be available for utilisation during the second Plan period.

The Indo-US Aid Programme started in 1949 under the Point Four Technical Assistance Agreement was followed by the General Agreement of 1952. This agreement provides for undertaking of joint projects laying emphasis on agricultural development. The understanding was that the USA would pay for goods and equipment imported from abroad and a corresponding contribution would be made by India for taking care of the rupee expenditure within the country. The agreement laid stress on joint projects in the fields of Community Development Projects, sinking of tubewells, River Valley Development, fertilizer and steel for agricultural purposes. These were the main activities up to 1953-54 for which external assistance from the USA was utilised.

From 1953-54 the US financial assistance was provided on a separate basis and it was described as Development Assistance. A separate allocation was made for Technical Assistance—, that is, for payment of charges on account of experts from overseas, training facilities abroad for candidates nominated by the Government of India, and for provision of equipment and stores for demonstration, research and training. This extension of the scope of the US aid was utilised in the field of transport and industrial development, including supply of locomotives and railway wagons for the Railway Plan; steel for industrial uses and financing of such major projects as the Rihand Power Project.

The pattern of development assistance underwent a further change in the year 1954-55. A new feature was introduced to the effect that nearly 75 per cent of the Development Assistance was to be on the loan basis. For the first time it was agreed that about 50 per cent of the Development Assistance would have to be taken in the shape of surplus agricultural commodities. Of the 1954-55 allocation, the Government of India took a loan of $45 million which was to be repaid over a period of 40 years. The payment of the principal and interest may be in dollars or rupees, the rate of interest being 3 per cent or 4 per cent respectively, with waiver of interest for the first 2 or 3 years. The Government of India has decided to pay in rupees. This pattern in assistance has been continued for the loan granted in 1955-56. Of the total allocation of $50 million for the year 1955-56, the loan component consists of $37.5 million. The terms of repayment and interest are the same as for the previous year. For this period, India has been asked to take surplus agricultural commodities for $20 million out of the total allocation.

Assistance from the United Kingdom has been given mainly for the supply of research

inevitably focussed the Lok Sabha's attention today on the disputed future of Bombay City.

"Against this backdrop, the chief spokesmen of the opposing points of view—Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. S. K. Patil—clashed over Bombay's future, fulfilling the expectation of unusually crowded public galleries.

"In spite of the wide scope provided by the motion to refer the States Reorganization Bill to a joint committee, few other issues found prominence. Almost every speaker expressed views on Bombay the majority supporting Maharashtra's claims to the city.

"Despite the contentious atmosphere, the speeches did not reveal the bitterness and frustration of December's debate on the S.R.C. Report. One of the pro-Maharashtrian speakers, Mr. B. H. Khardekar (Ind), began a personal attack on Mr. S. K. Patil but was checked by Mr. Feroze Gandhi (C), who had earlier supported Maharashtra's claims to Bombay with equal, if not better-humoured, force.

"One of the few leading members who devoted attention to another issue was Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Hindu Mahasabha). He described the proposal to unite West Bengal and Bihar as a deliberate attempt to prevent the transfer of Bengali-speaking border areas from Bihar to West Bengal.

"While supporting Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City, he said the issue should not be allowed to create a crisis in the Central Cabinet. It would be a 'national disaster' if Mr. Deshmukh left the Cabinet in view of his 'pivotal position' in regard to the second Plan.

"The many ties—geographic, cultural and economic—linking Maharashtra and Bombay City were stressed by the many supporters of Maharashtra's claims, who among them represented every party in the House.

"Mr. Gadgil, in a markedly reasonably worded speech, advanced the main argument. This was that Mr. Nehru, Pandit Pant and other leaders had recognized Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City and it was not just to keep them separate because of the admitted misbehaviour of some in the Bombay disturbances.

"He admitted that there was some force in the view that the Government should not give the impression of yielding to pressure, but he appealed to the Prime Minister to give an assurance that Bombay City would ultimately go to Maharashtra."

Ayurvedic Physician Honoured

Kaviraj Probhakar Chatterji, an eminent Ayurvedic physician of Calcutta has been awarded a prize of Rs. 200 by the U. P. Government Ayurvedic and Tibbi Academy for his famous book entitled *Ayurvedic Treatment of Cancer*. He is the first Bengali Kaviraj to receive the prize.

Air Route to Goa

The Government of India has at last made up its mind regarding the air-route into Goa, as the following notification shows:

" New Delhi, April 7.—The Government of India today issued an order prohibiting any aircraft from flying into or over Indian territory (including territorial waters) within ten miles of the border of any of the Portuguese possessions in India except under certain conditions, reports *PTI*.

"The conditions are that every aircraft making such a flight will, immediately after entering India, fly to and land at Bombay (Santa Cruz) or Ahmedabad airport and that it will not take off again without obtaining a clearance certificate from an officer authorized by the Government of India. The ban will be operative for two years. It is understood that this step is intended to prevent Portuguese and other foreign aircraft using Indian territory for free entry into and exit from Goa and the other Portuguese possessions.

"The Government's order is contained in a notification issued by the Communications Ministry and published in today's *Gazette of India Extraordinary*. Our special representative in Delhi learns that this order arises from recent unauthorized flights of aircraft from and to Goa over Indian territory."

Refugees from Pakistan

In view of the impending high level talks at Dacca, regarding refugee influx from East Pakistan, the following news-item, giving Shri Mehr Chand Khanna's opinion regarding Pakistan's attitude, is worthy of note:

New Delhi, April 2.—Although he spoke at length about the rehabilitation measures both in the eastern and western regions, interest in Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna's reply to the rehabilitation debate in the Lok Sabha today centred on his two statements concerning Pakistan.

He plainly stated that he did not wish to raise "high hopes" about the outcome of his forthcoming talks with the Pakistani Foreign Minister on the increasing influx from East Pakistan.

During his last visit to Karachi the Rehabilitation Minister said in a forthright 80-minute speech, he had found the atmosphere "cold and uninviting."

Mr. Khanna described as "untenable and fantastic" Pakistan's accusation that in respect of evacuee property India had taken unilateral action and had resorted to expropriation of the evacuees.

He blamed Pakistan for refusing to agree to a Government-to-Government settlement of the evacuee property issue and for continuing the operation of the evacuee property law, abrogated in India last year.

Giving a detailed account of negotiations on the issue between India and Pakistan, Mr. Khanna said that the reason for Pakistan "feeling shy" of a Government-to-Government settlement was obviously the large difference in the value of urban immovable properties left by refugees in Pakistan and those left in India. He estimated this difference to be nearly Rs. 400 crores in India's favour although he pointed out that India was willing to leave the evaluation of the properties to a mutually accepted international tribunal.

In view of the fact that West Pakistan had been "almost denuded of the Hindu and Sikh population," Mr. Khanna said it was surprising that Pakistan should continue to operate the evacuee property law even now "unless it intends to squeeze out even the few remaining Hindus in Sind and to expropriate their property."

He devoted a major portion of his speech to the problem of refugees in the eastern region and portrayed the differences between the problem in the western region and that in the eastern.

Unlike the western region, the problem in the eastern region was not only fluid and indefinite but there was no "vacuum" in respect of land and property which the refugees could fill. On the contrary, even Muslims who had gone to Pakistan, were returning and were being rehabilitated. This was a matter to be proud of.

Although the problem had been made worse by the continuing influx, he added, the Government's achievement in the field of rehabilitation was substantial. Nearly 250,000 families had been rehabilitated on land and another 160,000 families in other rural occupations. Employment was provided to 200,000 families and houses to 350,000 families.

Nehru on Kashmir

We give the following report from the *Statesman, in extenso* as it is worthy of record:

"April 13.—Addressing a public meeting here today, Mr. Nehru disclosed that he had suggested to the Pakistani leaders to hold discussions to settle the Kashmir issue by demarcating the borders of the State on the basis of the present cease-fire line.

Mr. Nehru also referred to the Praja Parishad trouble in Jammu, the Jan Sangh and the States Reorganization Commission's report. He made it clear that until Pakistan withdrew its forces from Kashmir in accordance with the U.N.C.I.P. resolution, there could be no talk of a plebiscite.

The Prime Minister stated that thousands of people were migrating to India from East Pakistan every month. India did not wish to see the same thing happening in Kashmir. India had learnt a lesson that any wrong step might lead them to big dangers.

Strongly criticizing the Praja Parishad and the Jan Sangh, Mr. Nehru said that they had seen how much harm communal organizations could do to the country. He was of the view that the history of Kashmir during the last seven or eight years would have been much different if the Praja Parishad had not adopted wrong tactics.

Kashmir was important to them in many ways, it was a model of their basic policy. They had never agreed that there were two nations in India even at the time of partition. He declared that in India the number of Muslims was more than the entire population in West Pakistan, but of course in the two Pakistans, the Muslim population was more than in India. In Kashmir, he said, the Hindus and Muslims lived together as brothers and even at the time of the tribal raids they stood up as one man to defend their land.

Mr. Nehru compared the Jan Sangh slogans of Hindu Rashtra with the Muslim League's slogan of "Islamic Republic." Some

of the activities of the Jan Sangh and the Praja Parishad, he added, amounted to "treason." The edifice which they had been able to build in Kashmir was being destroyed by the communal activities of the Praja Parishad with the help of the Jan Sangh. He strongly criticized the activities of the Praja Parishad in Jammu at the time of municipal elections when stones were hurled on the Kashmir Prime Minister.

Explaining why some Jan Sangh people were not allowed to enter Jammu, Mr. Nehru said that there was a permit system in Kashmir and the Government could not allow all sorts of people to enter the State in the interest of security. They did not want to create such conditions in any other part of the country as those prevailing in East Pakistan.

Referring to the proposed hydrogen bomb tests by the U.S.A. near the Marshall Islands, the Prime Minister said that India was against such tests and wanted all such tests to be stopped.

As regards the forthcoming Teheran conference of the Baghdad Pact Council, Mr. Nehru said that India had already stated that the Pact had destroyed the peace of the Arab world and created dissension among them.

P.T.I. adds: Mr. Nehru did not disclose what the reply of the Pakistani leaders to his proposal on Kashmir was but said: "After some days there was a sudden outburst of fury and emotion in Pakistan and Pakistani newspapers began to talk of the sword and *jehad* against India."

Referring to plebiscite, Mr. Nehru said that U.S. military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's membership of the military pacts like S.E.A.D.O. and Baghdad Pacts had destroyed the entire basis and foundations of plebiscite.

"It will not be a sign of intelligence if I am expected to pursue old things about plebiscite that were decided upon nine years ago without taking into consideration the far-reaching developments that had taken place since then in Pakistan."

The Prime Minister said that he was beginning to realize in his mind that the large-scale exodus of Hindus from East Bengal to India had become inter-related with the Kashmir question.

Mr. Nehru declared that he had not a shadow of a doubt that India had followed the right policy on Kashmir—a policy of decency and restraint and a policy that would do justice to the people of Kashmir, to the people of India, and to the people of Pakistan.

The Prime Minister was loudly cheered when he declared: "We shall not accept any step which seeks to create in the slightest manner any upheaval in Kashmir."

Mr. Nehru said: "I told the Pakistani leaders clearly: I think that you have committed a lot of excesses and *zoolum* in Kashmir. You have no right to sit on a part of Kashmir that is under you. But since my desire is only this that there should be no clash and upheaval, I am willing to accept that the question of the part of Kashmir which is under you should be settled by demarcating the border on the basis of the present cease-fire line. We had no desire to take it by fighting."

During the last three or four years, the Government had changed many times in Pakistan. Nobody could say for how long one particular Government would last in Pakistan as there had been no stability about it. It was, therefore, necessary to be very vigilant lest India should be entangled into any kind of war not as a result of deliberate attempt by Pakistan but by a mere chance.

The Prime Minister traced the background of the Kashmir problem and said that it was very important that the people should remember the basic facts.

The question of plebiscite was dependent on the clear stipulation that the entire Pakistan Army should first withdraw from the territory of Kashmir. Pakistan had failed to fulfil this important stipulation during these last nine years, when the face of Kashmir had been changed. "If now something is done which upsets all that had been achieved in Kashmir, it will be a dangerous thing, dangerous for Kashmir, dangerous for India and dangerous for Pakistan."

"It will be dangerous because any new upheaval is bound to bring in its train a calamity on both India and Pakistan, a calamity that the two countries witnessed and suffered in 1947. In such an eventuality there would be streams of refugees pouring into India, and refugees going to Pakistan. This would spell the ruin of Kashmir and create great bitterness between India and Pakistan. Instead of the problem being solved and the two countries coming closer together, this would create a dangerous situation between them and make them further apart."

Mr. Nehru said that India wished to avoid this dangerous situation because she wanted to preserve the welfare of the Kashmir people and retain good relations between India and Pakistan. Referring to his talks with the Pakistan leaders a year ago, Mr. Nehru said: "More than a year ago I told the Pakistani leaders very clearly that they should ponder over the basic facts of the Kashmir problem. I told them: 'I am willing to talk to you for as long as you like. We want to find some path by which you and I work together and find a solution to our problems. But when for more than seven years we did not succeed in finding a solution to the small problem of your armies leaving the soil of Kashmir before the holding of a plebiscite, do you hope that this problem will be solved now'?"

Now many new things had happened. The most special thing was the U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The entire face of the problem had been changed by it. "I agree that it is not the intention of the U.S.A. that U.S. military aid to Pakistan should be used against India. But the fact is that this aid increases the strength of Pakistan to attack India."

"We said very clearly that this aid had changed the entire face of the Kashmir problem, because even if the Pakistani armies left Kashmir and entrenched themselves 20 or 30 miles away from the border, their increased strength would give them greater striking power to attack even from there. We had therefore to think and solve this problem in a different way as it had been made very complicated by this military aid and military pacts."

Mr. Nehru again referred to his talks with the Pakistani leaders and said: "I told the Pakistani leaders: 'it is my desire, as certainly it is your desire, that we should solve this problem. But all these new things had happened to which we cannot close our eyes. I am not prepared to take any step which in my opinion will bring ruin to Kashmir, create an upheaval there and cause all kinds of upsets. We want Pakistan and India to work together. But any kind of upheaval would make that an impossibility. So seeing all these things, there is no use in dragging the problem further. We have to accept these new things and try to solve the problem. It is not that I wish to close the door for further talks on the question. But it will not be a sign of intelligence to expect me to do the old things of nine years ago (regarding plebiscite) without taking into consideration the new developments that had taken place since then'."

Mr. Nehru added: "I told all this to the Pakistani leaders but they did not accept it."

He described the decision which the S.E.A.D.O. Powers took about Kashmir at their recent meeting in Karachi as "not proper" and said that although it did not go very far, it was a wrong thing to express an opinion about Kashmir. These S.E.A.D.O. Powers might not have expressed their opinion about Kashmir openly but even a gesture from them was significant as it was a gesture from strong military powers like America and Britain. This gesture was enough for Pakistani leaders and the Pakistani Press to say all kinds of things. India had protested against this S.E.A.D.O. reference at the time. Mr. Nehru said that he had made this and other things clear in his recent speech on Kashmir in the Lok Sabha as he wanted no one to be under any delusion about them. "My speech in the Lok Sabha created a commotion in Pakistan. There were demonstrations of anger against me and the charge was levelled that I was telling a falsehood and going back on my promises. Some people and some newspapers in America and Britain also indulged in criticism of this kind. But hardly anyone of them perhaps cared to understand the basic facts relating to the Kashmir problem. It was necessary, therefore, that these basic things should be kept before the world again. I want to know which one of the basic facts that I recounted in the Lok Sabha about the Kashmir question is wrong. By merely shouting and creating noise the facts could not be ignored or suppressed."

Referring to the exodus from East Bengal, Mr. Nehru said that a big burden had been thrown on India by this large-scale influx of Hindus from East Bengal. Till now about 3,800,000 refugees had come to India. This clearly showed how dangerous results could be

reached by following wrong politics.

"In my mind this question of the influx of refugees from East Bengal into India is inter-related to the Kashmir question. Although outwardly these two questions are different, to my mind they are inter-linked."

Mr. Nehru asked the people not to get agitated over the Kashmir issue. "I want that you and I should not do those things which are being done by Pakistan. We should not raise the voice of threats or indulge in saying improper things."

The Prime Minister said that he would appeal to the people of India, especially the citizens of Delhi, to hold their voice in check in regard to what was happening in Pakistan. "I do not want our people to indulge in voicing threats, showing fists or brandishing swords. We have to follow the path of decency as no problem can be solved by the language of threats."

Mr. Nehru added amidst cheers: "I want our newspapers and people to understand that our case in regard to Kashmir is quite strong. So relying on this inherent strength of ours, let us not call each other names or criticize each other because ultimately we have to solve this problem and because Pakistan will ever remain our neighbour. "We have no quarrel with the common people of Pakistan I do not make any complaint against the ordinary people of Pakistan. It is none of their fault if they think of certain problems in a particular way because everyday Pakistani newspapers publish wrong things. The common people of Pakistan do not get the right facts. We have to remember always that between the common people of Pakistan and India there is not much difference. Seven or eight years ago we were in one country."

The real difficulty, Mr. Nehru said, was that the leaders of Pakistan were of a different category altogether. While even in Pakistan, the common people had struggled for the freedom of undivided India, the Pakistan leaders had not led this revolutionary life. The common people of Pakistan were moulded through this fire of revolution. But the leaders of Pakistan were not moulded by this revolution. "I do not wish to say anything against the Pakistani leaders or criticize them, but nobody can call them revolutionaries."

The Teheran Conference

Pakistan had tried its best to align all the members of the Baghdad Pact with herself, in accusing India over the Kashmir *impasse*. The latest news show the Britain and the U. S. refused to accept Pakistan's stand. We append the news report below, as it came at the end of the conference:

"Teheran, April 19.—The Baghdad Pact Council stated today at the end of their four-day meeting that 'urgent steps' must be taken to strengthen the pact which links Britain, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey in Middle East defence.

"The Council in its communique also emphasized the need for early settlement of the Palestine and Kashmir disputes.

"The Council agreed to meet again in Karachi next January.

"A British spokesman said, the Council had not discussed the merits of the Kashmir issue. A mere reference to Kashmir became inevitable because of reference to Palestine, he explained.

"It is pointed out that the Baghdad Council has suggested no plebiscite or direct negotiations, as S.E.A.D.O. did by implication when it referred to the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir.

"The final communique had been delayed because of renewed efforts by Pakistan to include a reference to the Kashmir dispute, P.T.I. reported earlier. It is understood that at this morning's secret session Turkey backed the Pakistani delegation but support was lacking from Iran, whilst Britain was lukewarm in its attitude Iraq was said to be undecided.

"Outside the conference also there had been intense lobbying by Pakistan to enlist support for her in the Kashmir case. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mohomad Ali, met the Iranian Premier, Mr. Hossein Ala, yesterday and urged that Iran should support Pakistan in the dispute with India. Iran is a member of the U.N. Security Council.

"The Pakistani delegation had also been having talks with other delegations."

Ceylon Elections

The outcome of the national elections in Ceylon, which were held ostensibly to get the people's verdict on the question of making Ceylonese the only official language of the country, bears some resemblance to that of the last elections in Eastern Pakistan—both in the rout of the ruling party and the reaction of the Western Powers. A *New York Times* despatch from Ceylon said: "There is no question that Sir John's defeat will be internationally accepted as a heavy blow to the West."

The nature of the outcome would naturally suggest that, so far as the electorate in Ceylon was concerned, the elections were not significant only for the language issue but touched many other points of equal, if not of more, importance. Final figures showed that the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (People's United Front), composed of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Viplava Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Sinhala Basha Peramura, had secured 51 of the 95 elective seats of the House of Representatives (six more seats in the House are to be filled up by nomination by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister). The M.E.P. had contested 60 seats.

The United National Party which had all along been in power since the achievement of independence was reduced to the fourth position in the House with only eight seats. The U.N.P. had lost 46 seats in the elections. Eleven ministers had sought re-election on the U.N.P. ticket. Of them only two—the Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala and the Education Minister, Mr. M. D. Banda—could get themselves re-elected.

The Trotskyite Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, which had nine seats in the dissolved parliament, emerged as the second largest party in the new Parliament winning 14 of 21 seats for which it had set up its candidates.

The Federal Party, influential in the Tamil-speaking Northern and Eastern provinces of Ceylon, gained ten seats as against two it had earlier. The Party favoured the introduction of a Swiss-model constitution with autonomy for Tamil areas.

Independents suffered a heavy loss in the elections. As against eleven independents in the last Parliament there were now seven (virtually six since Mr. R. G. Senanayake had been elected as an independent by two constituencies requiring him to give up one seat for which a by-election would have to be instituted) independent members in the new Parliament. Thirty of the sixty-one independent contestants had lost their security deposits.

The strength of the other parties were: Communists 3, Tamil Congress 1, Tamil Resistance Front 1.

The leader of the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (M.E.P.) which had swamped the polls in Ceylon much to the surprise of everybody, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Ceylon on April 12 replacing Sir John Kotelawala. Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet consisted of 12 members who were also sworn in on that day. The new ministry had one woman member—Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene—for the first time in Ceylon's history. A week later Mr. R. G. Senanayake, who had been a minister under Sir John Kotelawala but had fought the election as an independent to defeat the former Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. J. B. Jayawardene, joined the new Cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Trade.

In an interview with the representative of *U. S. News and World Report*, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, said that British forces now in Ceylon would have to go. He added that Ceylon would become a Republic but final decision on the question of the membership of the Commonwealth was yet to be made. He said that he agreed in general with the foreign policies of Pandit Nehru though, as he said "sometimes he (Mr. Nehru) has a tendency to lose sight of the intrinsic essential dynamism of Communism."

He added that Ceylon would shortly exchange diplomatic missions with China, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

Asian's Entry into Kenya Banned

The new immigration policy announced by the British Government in Kenya on April 17 virtually banned all immigration into the colony except from Britain. The announcement, made before the European dominated Kenya Legislative Council, said that henceforth Kenya would look to Great Britain as the "primary source of immigrants of the kind the colony needs." In case, the country needs could not be met in Britain only then would the Kenya Government turn to other lands for immigrants.

Asian residents in Kenya interpreted the new policy as designed primarily to curtail completely immigration of Asians into Kenya. They saw in it Government's total surrender

to the Europeans' demand for a total elimination of Asian immigration.

The new announcement banning Asian immigration, coming as it did after a series of restrictions put on the Asians by the Kenya Government over the past years, "is but a formal seal set on a policy of making Kenya the preserve of the white man," writes the *Hitavada* on April 21. The newspaper further notes that the Europeans' determination to keep the Asians out of the colony was generated mainly by the fear that they (Asians) would bring with them liberal ideas in the matter of racial equality and the right of self-government which would be too dangerous for the continued domination by the Europeans.

"Whereas the future of Kenya depends on the development of harmonious relations between the various racial groups in that colony, racialism has now begun to rear its ugly head and this bodes ill for the progress and prosperity of Kenya," the *Hitavada* concludes.

We agree fully with the *Hitavada*. We would suggest that this matter be brought up in the Commonwealth Relations Committee, with a request to balance matters, failing which restrictions must be put on the British exploitation of Asian countries, particularly those in the Commonwealth.

Cominform Dissolved

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties—commonly known as the Cominform—came into being in late 1947 at a conference of nine European Communist Parties held at Warsaw, capital of Poland. The participating parties belonged to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, France and Italy. The Information Bureau, in which each of the participating parties had two representatives had been entrusted with the task of organizing "interchange of experience among the parties, and, if need be, to co-ordinate their activities on the basis of mutual agreement." The headquarters of the Information Bureau as well as of its organ *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy* had been established in Belgrade—capital city of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau suffered a major shock when during the middle of 1948 Yugoslavia, one of the founding members, left the organisation. Consequent upon this defection the headquarters of the Bureau and of its organ was transferred to Bucharest, capital of Rumania.

The activities of the Cominform came in for sharp criticism in Communist, anti-Communist and neutral quarters as well. The Communist criticism of the Cominform was by its very nature indirect. The Yugoslav Communist Party was the first to put up a direct opposition to the policies proposed by the Cominform. For that "crime" Yugoslav Party was expelled from the organisation and the Yugoslav Party, Government and the leaders were abused in the vilest terms in the weekly organ of the Cominform. Those Communist leaders of Eastern Europe who dared to follow a milder course even while toeing the line were mercilessly liquidated through judicial murder as "Titoites" and American agents. Though the term "judicial murder" might sound a bit too harsh it was still the most correct description of the decapitation of the most veteran Communist leaders of Eastern Europe. The very people who had been killed after having "confessed" that they had been spies were now being restored to honour in the countries of Eastern Europe by the very people who had sent them to the gallows.

The Cominform had published an open criticism of the policies of the Japanese Communist Party which the latter had refused to accept at first. On second thoughts, however, the leadership of the Japanese Party accepted the Cominform criticism and changed their line thereby inviting a disaster on the party. Having realized the folly of accepting the Cominform directions the Japanese Party abandoned that line soon afterwards and accepted a new policy closely resembling its original position.

In Asia, only two Communist parties—those of China and Japan—escaped the rigours of following the Cominform line and thereby they gained greater strength in the national liberation movements.

The anti-Communist criticism of the Cominform activities though they sometimes contained valuable substance, as a rule, were more or less a routine business devoid of much significance.

The most significant and most weighty criticism of the Cominform was made by the neutral political leaders. The justice of much of that criticism found expression in the announcement of the dissolution of the Cominform itself, where the reasons for its dissolution were given.

The dissolution of the Cominform was made known on April 17 in a joint announcement by the Central Committees of the eight Communist parties forming the Cominform. Palmiro Togliatti, Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party, disclosed that the decision on the dissolution had been taken in Moscow in February at the time of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party but the actual announcement had been deferred to April for some reasons. In Moscow, the news was broken to the Western press reporters by Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Foreign Deputy Premier.

The Announcement on the Dissolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' parties said that the emergence of a number of changes in the international life had rendered the continued existence of the Cominform incongruous. Those changes were: "The emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and the fact that it has become a world system; the formation of a vast 'zone of peace' comprising both the socialist and the non-socialist peace-loving countries of Europe and Asia; the growth and consolidation of many Communist Parties in the capitalist, dependent and colonial countries and their increased activity in the struggle against the war danger and reaction in the struggle for peace, the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries; and, finally, the now particularly pressing tasks connected with overcoming the split in the working-class movement and strengthening the unity of the working class in the interests of a successful struggle for peace and socialism."

The dissolution of the Cominform was hailed in all quarters. *Reuter* reports that diplomatic sources in London labelled the dissolution of the Cominform as a bold opening move in the top level Anglo-Soviet talks. It adds: "The move had been forecast in some quarters here (London) for months past as a bid for final and complete reconciliation with the Yugoslav Communist Party which it expelled in 1948.

"Dissolution of the Cominform will also please neutral opinion in Asia. India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, was reported to have pressed for the move during his visit to the Soviet Union last summer."

The *Economic Weekly* (Bombay) interprets the dissolution as another blow to Stalinism. "Strict control and supervision of the Communist Parties and movements in foreign countries by Moscow was an integral part of Stalinism," writes the magazine. "By dissolving the Cominform, Stalin's successors imply that such 'centralised control' from Moscow is no longer necessary. This does not mean that Moscow has abandoned its faith in World Communism. It implies that Stalin's successors are inclined to the view that the existence of different types of economy in the different countries is no obstacle to the ultimate goal of world communism," it concludes.

Spanish Morocco gets Independence

Spain recognised the independence of Spanish Morocco on April 7. France had already done so earlier. Thus Morocco once again became unified and independent.

The Spanish declaration came after three days of negotiation in Madrid between the representatives of General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

The first indication of Spain's willingness to accord independence to the Moroccans was given on March 12 this year when Allab el-Fassi, head of the Istiqlal Party, the leading Moroccan nationalist movement, arrived in Madrid for political discussions with the Spanish Government.

The Moroccan Empire had been divided into three zones: Spanish Morocco, French Morocco and Tangier. Spanish and French zones of Morocco have become reunified into an empire under Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. Tangier is now a permanently neutralized and demilitarized area administered by a committee made up of France, Spain, Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Portugal.

The official declaration was given as follows :

"Madrid, April 7.—A unified and finally independent Morocco was created today with a joint Spanish-Moroccan declaration here which ended Spain's 44-year-old protectorate in North Africa.

"The declaration was made after three days of negotiation between delegations representing General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

"Signed this morning, the declaration consists of four clauses with a protocol of an additional six clauses providing for the period of transition needed for the handing over of administration.

"After stating that the Protectorate Agreement for Morocco signed in Madrid in November 1912 is no longer suited to the circumstances, it says that 'the Spanish Government recognizes the independence of Morocco proclaimed by his imperial Majesty Sultan Mohammed the Fifth and its full sovereignty with all the attributes pertaining thereto, including its own diplomatic service and army.'

"Spain binds herself to respect the territorial unity of the Moroccan empire and to lend the Sultan mutually agreed help, especially in questions of foreign relations and defence. The rights and liberty of Spaniards in Morocco and Moroccans in Spain are reciprocally guaranteed.

"The protocol governing the transition period to administrative independence starts off by specifying that 'the legislative power is exercised by the Sultan as Government.'

"The protocol also provides for Spanish assistance in the organization of a Moroccan army and cancels immediately the need for papers or administrative formalities for the movement of people between the Spanish and French zones of Morocco.

"The final clause specifies that the Spanish Government will continue to exercise the protection abroad of Moroccans originating from the Spanish zone 'until the Government of the Sultan takes over this function'."

The European Alliance

The Soviets' "New look" policy, however ridiculed, seems to have had some effect even in Europe as the following news-item indicates:

"New York, April 21.—Mr. George Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union said tonight : 'Our alliance in Europe is showing signs of going apart.'

"He referred on a television programme here to Iceland's demand for the removal of U.S. bases, to France's 'state of partial paralysis,' and the recent statement of the West German Government that it intended to open direct talks with the Soviet Government on reunification as signs of weakness in the alliance.

"About the German statement, he said : 'This does mark a turning point in the whole development of the German question and a very significant one.'

"Mr. Kennan said American foreign policy since 1949 had suffered from 'over-militarization of our thinking about the cold war' and this had weakened many of the constructive post-war undertakings and estranged the U.S.A. from a part of world opinion.

"He added : 'Unless we change pretty soon and pretty drastically our whole approach to foreign affairs—and by this I mean not the policies of the moment but the attitude of our people generally towards the relationship of foreign policy and other facts of American life —we must expect a continued tendency towards the reduction of our prestige and influence throughout the world generally."

"He pointed out that the U.S.A. was not the only power confronted with difficulties in the world today and said that 'the Russians are only now beginning to feel the real discomforts and embarrassments of being the successors to Joe Stalin.'

"The Soviet 'new look' he suggested might very well weaken the ties that have cemented the Soviet empire in the past and give it an external appearance of monolithic power."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAND-GIFT MISSION

By SURESH RAMABHAI

With its new and fresh discoveries, science is making life more easy and pleasant. Curiously, however, man is feeling less happy and contented and there is more fear in his eyes than ever. The economic and social disparities widen rather than contract. Revolutions come like a spark of lightning only to pass away. The man in the street remains very much where he was.

The French Revolution stood for fraternity, equality and liberty. But the Guillotine could not secure these for the common man. The Industrial Revolution brought prosperity to England at the cost of millions of Asia and Africa whose markets she could exploit. The Russian Revolution has not yet succeeded in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariate. While these revolutions did relieve material injustice to a degree, they left the core of human distress unredeemed. Man is treated by these socio-economic revolutions as an animal with sensory needs but they have not paid due regard to his heart and his unique individuality.

Let us ake Marx. He was a great genius who delved deep into the working of the economic processes on the eve of the age of technology. He gave that historic and inspiring call: "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains." Looking back to the history of the last fifty years one can say that workers have also got to lose something positive before they lose their chains. That thing is—their sense of ownership. Both the rich and the poor, the capitalists and the workers, dote upon this sense. In truth, they suffer from the tyranny of possession. Both believe in the same sensate values and aspire for the same material standards of comfort and luxury. As a matter of fact, the rich are those poor who won the race for these values, while the poor are those who lost in this race for more sensual comfort. Yet both have hearts empty of love and they are stupidly striving to fill this void with possessions.

The time has now come when possessiveness should be recognised as a form of illness of the mind. Our possessions possess us. The truly rich man is he who is not a slave of his possessions nor at the mercy of possessiveness. All wealth is a collective product of social well-being. The ownership of wealth should rest not with the individual but with society. Mahatma Gandhi emphasized this point in his theory of Trusteeship. Through Land-gift mission, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has placed a concrete way to give Gandhiji's theory a living shape. Vinoba asks all who possess land, money or property to renounce ownership of what they have and set apart a part of their own possessions for society. The Land-gift movement seeks to make the rich or the poor shed off their ownership rights and share their richness or poverty together.

"Share Together" is, in brief, the essence of Vinoba's mission. So long as we enjoy alone and refuse to share with others, we cannot be true to our neighbour, to ourself or to anybody. Also where would then be the dividing line between man and animal? Both eat and sleep and reproduce. But whereas the characteristic of the animal is that it enjoys its meat by itself alone, that of man is that he wants to share it with others. Which is why man can refuse food even when he is hungry. He obtains peace in fasting too.

In thus voluntarily parting with our possessions we discover the inner richness which loving our neighbour alone can bring to our hearts. This is the echo of all scriptures. All religions of the world bear testimony to this wisdom of the ancient seers. Modern science also drives us to the same conclusion.

Private property is hailed as a sacred right all over the world. It has culminated in the horrible state of affairs in which while the producer is denied the means of production, the non-producing possessor enjoys the products of his labour. Science tells us that if the means of production continue to be owned by indivi-

dual persons or States and if the gulf between intellectual and physical labour persists, the very existence of man is in jeopardy. This lure for possessions and power has contributed to the growth of urbanization, centralisation, industrialisation and—as a result—to militarisation. In place of developing spontaneous, loving human co-operation, it has exalted materialism and warped man's vision. Scientists are busily aware of this development. They have sounded the alarm. J. B. S. Haldane, the great biologist said:

"Materialism, once a scientific theory, is now the religion, creed of thousands. But materialism is nothing better than a superstition on the same level as belief in witches and devils."

Sir Arthur Eddington, the renowned physicist, said:

"We are no longer compelled to characterize the spiritual aspects of nature as illusory. Rather, the physical world becomes everywhere the spiritual and the natural existence is also solely to this conclusion."

Albert Einstein, the scientific wizard of our age, declared:

"The fate of the human race was more than ever threatened as all moral strength today. The way to a world and lasting peace is through organisation and self-limitation everywhere."

Vinoba's Land-gift mission is just the programme of collective sharing of the good things of this earth. Vinoba calls upon man to mark, both as a religious duty and scientific necessity, a halt in his present drive, share all land and skills and power among all, and thus turn towards building a non-possessing social order, standing on the pillars of common ownership, voluntary co-operation and productive labour. In this manner, Vinoba seeks to bring about a revolution in the technique of revolution itself. So far violence has been the main sheet-anchor of revolution. It need not necessarily be so. In Vinoba's words:

"We want to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence, that is, we want both peace and revolution. Revolution is indispensable. Now if we want peace also, then we have to prove that peace too has the power to revolutionize the society—not gradually but with the speed of a revolution. If this is proved violence will cease to be the indispensable adjunct of revolution and society will be saved. This is what we call a peaceful revolution or Satyagrah...

"Through Land-gift programme we are helping the people to acquire the power of Satyagraha and develop faith in humanity. We also desire to manifest the power of peace for solving all our problems. Viewed in this perspective, the Land-gift mission will reveal its distinctive glory."

(*Courtesy* : All-India Radio)

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NEW AGRARIAN POLICY OF INDIA

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

Agriculture has for long remained by the Finance Minister as the backbone of the Indian economy. Thirty-five years ago Lord Meyo observed that "the prosperity of the country, the progress of India in trade and commerce alike are directly dependent on the success of agriculture."

The sad tragedy was that it received but scant attention at their hands. The agricultural problems bequeathed by them during their regime of over hundred years were, appropriately enough, solved in accordance with the dictates of their imperialistic interests. Whatever attention was paid to the agriculture in the country was directed towards the improvement of their plantations and to the development of communications which would facilitate the transport of raw materials to the factories in England. Even the Royal Commission of Agriculture appointed in 1926 was more in the nature of a post-mortem examination of the agrarian problems than a diagnosis of the ailments from which the agriculture was suffering. Its recommendations were, therefore, not of much practical value.

The Indian National Congress, which was the only political organisation in the country that had the welfare of the masses at heart, was fully aware of the fact that the salvation of India lay in the amelioration of the lot of the agriculturists. It was, therefore, but natural that the Congress should have included in its election manifesto of 1936 a promise to undertake legislation for the relief of agrarian indebtedness, for the fixation of fair rents and for the protection of the tenants against arbitrary eviction from their holdings. The Congress was returned to power in seven provinces in the elections held in the beginning of 1937. The Congress ministries were faced with a colossal task. The agriculture in the country was in a state of chaos and confusion. The cultivator was groaning under the heavy burden of debt and rent. The prices of agricultural commodities had fallen to the lowest level in the history of the country. The cultivator was in the grip of the money-lender and the zamindar. The latter was in the habit of squeezing the last penny out of the tenant. The tenant was, in his turn, squeezing the sub-tenant. The sub-tenant was squeezing the under-tenant. The under-tenant was squeezing the labourer. The labourer was squeezing the beggar. The beggar was squeezing the starving. The starving was squeezing the dead. The dead was squeezing the ghosts. The ghosts were squeezing the spirits. The spirits were squeezing the gods. The gods were squeezing the stones. The stones were squeezing the earth. The earth was squeezing the hell. The hell was squeezing the darkness. The darkness was squeezing the nothingness. The nothingness was squeezing the void. The void was squeezing the chaos. The chaos was squeezing the confusion. The confusion was squeezing the disorder. The disorder was squeezing the anarchy. The anarchy was squeezing the lawlessness. The lawlessness was squeezing the violence. The violence was squeezing the bloodshed. The bloodshed was squeezing the death. The death was squeezing the destruction. The destruction was squeezing the annihilation. The annihilation was squeezing the extinction. The extinction was squeezing the oblivion. The oblivion was squeezing the forgetfulness. The forgetfulness was squeezing the memory. The memory was squeezing the history. The history was squeezing the past. The past was squeezing the present. The present was squeezing the future. The future was squeezing the hope. The hope was squeezing the despair. The despair was squeezing the misery. The misery was squeezing the poverty. The poverty was squeezing the hunger. The hunger was squeezing the starvation. The starvation was squeezing the death. The death was squeezing the end. The end was squeezing the beginning. The beginning was squeezing the creation. The creation was squeezing the God. The God was squeezing the Himself.

tries and it was pin-pointed by the latter that the salvation of India lay in ameliorating the lot of the agriculturists. Since then a visible change in agricultural outlook has come forth.

The first and the most vital step taken by the Congress provincial governments was the reform of the land tenure system which had sapped the initiative, enterprise and drive of the Indian farmer. It was believed that land was the base of India's economy and that the agrarian system should be so organised that the fruits of labour were enjoyed by those who toiled and land was worked as a source of wealth for the community. The myriads of middlemen between the State and the actual tillers of the soil were deemed as an incubus on the existing agricultural society. Wedded to this creed, the Congress governments rushed forward with schemes for the elimination of all intermediaries. This work, however, came to almost a standstill when the Congress went out of office on the eve of the Second World War and the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. The work was resumed when this Great Organisation was in the saddle again in 1946. Although the pace of the "social and economic revolution" through the Zamindary abolition has been slow, yet it is heartening to learn that the necessary legislations have been fully implemented in the Punjab, Pepsu, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad; substantially implemented in the case of Uttar Pradesh, Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Bombay, Madras and Andhra and partially implemented in Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Vindhya Pradesh. In other States, namely, Assam, West Bengal, Mysore, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, the legislations to eliminate the parasitic class of intermediaries are in the process of enactment. It is claimed by State governments that about 2.25 million intermediaries have so far been divested of their rights and interests over more than 160 million acres of land. This is, undoubtedly, an achievement of which we could be legitimately proud.

A problem more far-reaching in character than the liquidation of the Zamindari system is the equitable distribution of land, which, as stated earlier, is a source of wealth for the entire community. Much has been said and written in favour and against the controversial issue. The Planning Commission, however, has laid at rest the controversy by accepting, in principle, the policy of fixing a ceiling and floor on the amount of land that an individual may hold. It is needless to dwell here upon the discreet basis governing the implementation of this policy in the various States. In the context of varying circumstances of the States ceilings have been imposed on the existing holdings and on the future acquisition of land by owner-cultivators in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Hyderabad. In other States, the work will be speeded up with the completion of the "census of holdings operations" undertaken by the State Governments.

Both these measures—the Zamindari Abolition and the ceiling on holdings—will be but palliatives if the tenancy problem in India were left unsolved. Aptly has it been remarked by the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee that

> "To leave out the problem of agricultural labour in any scheme of agrarian reforms, as has been done so far, is to leave unattended a weeping wound in the agrarian system of the country."

The Planning Commission has prescribed the remedy of the three F's, *viz.*, Fair rent, Fixity of tenure and Free transfer of land, to solve this problem.

In regard to rent, the Commission observes:

> "While it is difficult to suggest a generally applicable rate of rent, over the greater part of the country, a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce could well be regarded as requiring special justification."*

If this limit were accepted by us for a 'Fair rent' the rents payable by tenants in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal do not conform to this standard and the Governments have been urged to take action to reduce rents. But in the large majority of States, for example, Assam, Orissa, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Bombay, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Ajmer, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh rents have been whittled down to accord with the recommendation of the Plan.

* *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 193.

"Protected labour" is a *sine qua non* for agricultural welfare as protected industries are for industrialization. The problem of tenant security has proved baffling. Laws have been made in certain States, namely, Bombay, Hyderabad, Berar, Tanjore, Mysore, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab to ensure against unjustified ejectment of the tenants-at-will. It is contended by some critics that the policy hitherto adopted for the purpose is inadequate and slip-shod. Much leeway has to be made before the Government at the Centre and the States can lay a claim to the solution of this crucial and chronic problem of tenancy.

As regards the tenants' rights of free transfer of land, it is necessary that they should be given permanent and heritable rights in respect of the lands tilled by them.

'Land to the tiller of the soil' is now our precept and not only a maxim or a slogan. The measures alluded to above have been taken to achieve this ideal and their cumulative effect has been highlighted in increased productivity. Millions of tons of foodgrains, which were lost every year because the ill-paid agricultural labourer, who had no stake in land, did not put his heart into work, had been conserved. We have been able to turn the corner in the matter of food. The race for self-sufficiency in food has been won, controls virtually abolished and rationing completely withdrawn. With the mounting up of the internal production our imports have tapered off to a negligible quantity as is shown by the following table :

Year	Production (in million tons)	Imports & year	(in million tons)	Value of food imports (in Rs. crores)
1948-49	43.3	2.84	1948	102
1949-50	46.0	3.71	1949	134
1950-51	41.7	2.12	1950	180
1951-52	42.4	4.73	1951	216
1952-53	47.6	3.90	1952	210
1953-54	56.1	2.00	1953	86
1954-55	65.8	0.80	1954-55	68

Note.—Statistics are based on the *Eighth Year and India 1955.*

It is noteworthy that the planned target of 61.6 million tons for 1955-56 had been exceeded by 4.2 million tons in 1954-55. Why import then?—is an apt question, one might ask. The imported foodgrains, according to Mr. A. P. Jain, the Food and Agricultural Minister, are intended not so much for meeting the requirements of internal consumption as for building up an adequate reserve. Another remarkable feature is that by cutting down food imports India effected a saving of Rs. 138 crores of its hard-earned foreign exchange in 1954-55 compared with the peak imports during 1951. But now no stocks are to be imported from abroad.

The situation in respect of the commercial crops also shows "considerable improvements." A glance at the statistics tabulated below would at once convince us of this:

Commodity	*Year*	*Production*	*Planned production in 1955-56*
Cotton	1950-51	2.97 Mn. bales*	
	1951-52	3.13	
	1952-53	3.13	
	1953-54	3.93	
	1954-55	4.30	4.22 Mn. bales*
Jute	1950-51	3.28 Mn. bales†	
	1951-52	4.68	
	1952-53	4.61	
	1953-54	3.13	5.39 Mn. bales†
Sugarcane	1950-51	5.6 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	6.1	
	1952-53	5.3	
	1953-54	4.6	6.3 Mn. tons
Oilseeds	1950-51	5.08 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	4.93	
	1952-53	4.64	
	1953-54	5.59	
	1954-55	4.40	5.6 Mn. tons

Note.—* 1 bale=392 lbs. † 1 bale=400 lbs.

Agricultural production as a whole registered an increase of 13.5 per cent in 1953-54 over that of 1949-50. The outturn of cereals recorded an increase of 17.2 per cent, oilseed of 9 per cent and cotton of nearly 50 per cent.

While it is difficult to point out precisely the contributory factors to the high productive levels, it is widely recognised that the Integrated Production Programme initiated at the recommendation made by the Grow More Food Inquiry Committee has helped achieve self-sufficiency in food and certain other crops. This intensive campaign is now an integral part of the Community Development Project and National Extension Service schemes which are spread all over the country to make a multilateral attack for the improvement of the "whole" man in the villages. Lop-sided development of the farmer's life is considered imprudent and infructuous. Though according to some, not much has been done since the inception of the Community Projects in 1952, it cannot be gainsaid that they have well-served as 'seed-multiplication farms' for propagating right thought.

The effect of the increased production, of the policy of decontrol and of political causes, such as the Korean truce, was the sagging of the prices of agricultural products. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices in respect of agricultural commodities (food articles) stood at 320.7 on the 19th November, 1955, as against 339.4 in 1954-55, 384.4 in 1953-54 and 398.6 in 1951-52, the opening year of the First Five-Year Plan. The Government had therefore to resort to policies of price support and export promotion to arrest the downward trend of prices. Whereas during the war years from 1939 to 1945 the British Government had been faced with inflation and hyper-inflation problems, our National Government had to confront an equally worse evil of deflationary tendencies. Of course, at the moment it has not assumed any grave proportions but a timely action was certainly called for. And it was taken. To combat this tendency the Central Government entered the open market for purchasing what may be called, "buffer stocks" of cereals to serve as reserve for emergencies, if any. At the end of 1953-54, the reserve stocks of food, mainly rice, were 16 lakh tons. The stocks of foodgrains held by the Government on October 29, 1955, were: wheat 3,40,000 tons, rice 10,13,000 tons, and coarse grains 37,000 tons. It was declared on the floor of the House on December 14, 1955, that purchases in the internal markets would be made to the extent necessary to give price support to principal foodgrains in order to stabilize them at reasonable levels.

Export of agricultural commodities was also stepped up. During the current year up to September 30, 1955, more than 84,000 tons valued at Rs. 461.74 lakhs had been exported to some countries.

These were *ad hoc* measures to surmount economic hurdles coming in the wake of price fall in the agricultural sector. Realising that they provided no enduring cures of our present and future difficulties, Mr. A. P. Jain enunciated the following basic remedies in the course of the Parliamentary debate held in October, 1955 :

(*a*) The setting up of a National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board.
(*b*) The institution of a Central and State Warehousing Corporation.
(*c*) The provision of adequate credit facilities through the Reserve Bank and State Bank of India.

The two organisations mentioned at (*a*) and (*b*) above are designed to improve the holding power of the Indian farmer and to organise co-operative marketing and processing so as to strengthen his position as a seller, to assure him of a regular trade outlet and to enable him to obtain better prices. This will also teach the farmers that agriculture is primarily a form of business. With that end in view the Board will link credit with marketing.

The Government will allocate to the Board (*i*) a non-recurring grant of Rs. 5 crores and (*ii*) a recurring grant of not less than Rs. 5 crores per annum for the first five years and thereafter a reasonable sum consistent with its functions. Out of these allocations would be created two funds, namely, Development Fund and Warehousing Fund with Rs. 15 crores allocated to each. The developmental activities will be the formation of primary marketing societies, the apex marketing organisations and the processing co-operative societies such as sugar mills, cotton gins, oil expellers and jute balers.

The functions of the Board are to give loans and grants to State Governments which, in turn, would extend similar facilities to marketing societies at the lowest rung of the ladder. It is proposed to set up 1,500 primary marketing societies and construct 1,200 godowns during the Second Five-Year Plan. At the apex there will be one new society in each Part 'A' and 'B' States. The total estimated cost will come to about Rs. 18 crores.

The Central Warehousing Corporation is intended to set up warehouses at important places in the whole of the country and to subscribe to the share capital of its counter-parts in the States. The Central Corporation will have an authorized capital of Rs. 20 crores and a subscribed capital of Rs. 10 crores. This capital will be raised by a contribution of Rs. 4

crores by the Central Government and the balance by

(*i*) the State Bank of India;
(*ii*) commercial banks;
(*iii*) insurance companies and
(*iv*) co-operative societies.

With the completion of the programmed ware-housing and storing facilities, it would be possible to have a storage capacity of 2 million tons at a cost of Rs. 10 crores by the Central and State Governments during the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Indian farmer stands in need of three types of credit—short-term, medium-term and long-term. To meet this requirement of rural loans our National Government has undertaken reorientation of the existing credit structure.

The first historic measure taken in this direction is the formation of the State Bank of India. This Bank is vested with powers to open 400 branches throughout the length and breadth of the country. Apart from broad-basing the rural credit, the State Bank will provide "vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions" and assist co-operative marketing and processing activities. It will also advance money to small-scale and cottage industries against goods and their title documents. It might also purchase the debentures floated by the Land Mortgage Banks whose number will be increased from nine to eighteen to cover all States, Part 'A' and 'B'.

Another "important development" in the realm of credit re-organisation is the amendment to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. According to this amendment (which was brought on the statute book on December 30, 1953) the Reserve Bank has been empowered to enlarge the scope of credit required for seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops. It is authorized to advance short-term loans to

(*i*) State Co-operative Banks and the State Financial Corporations for financing production and marketing activities of cottage as well as small-scale industries;

(*ii*) The Central Industrial Finance Corporation.

The Reserve Bank can also meet the medium-term credit demands for agricultural purposes.

To enable the Bank to discharge these functions of providing short-, medium- and long-term credit, two "funds" have been instituted by it :

(*i*) National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operation) Fund to which the Reserve Bank will contribute a non-recurring sum of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the recurring sum of Rs. 5 crores per annum. This Fund will make advances and loans to (*a*) State Governments for subscribing to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies; (*b*) State Co-operative Banks for financing medium-term needs of agriculturists; and (*c*) Land Mortgage Banks for making long-term loans.

(*ii*) National Agricultural Credit (Stabilization) Fund which will be credited by the Bank with a recurring amount of Rs. 1 crore every year. This Fund will help stabilize the co-operative credit by advancing loans to State Co-operative Banks. This will help the latter to convert short-term credit into medium-term credit whenever the farmer has to take recourse to it under the pressure of natural or other calamities.

Thus the new approach envisaged by Nehru Government aims at reforming the anachronistic land system, making provision of marketing and warehousing facilities, reorientation of credit, and stabilization of agricultural prices. In fact, it implies a complete reorganisation of agriculture. If this were accomplished, it would be possible to "wipe out every tear from every eye" as was the ambition of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. The living standards of the teeming millions in six lakh and odd villages would rise. The invidious inequalities between the rich and the poor would vanish into thin air. India where poverty reigned supreme for centuries would have a millennium foreseen by sages and seers. Gandhi's ideal of "Ram Raj" will become a reality.

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

An Incongruity

By V. S. YADAVA, M.A.

According to Alfred Weber, whose theory of industrial location is the best and the most acceptable of all the existing theories on the subject, the determinants of the location of an industry are the costs of labour, the costs of transportation and the raw material prices. Carrying the analysis a little further it may be stated that as the differences in the prices of raw materials are mainly due to distances, and can thus be expressed in the costs of transportation, the location of an industry is determined by two factors—labour costs and transport costs. The most suitable place to locate an indusrty is that which has the lowest transport costs in terms of ton-miles. An industry will be located at such a place where the transportation costs will be the minimum both in respect of getting raw material, supply, and making the finished product reach the market. However, this location will be deviated if the cheapness of labour elsewhere gives a comparatively greater economic advantage. Weber divides raw materials into (1) 'Ubiquities' and (2) 'Localised Materials'. The latter are further sub-divided into (*i*) 'Pure Materials' *i.e.*, those materials which contribute more or less their full weight to the finished commodity in whose making these are used (*e.g.*, wool, cotton and jute) and (*ii*) 'Gross Materials' *i.e.*, those that lose much of their weight in the process of manufacturing and contribute only a part of their weight to the final product. The best example of such 'Weight Losing' or 'Gross Materials' is the sugarcane which contributes only a part of its weight in the manufacture of sugar, etc. Iron ore and coal are other examples of 'Weight Losing' materials. 'Ubiquities' are those materials which are available everywhere and on that account, do not exercise any gripping control over industrial location. 'Localised Materials,' on the other hand, are found only in particular regions and, therefore, exercise a predominant influence in the location of an industry. Among the 'Localised Materials,' the 'Gross Materials' exercise a greater control in determining industrial location than 'Pure Materials.' So according to Weber's theory, industries are located in regions of low transport costs and labour costs.

Weber's theory of industrial location is neither a rounded doctrine nor is it very comprehensive. In actual practice industrial location is not conditioned by economic factors (low transport costs and labour costs) alone. Natural, political, social and psychological considerations play a vital role in arriving at the 'locational point.' To exemplify, nobody will locate an industry in a region that serves as a host to the natural calamities like earthquakes, floods and epidemics even if the transport costs and labour costs are the minimum. Similarly, regions of malarial climate, etc., will hardly attract industries. Again, an industrialist will not start an industry in a remote rural area even if it offers economic advantages stated in Weber's theory because of the absence of the elementary amenities of daily life which are easily available in cities and to which city-dwellers have become habituated. The social atmosphere will also be very different. This reason explains why industries come to be located in cities or their vicinity, in preference to rural areas even if it is somewhat disadvantageous from an economic point of view. The absence of banking and other credit facilities—the so-called arteries of commerce and trade—in some regions will scare away industrialists. There is also a strong tendency of concentrating factories at a place where such factories already exist because of certain advantageous conditions such as the momentum of the start derived from the reputation that the particular locality comes to possess for some quality product. Moreover, industries come to be located in the interior of the country even at some economic sacrifice because of strategic considerations. (Interior is safer in cases of bombardment, etc.). 'Safety

first' is the principle with every man and more so with an industrialist who has not only his life but also his large capital at stake. In view of the above facts Alfred Weber's theory needs imbibe some modifications to be more applicable to the real problems.

Extent of industrial Concentration in India

In India, the pace of industrial development has not only been tardy but even the location of industrial units has been defective, uneven, and unbalanced. The industries are concentrated in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. If we add U.P. and Bihar to the list we have marked the whole industrial region in the country. Northern India and majority of Part B and C States are without any industries worth the name. Bengal, Bombay and Madras have about 77 per cent of the total workers employed in large-scale industrial establishments and the figure works out to 90 per cent if U.P. and Bihar are also grouped. The remaining States of India, except the Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, employ 1 per cent or even less of the total workers in large-scale establishments. A study of some of the key and important industries unmistakably reveal the locational trends in the country.

Cotton Textile Industry

The Cotton Textile Industry had its beginning in Calcutta in 1818. The real foundation of the industry was, however, laid in about the middle of the nineteenth century when in 1854 a mill of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company went on production in Bombay. The industry has had to pass through many vicissitudes—the high price of cotton owing to the American Civil War, the imposition of cotton excise, the acute depression that followed in the wake of World War I, boom, the loss of China market, the competition from Lancashire and Paisley—before occupying its present position of unique importance in the country. Today the Cotton Textile Industry is the biggest industry in the East employing daily on average about 4½ lakhs of people and having a capital investment of about Rs. 110 crores. The number of mills in the industry has increased from 47 in 1876 to about 460 today. From its very inception the industry was concentrated in Bombay even though centres like 'Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur and Cawnpore enjoy greater proximity to raw material, nearness to market, closer acquaintance with the locality, cheap labour and cheap land'.[1] The development and expansion of the industry have resulted in its dispersion to other parts of the country and 'the share of Bombay in the number of mills has gone down from 32.9 per cent in 1919 to 18.6 per cent in 1937'[2] yet Bombay continues to retain its status of being the most concentrated centre of the industry. Owing to this concentration the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee and the Department of Chemical Technology of the Bombay University are located in Bombay for carrying out research on cloth fibre.

Thus, "in spite of the growth of industries in other parts of the country such as Madras, Madhya Pradesh, U.P., and Madhya Bharat, the industry still continues to be concentrated in Bombay where more than 60 per cent of the existing spindles and looms are installed. In the future development of the industry care will have to be taken to improve its location."[3]

The industry needs to be diversified so that it may migrate to other parts of the country, particularly the Northern India and Part B States.

Jute Industry

This industry occupies a dominating position in the industrial structure of the country. Dating its origin in the mid-nineties, the jute industry has shown phenomenal growth and its history has been, on the whole, one of uninterrupted progress. This progress is reflected in an increase in the number of jute mills from 21 in 1879 to 1893, to 73 in 1914-1919 and 107 in 1938-39. The total number of jute mills in India today is 112.

"This important textile industry has the distinction of accounting for approximately a quarter of the export trade of the country. The progress of the industry can be gauged from the fact that India has today become the chief jute manufacturer consuming more than 60 per cent of the raw jute of this subcontinent. The total capital invested in the industry is about Rs. 30 crores and the industry employs more than 3 lakhs of workers on the average."[4]

1. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. Singh.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain (1955 Edition).
4. *Hindustan Year Book and Who's Who*, 1955 by S. C. Sarkar, p. 490.

This important industry is the most concentrated industry of the country. It is almost wholly located in West Bengal. 'All but one or two of India's 112 industries are in West Bengal in and around Calcutta on the Hooghly river.'[5] This appears to be slightly an overstatement. A more accurate estimate of the location of this industry is that 'the industry is concentrated mostly in West Bengal where there are 101 out of 112 registered jute mills. The remaining mills are in Madras, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.'[6] Clearly, therefore, the growth of the industry has not changed its locational trend and the industry continues to be centralised in West Bengal.

5. *Ibid.*

Iron and Steel Industry

The iron and steel industry of India is the biggest industry in the whole of Asia and one of the best in the world. Barring a few abortive efforts, the real beginning of the Iron and Steel industry was made in 1907 with the formation of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Sakchi. The Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati (1923) and the Steel Corporation of Bengal (1937) followed suit. Today the three main constituents of the industry in India are the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the Indian Iron and Steel Company (incorporating the Steel Corporation of Bengal) and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The industry received a great fillip during World War II and has made great progress. The increase in the production of pig iron and finished steel from 1.40 million tons and 0.86 million tons in 1948 to 1.65 million tons and 1.02 million tons in 1953' respectively shows that the industry is well maintaining its progress. The industry is located in Bihar and West Bengal. Like the jute industry, the point of location of this industry has also remained unaltered and it is entrenched in the above two States.

Sugar Industry

The sugar industry showed feeble resistance in the face of competition from Java sugar and bounty-fed European sugar. Thus, before the grant of tariff protection in 1931 the sugar industry was having a precarious existence. But after the grant of protection in 1931, the industry made rapid strides and "the number of sugar factories in India increased from 32 in 1931-32 to 159 in 1953-54 . . . The industry is concentrated mostly in U.P. and Bihar but some other parts of the country such as Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad are better suited for the industry as the yield of sugarcane per acre of land is higher there and the cane-crushing season can last longer there. In 1953-54, out of 159 factories 72 were in U.P., 30 in Bihar, 16 in Madras, 15 in Bombay, 4 in West Bengal, 2 in Orissa, 1 in Punjab, 2 in the Chief Commissioner's States and 17 in other States and State Unions."[8] Thus, the location of the sugar mills is highly unsatisfactory and uneconomic and partly contributes to the high costs of production. This unbalanced and lop-sided location has burdened the industry with unnecessary additional costs; thus making it unable to withstand the foreign competition.

"The U.P. and Bihar account for 75 per cent of the sugar factories and 81 per cent of sugar production. In Bombay, consumption of sugar is the highest but production is very low; in Bihar, on the other hand, consumption is very low and production is very large, and in Madras production is small and consumption is very large. This involves unnecessary costly haulage."[9]

This malady of improper and uneven location calls for drastic and immediate solution.

Cement Industry

Though of recent origin—the first cement factory was started in 1904 at Madras—this important Key industry has reached its full stature. Before Partition India had 23 cement factories with an annual installed capacity of 2.7 million tons. The partition of the country resulted in some of the factories falling to the share of Pakistan, and India was left with 18 factories with actual production of 1.5 million tons only. Soon the industry overcame the disaster and today there are about 27 cement factories in India with an installed capacity of over 5 million tons. The location of the industry is, however, defective. The industry is concentrated in the three provinces of Bihar, Madras and C.P. (now Madhya Pradesh). Added to this evil of concentration is the fact that most of the cement factories (Dalmia

6. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Problems in Indian Econon* by P. C. Jain.
9. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. Gurcharan Singh.

group of industries is an exception) are located at a very great distance from the consuming centres. Moreover, the factories are also away from coal fields and "the nearest factory is at a distance of 200 miles, and several factories are at a distance of more than 1,000 miles. No cement works upto 1925 were situated within 350 miles of Calcutta and 250 miles of Bombay and these two ports and their surroundings consumed more than half the cement consumed in the country. Most of the cement works were seriously handicapped by their remoteness from the chief consuming centres."[10]

"Of late, the cement factories have shifted to new locations and the development of the industry has been more balanced. But even in 1955-56 out of a total of 27 cement factories with a rated capacity of 5,006 thousand tons, 6 factories with a rated capacity of 1,160 thousand tons and 5 factories with a rated capacity of 882 thousand tons are located in Bihar and Madras respectively."[11]

The above study of some of the key and basic industries of the country clearly brings out the fact of deep concentration of industries in particular regions. The history of other industries will only confirm this locational trend. Thus, the chemical industry of India—"a key industry par excellence"—is highly concentrated and two-thirds of its employees are found in Bengal and Baroda. Similarly, in the case of cinema industry "the film production is virtually confined to Bombay, West Bengal and Madras." Bombay is the largest producer of films in India and may rightly be termed "India's Hollywood."

The concentration of industries has made the industrial structure of the country lopsided and any industrial development in such circumstances means the increasing concentration of industries in the already industrialised areas and localities. This is clear from the following table :

Percentage of the total number of Industrial Workers in India

Province	1921	1939	1943*	1951
Bengal and Bombay	62.1	59.2	57.6	54.3
Bengal, Bombay, U.P., Madras & Bihar	83.1	85.9	84.4	88.4
Rest of India	16.9	14.1	15.6	11.6

* Figures up to 1943 are for undivided India.

"It is worth noting that although the share of West Bengal and Bombay has decreased from 62.1 per cent in 1921 to 54.3 per cent in 1951, the share of Madras, U.P. and Bihar has increased from 21 per cent of the total number of workers in 1921 to 26.8 per ctnt in 1943 and 34.1 per cent in 1951. The share of the rest of the country in the number of industrial workers has declined from 16.9 per cent in 1921 to 15.6 per cent in 1943 and 11.6 per cent in 1951. This means that the concentration of industry has taken place in Madras, U.P. and Bihar at the cost of Bengal and Bombay and the rest of India."[12]

Disadvantages of Industrial Concentration

The concentration of industry in particular localities leads to manifold economic, social and political evils. Economically, the undue concentration of industrial units in a locality leads to the under-development, if not total neglect, of the vast regions and localities in the country. For example, in India, Northern, North-Western and parts of Southern India have been neglected and industries in these areas are found only as an exception. Contrarily, other parts of the country, like Bengal, Bombay, Bihar, Madras and U.P. are highly industrialised. Such concentration does not lead to the maximum utilization of the country's resources. The industrially undeveloped areas possess natural resources and economic advantages, though not to the extent of the industrialised areas, which remain untapped and unexploited. This results in national loss both in terms of material and human resources. The under-development of vast areas leads to greater unemployment which means not only the loss of existing man-power but also of potential human resources. "Unemployment is a great evil, it is a poison, it pollutes the society and wrecks the political fibre of a country." Secondly, the concentration of industrial units in particular areas unbalances the whole industrial structure of the country and if some natural or economic calamity overtakes an industry only the people of the particular area where the industry is concentrated are ruined. For example, depression in cement industry will hit the people of Bihar more severely than the people of the rest of India. This would be avoided in case of the dispersion of industry to different areas and places. If industries

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

12. *Ibid.*

are decentralised a region will nurture more than one industry and, therefore, depression in any particular industry will not result in a total disaster for the region, for it is not obligatory that depression in one industry will coincide with depression in other industries. So, if a locality has more than one industry the difficulties and distress that come in the wake of depression would be diminished and whatever distress falls to its lot will be shared by other regions also. Thirdly, the concentration of industry in particular areas is not conditioned only by economic considerations as enumerated in Alfred Weber's theory. The caprice and prejudices of the industrialists are a contributory factor in locating industries at a particular place. The history of the industries, as given above, clearly shows that had economic considerations been the sole determinants of industrial location, the cement industry would not have been located far away from the source of power or the sugar industry away from the market. Finally, such concentration of industries creates inequality between the different regions. It creates industrially pampered areas and industrially backward areas. The people inhabiting the latter areas not only suffer from want of means of livelihood but also smart with frustration and injustice at the sight of opulence in a nearby area. Such a cleavage between different regions is inequitous and untenable. It cuts across the Directive Principles of State Policy which *inter alia* lays down that

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."[13]

The undue concentration of industries leads to a crop of social problems, *e.g.*, overcrowding. The population of industrial towns like Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur has doubled and even trebled. Such overcrowding leads to congestion and housing problem. Slums are created and labourers are forced to live in tenements which are a veritable hell on earth. The labourers live in hovels which are "cold in winter, hot in summer and wet in rains." The labour force is mainly recruited from rural areas and therefore the new surroundings, unhygienic and insanitary as they are, are quite alien to them. But diabolical necessity makes them live in such hovels where "they are pushed and not pulled." A number of social evils like drinking and gambling, to which the labourers per necessity become addicts, pester them and the society of which they are a part. Infant mortality and diseases of various kinds prevail in these areas. The State has to provide for a number of facilities, *e.g.*, provision of free hospitals and child and maternity welfare centres. The State has also to incur expenditure on slum clearance and has to pass and enforce labour legislation to mitigate the evils that result from concentration of industries. Such is the heavy social cost that the indiscriminate concentration of industries, which the profit-motive of industrialists creates, involves. Here the individual and social objectives are at variance.

Politically, the concentration of industries in particular states or areas to the neglect of other parts, as we have in India, is indefensible and monstrous specially in a "Welfare State" that the Democratic Sovereign Republic of India is. In a democracy the concentration of industries and the consequent increase in population carries with it the risk of concentration of political power too. All this may result in the creation of vested interests. Besides, industrial concentration is dangerous because of the great risk of total annihilation of industries in an aerial bombardment. So in an emergency industrial concentration in the country will jeopardise national interests and security.

Thus, concentration of industries is indefensible on economic, social or political grounds. It is a great defect in the industrial structure of the country.

Indeed, "our industrial progress has not only been slow, it has also been uneven. It has been competitive rather than complimentary. Our industrialists beat the trodden path; instead of initiating they simply imitate. As soon as any new industrial opening is discovered, there is a frantic rush to fill the gap: a factory is piled upon a factory till the industry has ceased to be remunerative. Not only the same line is taken up but also the industrialists run to the same place to open a factory till the industry becomes highly centralised and unbalanced. Its location becomes unfavourable either from the point of view of markets as in the case of sugar, or from materials as in cotton or from source of power as cement industry. Our industrialists follow the 'safety first' principle.

13. *Constitution of India*, Article 39(C).

History of almost all major industries in India amply bears out this conclusion."[14]

The situation calls for immediate remedy.

The Way Out

"The problem of industrial location is socio-economic in character. The choice of a site for an industry is not only of individual interest but also of great social significance. From the standpoint of the individual entrepreneur, the location of an industry is largely influenced by cost considerations. The point of minimum cost is chosen irrespective of its wider repercussions. But from the social standpoint, location determines the distribution of industrial labour and the division of the socially necessary work among the different areas of the country. An over-concentration in a particular area may result in heavy social costs, such as congestion and infant mortality. In actual practice the individual and social objectives of location rarely coincide and hence the problem has assumed great significance with growing industrialisation."[15]

The State shall have to play an important role in planning the location of industries in the country. A policy of *laissez-faire* in this sphere will spell ruin by allowing further concentration of industries to continue and afflict the industrial health, social welfare and political stability of the nation by evils attendant to such concentration. Happily, the Government of India is conscious of its duty to see "that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment,"[16] and has, by the enactment of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, assumed powers to regulate the location of industry.

In any scheme of physical rebuilding, maximum utilisation of the actual as well as potential physical and human resources and in the establishment of a solid, broad-based and organic industrial structure, the evil of concentration of industry must be removed lock, stock and barrel. For a country of the dimensions of India, the solution lies in regional planning. "Special attention must be given to regional development to reduce disparities in economic opportunities and the level of life between different states."[17] Particular areas in the country which possess the requisite economic resources for industrial development and are mutually exclusive should be demarcated and appropriate industries allocated to them. In India, such regions are easily discernible and should be properly developed. The study of our industries has shown that some industries like Jute and Iron and Steel have not shown any sign of dispersion to any area other than their original places of concentration in spite of rapid growth in the industries and external forces. Such industries are termed as tied or immobile industries. On the other hand, there are certain other industries, *e.g.*, cotton textile, sugar, paper, cement, etc., which, with every expansion and development, have revealed great dispersion resulting in a great decline in importance of the original centres of concentration. The latter industries are termed as mobile industries. So in any scheme of industrial dispersion in India special attention must be given to the mobile industries which show great resilience in migrating to different parts of the country. Recent developments in this direction show that the Government of India is not oblivious of having a co-ordinated pattern of economic development in which concentration of industry does not fit in. The industrialists have also realised that cut-throat competition, as once prevailed in the cement industry, is a losing proposition and have begun improving the location of industrial units. The improvement and expansion in the means of transportation and the availability of hydro-electric power in the interior of the country have further led to industrial decentralisation. Consequently, many industries have migrated from their original centres of concentration. The cotton textile industry has migrated to U.P., Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere resulting in the gradually diminishing importance of Bombay. Likewise, the sugar industry notwithstanding the fact that U.P. and Bihar are still its most important centres, is fairly spread over the country. This is clear from the fact that in 1931-32 out of 32 factories 26 were in U.P. and Bihar but in 1952-53 out of 134 only 93 were in U.P. and Bihar. The cement industry has also dispersed greatly. State enterprises in this industry have facilitated its even location in the various parts of the country.

The above developments are mere pointers towards which progress has to be made and not something to be glorified. The industrial location in the country is very defective and will need time, patience and sustained efforts before it is rectified. But the situation need no longer be neglected, effective measures should be initiated early so that this industrial malady is set right.

14. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. Singh.
15. *Studies in Indian Economic Problems* by Prof. R. Balakrishna.
16. *Constitution of India*, Article 39(d).
17. *Second Five-Year Plan, The Framework* (The Publications Division, Govt. of India).

Recent Trends

By virtue of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, the Government of India has assumed regulatory powers in determining industrial location, etc. "This Act brings under government supervision and regulation all the more important industries of the country, *e.g.*, the 37 industries listed in the first schedule." The list has been enlarged by an amendment of the Act. The Industries (Development and Control) Act 1951, lays down *inter alia* that

"(i) All the existing industrial undertakings in the scheduled industries have to be registered within a prescribed period;

(ii) No new industrial unit can be established or substantial extension to existing plants made without a licence from the Central Government."[18]

This Act has greatly corrected the industrial structure by migrating industries to new places. Many new industries were refused licence by government on locational considerations. The Act also provides for the establishment of Development Councils "for ensuring that private industry confirms more and more to the planned pattern of development," and "to investigate the possibilities of decentralising the stages and processes of production with a view to encouraging the growth of allied small-scale and cottage industries."[19]

But the evil of industrial concentration cannot be removed by a policy of mere licensing. Conditions must be improved in the under-developed regions to attract industries. The provision of electric power, means of transport and communication, availability of cheap land for erection of factories, and banking and credit facilities are some of the prerequisites for industrial location.

"Industries do not go to backward and under-developed areas and to rural locations partly because of prejudice and partly because these places do not offer facilities such as raw materials, electric power and the type of labour required. In order to attract industries to these under-developed areas it is necessary to (*a*) develop these areas so that the industrialists might be attracted to them and (*b*) to give, at least in the initial stages, such facilities as land at concessional rates, lower railway rates, and cash subsidies, wherever necessary. It is only when such a progressive policy is adopted that the location of Indian industries can be effectively improved."[20]

The availability of cheap hydro-electric power as a result of the completion of the various multipurpose projects afford an opportunity for decentralisation. The development of backward and rural areas is gathering momentum after the initiation of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services. The programme of opening about 300 of its branches by the State Bank of India in rural areas will remove the lacuna of the absence of credit facilities in such areas. Much has been achieved, but still great leeway remains to be made. In the "Socialistic pattern of Society" that we have, backward areas will be developed and industries attracted to them. But as we aim at dynamic evolution and not revolution, all these developments will take time. Therefore, it has been rightly remarked:

"Industrial development in India has so far been concentrated in a few select areas. If it is to proceed in a balanced manner, increasing attention will have to be paid to establishing industries in those States and Regions which have so far remained backward. Under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, the Government has powers to regulate location, but large changes in the pattern of industrial location cannot be brought about within a short period. Private industry is reluctant to settle in a new area in preference to an area already partly developed and offering banking and transport facilities and other ancillary services. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the industrial development envisaged in this five-year period is by way of expansion of existing industrial units. The electric power to be derived from the multipurpose projects will, however, open up great possibilities of industrial development in the Punjab, Orissa and Bihar."[21]

18. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 179.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 179-180.
20. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.
21. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 191.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN INDIA

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.com., LL.B.

Introduction

In the early days of capitalism, when there were plenty of opportunities for all to grow rich without coming into serious conflict, the system of private enterprise worked fairly satisfactorily. The good of the individual entrepreneur more or less coincided with the good of society. But as capitalism progressed and scope for expansion got limited the interests of the individual and of the society became divergent. In the process of maximisation of profits the individual entrepreneur adopted policies which instead of leading to the advancement of society, definitely led to its degradation. Profit motive attracted entrepreneurs into those lines of production which, either due to the absence of acute competition, or to the ease of starting them, or to the smallness of capital outlay and quickness of return, yield the highest rate of profits. In India this led to considerable expansion of such industries as cotton textiles, sugar and the neglect of heavy chemicals, electrical and general engineering which require huge capital outlay or returns on which can be expected only after a long time but which are nonetheless vital for the balanced industrial development of the country. The absence of such industries was sharply felt in the early phase of the Second World War when the Allies could not get an adequate supply of war goods from India. Government was, therefore, to step in to supplement private enterprise. In their industrial policy statement made in April, 1948, the Government of India thus declared 'mixed economy' as the main feature of their new policy. It has been in pursuance of that policy that a number of industrial enterprises have been started in the post-independence years.

Industrial Enterprises

A brief account of public enterprises in India is given below.

Sindri Fertiliser Factory (Sindri, Bihar)

Soil is our one and only source of food. Investigations have shown that only 7 per cent of the earth's land surface possesses the ideal combination of temperature, climate and soil for crop production. The maintenance of the manurial balance of the soil by the application of artificial fertilisers is, therefore, necessary to force more production from areas which do not enjoy ideal soil conditions. Hence the supreme importance of a fertiliser* factory.

In 1943, the Foodgrains Policy Committee carried out a review of India's requirements of nitrogenous artificial fertilisers and reached the conclusion that the country's annual needs amounted to between 2 and 3 million tons, *i.e.*, 10 to 15 million tons of ammonium sulphate. Following this review it was decided to establish the large-scale production of artificial fertilisers in India. A Technical Mission on which served representatives of two important U. K. concerns with an expert knowledge of the industry and of the plant required visited India in 1944. The site now occupied by the Sindri factory and the capacity of the plant installed are as recommended by the Technical Mission.

A State-owned private limited liability Company known as Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Limited completed at a cost of Rs. 23 crores, was formed in December 1951. The authorised capital of the company is Rs. 30 crores and all the shares are held by the President of India except one which is held by the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Production, in his personal capacity.

The factory is the first major State-owned enterprise since Independence and Asia's largest and most modern fertiliser-producing plant. At 1,000 tons a day, it has an annual capacity of producing 3,50,000 tons of ammonium sulphate. A target of 3,15,000 tons of ammonium sulphate was fixed for Sindri under the First Plan. Four days before the end of 1955, the factory's annual production reached

* There are two important classes of feltilisers, *viz.*, nitrogenous fertilisers and phosphatic fertilisers. Of nitrogenous fertilisers ammonium sulphate is the most important. In addition to Sindri fertilisers, there are 6 plants producing ammonium sulphate with an installed capacity of 80,000 tons annually. Of these the most importantt is Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore Ltd. Of phosphatic fertilisers, superphosphate is the most important. In addition to Bihar Government Superphosphate Factory, there are now 14 producers of which the largest is Fertilisers & Chemicals, Travancore Ltd. The production of it is limited by the shortage of sulphur.

3,20,262 tons. Sindri has enabled the country to save about Rs. 33 crores in foreign exchange and played a significant role in expanding food production. Sindri's capacity is being expanded by over 60 per cent. This scheme which is now being executed will bring an additional production of 70 tons of urea and 400 tons of ammonium sulphate nitrate per day. Estimated to cost about Rs. 7 crores, the expansion scheme will be completed during the early part of the Second Plan period. Besides the expansion of Sindri two more fertiliser factories and the utilisation of lignite deposits in Madras State for the production of about 70,000 tons of nitrogen per year are envisaged under the Second Five-Year Plan.

The two most important requirements of the fertiliser industry are the supplies of gypsum as the raw material and plenty of water. The factory draws its supplies of gypsum from the Bikaner and Jodhpur deposits in Rajasthan.[1] When in full operation the factory would require about 2,000 tons of gypsum every day. The water requirements of the factory which are estimated to be about 12 million gallons per day are supplied from an artificial lake built by a dam on the Gowai river which is a tributary of the Damodar.

Sindri is fast growing into a nucleus for chemical and other industries. A cement factory installed by A.C.C. Limited to utilise the by-product (chalk), with a capacity of about 300 tons of cement per day has already gone into production.[2]

Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory (Chittaranjan, W. Bengal)

Named in memory of one of India's most revered patriots, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Chittaranjan is the next big industrial enterprise of the Government. Built at a cost of about Rs. 15 crores it helps to bridge the gap—a legacy of long British rule—in the requirements of a country which has a railway route mileage of about 34,000 with approximately 8,000 locomotives in use.

In the First Five-Year Plan the factory was originally planned to build 120 steam locomotives and 50 spare boilers every year on single shift working. But the actual progress is so gratifying that it is recently proposed to step up the production target of Chittaranjan from 120 to 150 per year, and thereafter to 200 average-sized locomotives, in the course of the next four years through the introduction of such measures as judicious multi-shift working, additional equipment and training of staff.[3]

The workshops which cover a total area of about 8,80,000 square feet have been so designed as to facilitate the movement of raw material from the initial processing stages to the final finish, in one direction through the various shops, until it is delivered to the erecting shop ready for the assemblage of locomotives.

Today 90 per cent components of a locomotive are produced in Chittaranjan. Locomotives now cost about 6.5 lakhs. The landed cost of an imported locomotive is about 5.3 lakhs. The cost will gradually come down as the production increases and it has been worked out that by 1956-57, the unit cost will compare favourably with that of the imported ones of the similar types and that is including the overheads of the model township.

Perambur Coach Factory (Perambur, Madras)

After partition while on the one hand our country was left with a badly depleted and deteriorated coaching stock, on the other the passenger traffic had registered an enormous increase over the pre-war level. The Government met this situation by making large-scale imports of passenger coaches from abroad. It also became absolutely manifest that taking into account all available sources of home capacity for the manufacture of coaches, a large separate manufacturing unit similar to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, for meeting our requirements of coaches, was inescapable. Accordingly, in 1948, the Central Government took a decision to establish such a factory in the country. Finally, the work was started with the collaboration of a Swiss firm.

1. The original scheme envisaged the supply of gypsum from the salt range of West Pakistan (in North Punjab). As a large amount of coal was being sent to the Punjab a considerable number of wagons were returning empty to the coal mines. The cost of transport of gypsum supplies to Sindri was, therefore, expected to be low. Due to the partition, however, the salt-range gypsum could not be depended upon. The main difficulty in the present supply of gypsum is the transhipment at Agra where the railway gauge changes to the metre gauge.

2. For every ton of ammoniud sulphate produced, the Sindri limited turns out as by-product nearly a ton of Calcium Carbonate Sludge. For the utilisation of this by-product (chalk) the installation of a cement plant was necessary.

3. The target of priduction in Tata Locomotives and Eng. Co. is 50 locomotives in 1954-55.

The following production targets have been agreed upon between the Government and the firm:

Target	*No. of unfinished coaches*
1st year of production	20
2nd year of production	100
3rd year of production	200
4th year of production	300
5th year of production	350

Of the above numbers, the agreement contemplates a progressive increase in the number of coaches to be turned out by using indigenously made parts excepting for wheels and axles and proprietary items. The target in the first year of production is 20 coaches, rising rapidly to 350 in five years when a coach will come off the assembly belt every 6 working hours.

The most modern type of coach, where the coach body and the under-frame form an integral unit, in all-metal welded construction, thereby reducing the weight by about 7 tons, *i.e.*, about 16 per cent has been selected. The factory takes its name from this integral design.

The factory when in full production will give employment to about 4000 men.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY
(JALAHALLI, BANGALORE)

The machine tool is the mother of mass production; indeed, of modern industry itself. The recommendation to establish a machine tool factory came as early as 1947 when the Disposal Utilisation Committee, which was established in that year to advise the Central Government how best to utilise about Rs. 400 crores worth of surplus war material, gave the highest priority to its establishment. The Government then began exploring its possibilities and finally in collaboration with a Swiss firm the work was started.

Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., is a private limited company registered under the Indian Companies Act. The authorised capital of the company has been fixed at Rs. 12 crores, divided into 1,20,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 1,000 each. The issued and called up capital for the present is Rs. 4 crores. The company will be mainly financed by the Government, the Swiss firm participating in the company to the extent of 10 per cent. A board of directors eight in number of whom 2 have been appointed by the Swiss firm and the rest by the President of India is in charge of the business of the company.

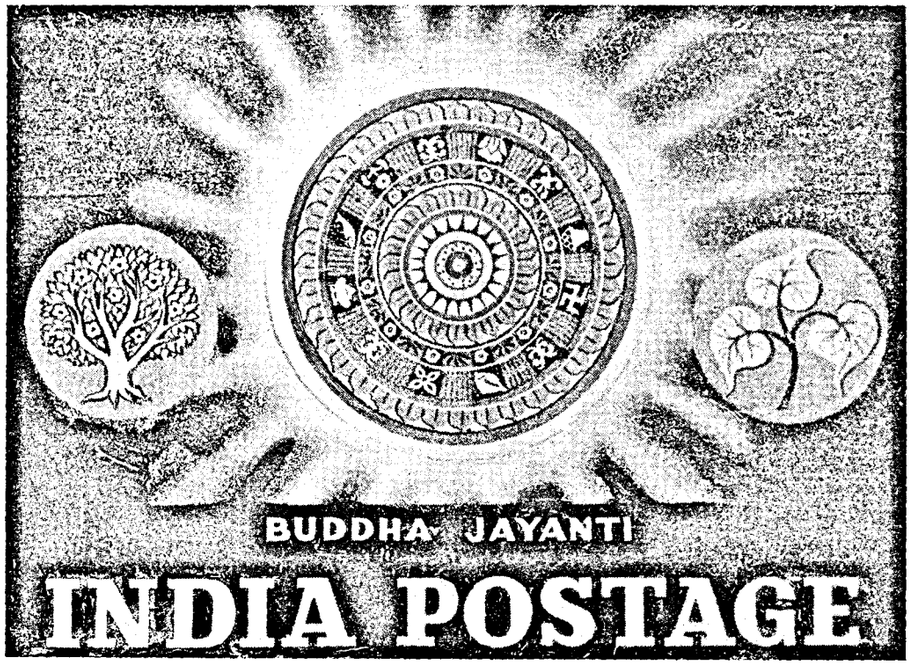
A well-planned and co-ordinated production programme which has taken due notice of the existing capacity of the factories in the private sector has laid down the following annual production target: High speed lathes—900, milling machines—460, and drilling machines—240. This production target is to be achieved in 6 years in gradual stages. During the first stage a production rate of 550 machines per year, comprising 400—8½ ins. centre high speed lathes 90—10½ ins. centre high speed lathes and 60—12½ ins. centre high speed lathes will be reached in 3 years from the date of commencement of balanced production, namely, January 1, 1955. During the second stage this factory will switch over to the production of lathes of larger sizes and other machines like milling and drilling machines.

HINDUSTAN CABLE FACTORY LIMITED
(RUPNARAINPUR, W. BENGAL)

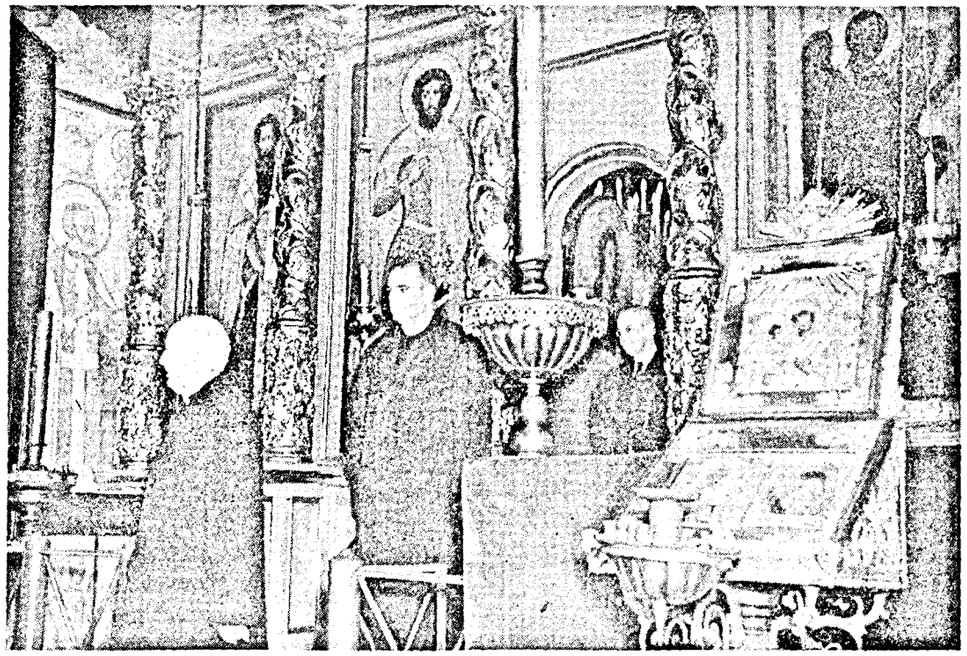
Constructed close to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, with the technical assistance of Telephones and Cables Ltd. of London, the factory went into production in September 1954 and reached its full capacity of 470 miles of cable per annum in the very first year. Production has now been stepped up considerably and during 1955-56 the factory is expected to manufacture 550 miles of cables to be supplied to the Posts and Telegraphs Department. A project to double the armouring capacity of the company, now under way, is expected to be completed at the end of 1956. The factory will then be in a position to manufacture 1,000 miles of cable annually and not only meet the increased demand for telephone cables in the country but supply demand in other Asian countries.

The company, Hindustan Cables Ltd., is completely owned and financed by the Government of India and is run under the overall control of the Ministry of Production.

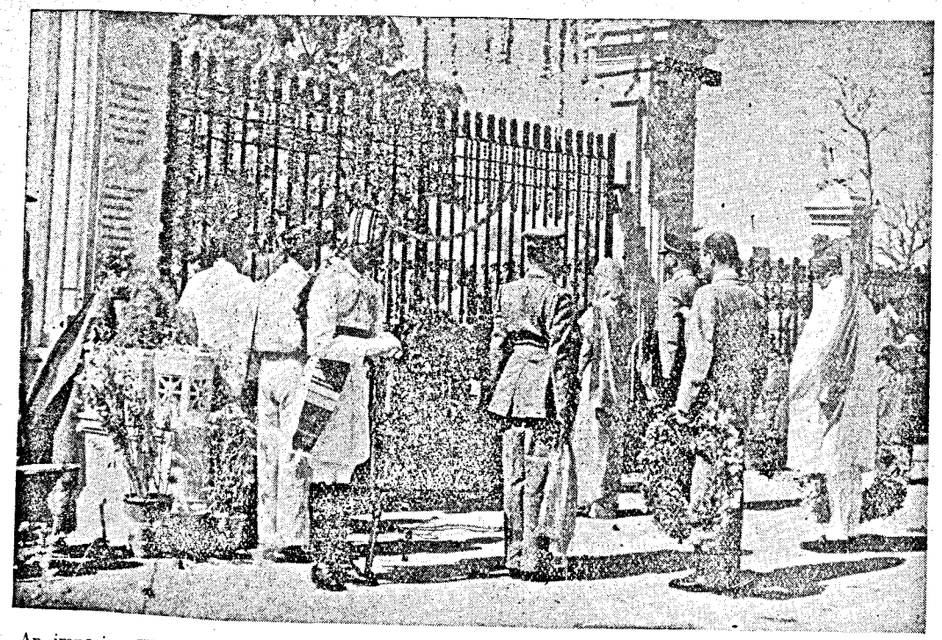
The principal raw materials used for the annual manufacture of 550 miles of cables are copper wire, insulating paper, lead, bitumen, hessian and steel tape and soft wood (Punjab Chir). The copper wire, hessian and the



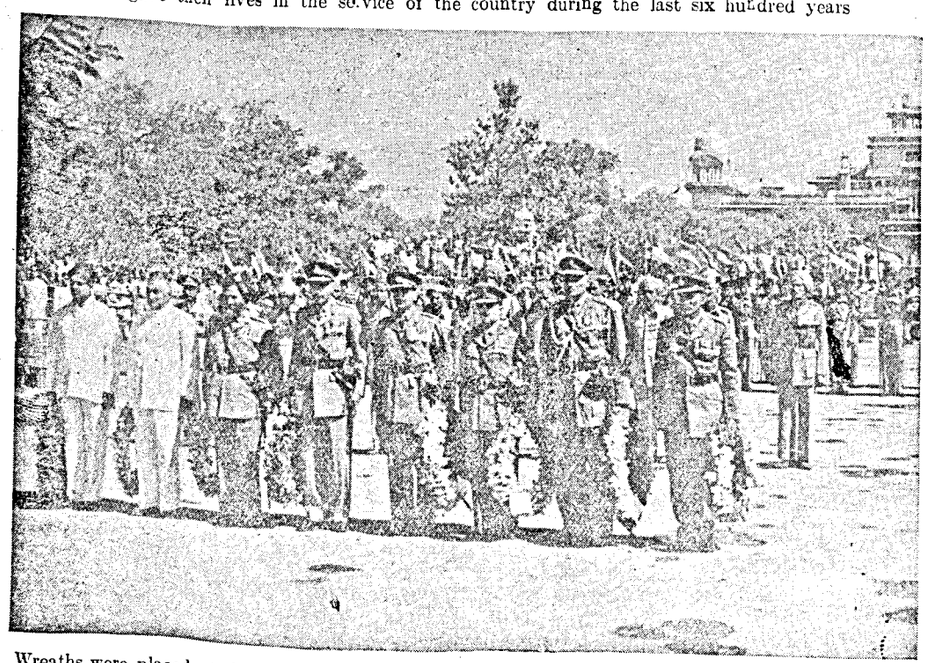
A composite design, incorporating the Round Parasol, a view of the Bodhi Tree and three Pipal tree leaves, by Sri R. D'Silva of Bassein



A delegation of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. visited Moscow. The guests made the rounds of the Kremlin and saw places of interest there



An imposing War Memorial at Jaipur to commemorate the memory of the Rajput warriors who gave their lives in the service of the country during the last six hundred years



Wreaths were placed at the Memorial by H. H. the Rajpramukh of Rajasthan and by (*from left to right*) Sri M. L. Sukhadia, General Rajendrasinghji, etc., on March 31, 1956

seasoned soft timber are obtained mainly from indigenous sources, while steel tape, insulating paper and lead have to be imported from abroad.

Hindustan Antibiotics Limited (Pimpri near Poona)

Established with the assistance of the World Health Organisation and United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, the factory went into production in 1955 and has already exceeded its Five-Year Plan target. Against the target of 4.8 million mega units of penicillin, the factory's present rate of production is of the order of 8 million units per year. The factory is a private limited company with all its shares owned by the Government of India.

Hindustan Insecticides (D.D.T. Factory, Delhi)

Established with the assistance of the same two U.N.O. agencies (the U.N.I.C.E.F. supplying all imported equipment, W.H.O. providing all technical assistance and the Government of India arranging for the provision of land, buildings, steam, water, electricity, etc.), the factory went into production in March 1955. The factory has a capacity of 700 tons of D.D.T. per year which will be utilised for the anti-malaria programme. This capacity is to be doubled during the Second Plan period. The factory is managed by Government through a private limited company with a Board of Directors under the Ministry of Production. Another D.D.T factory with a capacity of 1,400 tons of D.D.T. per year is to be set up at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin State.

Hindustan Ship-Building Yard (Vishakhapatnam)

It is a joint enterprise of the State with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. Originally, it was being run by the Scindias, which could not make a success of it. The Government, therefore, in January 1952, took a majority of its shares and are participating in running it. The yard which finished its first ship in 1948 has 16 ships to its credit now. Excepting the engine and the propeller, practically all components are made in the country today. The ship-yard in spite of its early failures, appears to be going strong with a capacity for launching 5 ships a year and having facilities for constructing even big ships of 25,000 ton size. The shipyard is to be expanded considerably during the Second Plan for which a provision of nearly Rs. 10 crores has been made.

Hindustan Housing Factory Limited (Near Delhi)

The factory has been formed in collaboration with an Indo-Scandinavian firm to utilise the existing Government Housing Factory for the production of certain building materials such as roofing slabs, fencing posts, industrial beams, etc. The factory has four departments, namely, (*i*) Wood Working Department, (*ii*) Prestressed Concrete Department, (*iii*) Light Weight Concrete Department and (*iv*) Steel Construction Department. The factory is a limited company with a paid-up share capital of Rs. 1 lakh of which 50 per cent is owned by the Government and the other half by the Indo-Scandinavian concern.

National Instruments Factory (Jadavpur, W. Bengal)

The factory is rapidly being expanded for the manufacture of instruments for health, education, defence and other purposes. New schemes include manufacture of optical glass and a large range of precision instruments never manufactured before in the country.

Besides these, the Defence Ministry of the Government are also running a few big works, *e.g.*, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. at Bangalore, Prototype Machine Tool Factory at Ambernath.

Under India's Second Five-Year Plan, three steel plants are to be set up, each with a million ton capacity. The one at Rourkela (Orissa) is being built up by the Germans. The second at Bhilai (Madhya Pradesh) by the Russians and the third at Durgapur (W. Bengal) by the British.

Apart from the Government of India, some of the State Governments have also started certain industrial enterprises of their own. The National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited, which is mainly a Madhya Pradesh Government and Government of India's venture, has started producing newsprint of an acceptable quality. The mill has been producing about 400 tons of newsprint per month. The newsprint manufactured by the mill consists of 65 per cent mechanical pulp obtained from Sabai

collected from the nearby forests of Madhya Pradesh. For its chemical pulp it will be using bamboo sulphate. The mill's present production meets about 30 per cent of the country's annual requirements of newsprint and by the end of this year it would be able to meet 45 per cent of the total present requirements of India. Foreign exchange of the value of Rs. 20 million will thus be saved every year.[4] Similarly, Uttar Pradesh Government is running a cemeat factory at Churk.

CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT

Practically in all the democracies (particularly U. K., Norway and Sweden) where public enterprises have grown up, the problem of their management has occupied considerable attention in recent years. The problem has its different facets. There is, for instance, the question of Parliamentary control. There is then the question of audit control or financial accountability for public moneys. Both arise from the same democratic conception. An altogether different problem is one of internal management of State undertakings, the question whether undertakings should be run by civil servants or by business managers having practical knowledge of the execution of the business, and if by business managers, where and how to find them and to train them.

In U.K., with the development of State enterprises there developed an acute controversy on the question of Parliamentary control over these industries. Whereas a section of people alleged that little States had been created with large economic powers with the establishment of these nationalised undertakings, over which there was little parliamentary supervision, there were others who claimed that in the interest of the tax-payer and the efficiency in management Parliament should exercise very little interference in the day-to-day working of these undertakings. Following this controversy, a Select Committee was appointed in 1953 to examine the problem. The Select Committee recommended the setting up of a Standing Committee of Parliament to supervise the working of nationalised industries. But no action on this recommendation is heard to have been taken by the Government so far. Similar questions have been debated in countries like Norway and Sweden.

4. *Hindustan Times*, November 1, 1955.

With regard to public enterprises in India, it will be seen from the above, that in the case of some of them, the State alone has subscribed the whole capital (*e.g.*, the Sindri Fertiliser Factory), in the case of a few others (*e.g.*, Ship-building yard) both the State and the private indigenous capitalists have supplied the funds, then there are a few enterprises (*e.g.*, Machine Tools Factory) in which the Government and the foreign capitalists have provided the capital. In order to impart flexibility and autonomy, the control and management of most of them, with the exception of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Perambur Coach Factory, has been transferred to private limited companies which have been formed for the purpose.

To ensure full accountability for the expenditure out of public revenues, unfettered scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor-General is essential. Nevertheless excessive scrutiny may often lead to timidity and unusual caution on the part of those charged with the management of industrial enterprises and may impair their initiative so very essential for the successful execution of a business. Some change, therefore, in the present audit procedure is required.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE OF THE LOK SABHA

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, in its 16th Report, has made a number of sensible observations on the organisation of nationalised undertakings. Its principal recommendations are:

1. *Abolition of the Board of Directors*: While approving the joint stock company form of organisation for State undertakings, the Committee has candidly stated that the boards of directors, who are all nominated by the Government, perform no useful function whatsoever. The Committee suggests that these boards should be abolished. In the case of small undertakings, a managing director, it is stated, should be enough. Where large enterprises are concerned, it is proposed that there could be a board of managing directors, about 3 or 4 in number, including the chairman, depending on the size of the undertaking. Incumbents to these posts should be chosen on the basis of their experience in financial matters and in the technical side of things. The Chairman and the members of such boards should work collectively and on a functional basis. This scheme to remove 'sleeping directorates' in the public sector is really praiseworthy, more so when the Government has enthusiastically pursued the reform of company management in the private sector. But it is feared that the adequate number of men meeting the specifications laid down by the Committee to man these reformed boards will be difficult to find.

2. *Constitution of an advisory body for the purpose of advising the managing director on various matters from time to time*: The advisory body should not have powers to decide matters of policy or to give orders to execute any of its directions. This body should be composed of representatives of business, labour, consumers and Parliament or local legislatures.

3. *"Direct relationship" between the Minister concerned and a State undertaking*: It is against encouraging the procedure whereby a State joint-stock company was treated as a department subject to the control of the Secretariat of the Minister.

4. *Regrouping of State undertakings, to be in charge of "more than one Minister"*: As the field of State activities expands and a large number of national undertakings come into being, it would be necessary to appoint more than one minister to be in charge of the national undertakings, which shall have to be grouped in due course according to broad classification of the commodities and products and other relevant considerations.

5. *A portion of share capital thrown open to the public*: The Committee recommends that at least 25 per cent of the share capital of joint stock companies running State undertakings should be available for subscription by the public. In so doing the Government should fix a ceiling on individual holdings of shares as also on any dividends that might be declared by such undertakings. This again is excellent advice, for the standards of management will then become amenable to the austere judgement of the market place and individual or group monopolies will be avoided.

6. *Setting up an Indian Commercial and Industrial Service*, for recruiting men experienced in business, commerce, industry and trade, for the management of State undertakings.

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AGRICULTURE IN THE RIGVEDA

BY PROF. J. R. KAKDE, M.A.

THE story of agriculture is in fact the story of human civilization. The prehistoric invention of grain agriculture was one of the most important events in human history. Today we enjoy far more abundant crops from our superior varieties grown than did our Neolithic ancestors, to which period the origin of the rudiments of agriculture in Primitive Agriculture, as the Natural Husbandry Stage, is generally ascribed. The degree of this agricultural standard, however, varies from country to country under the varying impact of the nature of the prevailing civilisation contact. We find this wide gap between the Agriculture in India and the Western European countries, as well as in different parts of the various states of India. However, this present status has been the result of the gradual evolution in this sphere. It is a *fait accompli* that those who have reached a wide differentiating higher standard in any sphere show later on a comparatively slower rate of further progress if not properly disciplined or regulated, while others taking advantage from them jump with leaps and bounds in competitive nature to come up to the level. India suffered the same fate in olden days when she was at the zenith of her civilization, acclaimed to be of a very high order in many spheres.

The main industry of the ancient Aryans was agriculture and there are frequent allusions to it in the Rig-Veda, the oldest Sanskrit text of India. Many Sanskrit scholars, Western and Oriental, tried in their own way to translate the hymns of the Rig-Veda and interpret the knowledge hidden therein. Even our ancient commentators, Sayana and Yaska, do not agree on the nature of interpretations of these most ancient compositions. In Rig-Veda itself (I.164.39) it is clearly mentioned that the understanding of the Vedic hymns is not a simple affair. The basic background of the interpreter makes all this difference.

Therefore, it is not expected that the Rig-Vedic interpretations by different persons will tally and the whole controversy of the antiquity of this great text and the type of the knowledge therein will end so soon.

There is a general slogan of the Western scholars that the story of the evolution of wheat is the story of the evolution of the human civilization. It is absolutely true of the Western World, but it does not at all apply either to India or to Oriental countries in general. The food crops often mentioned and prayed for are barley (Yava), generally translated as cereals, and rice (Dhanya, Dhana). It can be safely said from the present status and also from the post-Vedic and Epic literatures that the story of human civilization in India is the story of rice evolution, and if very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda is proved this will apply to the whole world at least till the beginning of the 18th century when the rise of the Western civilization started with the beginning of the industrial revolution in American and West European countries. The most common crop often mentioned in the Rig-Veda is barley, so much so that it got a place in Hindu rituals since then. It seems that barley cultivation marks the beginning of cultivation in the then Rig-Vedic cold (low temperate) climate (as supported by geological evidences) since rice could not get the same place of pride in Rig-Vedic social life of the Aryan community. Wheat (Godhum) is not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, which has been introduced later on during the Yajur-Veda period. Hence wheat has not followed the Aryan civilization as is the case with the western civilization. This fact has been completely overlooked by western authorities on Agriculture, while writing the history of Agricultural evolution. No mention of the Indian evolution in the agricultural field is found in books on "History of Agriculture." The attempts by the Oriental scholars show that direct references to agriculture are solely considered to reveal the general nature of the then agricultural conditions. Like different kinds of knowledge, it seems the 10th Mandala describes briefly that the history of agriculture gradually evolved and advanced from the time of the composition of the first or previous hymns or earlier to that, besides the state of knowledge advanced upto its own period.

The history of agriculture in Rig-Vedic India refers to N. W. India—the Sapta-Sindhu (Punjab) region with the adjoining areas of Afghanistan and Kashmir mostly and Peninsular and eastern India regions beyond the intervening seas (occupying the present Gangetic valley and mostly of Rajputana and Sindh regions) were not much known than. It is admitted that some of the hymns are very ancient, that different hymns were composed during different periods, thus giving reference to some previous times. In other words, from the Rig-Veda it is considered that some of the hymns addressed to certain deities had come down through ages to the Aryan descendants and recomposed in better language. There are some references to certain previous deeds by some Rishis or Great persons. From this it is concluded that the work of Rig-Veda is a gradual composition of many (thousands of) years of human progress much before the generally considered period, giving a very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda and its culture. Secondly, the references to various other tribes (which may or may not be of the different original stock as is yet questioned) with varying nature of cultural development and opposed to the orthodox way of thinking and living (such people not classed as Arya-X.49.3, even though some of them call themselves Aryas) help to gain the knowledge of agricultural evolution. As per one trend of thought these are the Aryan tribes under different stages of development which probability is very clearly explained in 8 and 9 hymns of 117th Sukta of 10th Mandala. Even the Indus valley civilization, an outcome of Mohenjodaro Harappa-Roopad excavation, has been advocated vehemently, after 1950 particularly, as the one already finding its history in the Rig-Veda and allied to the Aryan type, on the basis of certain interpretations and similar findings in Hawaii Islands. Even if these still remain as controversial points, the Indra worship in the Rig-Veda gives a sufficient clue to the history of the Aryan Civilization and thereby the history of agricultural evolution. Broadly the Rig-Veda gives the picture of the Aryan development through Eolithic, Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Metal ages.

The whole Aryan Sapta-Sindhu society was 'not' peaceful to live in. The people were at different stages of development as it is found even today. The development of Indra cult by those who do help and protect agriculture (and hence all these people are called Arya) (and the reference to Indra's Vajra as made of stone, bone and iron or bronze) gives the different stages of agricultural history. Though primarily connected with atmospheric principles, Indra is finally considered as the supreme god doing the functions of other deities mentioned separately. As Indra and his Vajra went on from strength to strength at every modification of Vajra's material, so also there was the development in the Aryan culture from the early age to the metal age in different spheres. Indra with golden handled Vajra is described as famous from ancient times (X. 23), and Indra's greatness grows more and more due to his deeds (X.24.1), he is praised for the same (with iron vajra) in X. 84.3 with all eternal principles resting in him, and the earth and the sky as parts of his own body (X.54.3) and balancing them too (X.55.1). In such narrations the stagewise history of the development of various things can be searched, specially from the later neolithic stage of development or, agriculturally, the advanced primitive agricultural stage. Indra himself is the deity of later origin (a divine son of the former divine deities—Dyava and Prithvi). His Vajra, initially, was made of stone (II. 14. 6), of horse bone (I. 84. 13), of the leg end of Dadhichi, and then of iron (as in 1st and 8th Mandalas). This three-stage division can be further had from other references (III. 32. 13; IV. 21. 5). The Indra cult is predominantly connected with the manifestations of the God of Rain, its related events dominating the whole Rig Vedic agriculture (as is the case even today in India) as a gamble on the rains.

Primitive Agriculture : Agricultural authorities begin this history when human being first started making use of fruits, tubers and roots in their daily diet, out of forced necessity and fortunate coincidences. This is naturally expected with the appearance of true man. This stage of evolution is considered to be at the end of the *Palaeolithic Age*. Even though Hindu philosophy says that like other creatures man was as such created by the creator, the form and general features from the first appearance of man have undergone many varied transformations since then as we know now (as well as per Hindu thought) that every being in this universe is under the process of evolution (V. 19. 1). When this is the case it can be concluded that the beginning of agriculture starts with the end of the palaeolithic period, and the actual history of agriculture worth mentioning begins with the start of the *Mesolithic Age*. The *Neolithic Age* marks the full development of the primitive agriculture in its two stages —Natural Husbandry and the Naked fallow system, the first in its early stage, after passing through Mesolithic Age, and the latter in the later stage by the end of which the climax of primitive agriculture is expected to have been reached. The Rig-Veda gives the picture of these two stages of agriculture as expected during the Neolithic Age. However, the agricultural development does not strictly follow the divisions of cultural developments. The later part of the Naked fallow system can be said to mark the beginning of the Metal Age, *i.e.*, when the primitive agriculture was approaching its climax the use of metal for different implements and other purposes had already begun in some form or the other. The accounts of various explorers of unapproached regions of the world for the last two centuries reveal this difference and the nature of the agriculture followed at various primitive stages. The primitive agriculture of the Aryans was cattle-dominating; it is proved from their domestication to their use as a unit of exchange for other things in the barter system of trade in the absence of metals.

(A) *Natural Husbandry* : This marks the beginning of the end of the Palaeolithic Age, extending through Mesolithic to early Neolithic Age. The agricultural implements were made of stones, to start with in the natural helpful forms, bones, and then the man-made stone implements were fashioned after the types of useful bones and hard wood, all tapering to a point and straight in the beginning but later on curved and of various shapes, with which the first primitive cultivator started digging and then turning the sod soils of river banks. Indra's Vajra of stone and later on of horse-bone (from a divine horse) gives the same idea of the type of evolution. These very references also indicate that this is a pre-Rig-Vedic happening. The change-over from the hunting stage cannot be expected to that of sudden cultivation but to mere collection of naturally grown fruits and then grains. However, the domestication of animals must form the first step since they supplied easy meat whenever need be, besides the milk. Hence domestication of animals can be said to be the first step towards community living and settled life and then grain production to be an advance over the hunting stage by the end of the Palaeolithic Age. From here the idea of property possession, its protection and thereby need of community life for safety, arose. From the need of feeding these animals with the naturally available fodder man found it compelling to move from place to place in search of new areas for the purpose after short periods. This gives the rise of nomadic or moving life of the early agriculturist.

Owing to the usefulness of certain grains or fruits in human diet man found it more beneficial to try to produce them himself, make more use of the milk and preserve the animal more for meat purposes, only for occasional use, and absolutely for emergency (still hunting partly the wild animals for the purpose). This need created (a) selection of animal stocks into groups for milk and for meat predominantly, and (b) clearing up of some land occupied by other unwanted vegetation so that his selected vegetation for his grains could be grown and harvested. This sort of selective agriculture thus arose out of necessity probably through Mesolithic Age with the start of the Neolithic Age when partly settled life found its firm root. It also made man think more about certain animal classes from his stocks, and thus begins the thought of the piece of land for growing his crops. From the experience gained about the capacity of his land to produce the necessary quantity of grains for any particular period and his early affiliation with same sort of religious thought, the land worship before clearing and using it for the purpose might have started. This practice (IV. 57) is still observed in the nomadic tribes of India as well as even among the well-settled people in villages. Thus the origin of land worship, before starting agricultural operations, can be visualised among the Hindus. This new land opening from the forest stage is known by different names in different states, *e.g.*, it is called *Bewar* by the Gond tribes of South Madhya Pradesh. The further modification arising out of need is the way to dispose of the cleared or felled vegetation from the land, and fire was helpful for quick result *i.e.* burning all vegetation on the land to be used for growing crops and then sowing the grains. This is called by some tribe in India as *Dhahia* and *Rabing*. Even then man had to shift from place to place after some years since by continuous cropping the land became much less

productive. Thus, this is the beginning of the first type of farming or cultivation, called now as *Skip* or *Shifting agriculture*, the feature of natural husbandry stage in Agriculture.

The start of the use of any manure and proper system of sowing other than broadcasting cannot be expected at the end of this stage. It is just possible the land-tillage started, during this stage with the help of a strong wooden piece or stone piece as the land digging with hand by individuals, and later on dragging for convenience by man himself. It is in this sense the first literary meaning of the word 'agriculture,' or *krisi* finds its origin. The picture of nomadic pastoral agriculture can be traced in the hymns of I. 42 and 53-58 mainly and in other scattered references.

The prayers for gift of cattle indicate the trend of mind of this early primitive stage. The use of tree bark and animal skin (hides) for clothing is a further evidence of such a stage. These clothings are even now considered fit for those denouncing this wordly civilised life and going back to the primitive way of living with naturally growing fruits, tubers, roots, etc., as articles of food. The hymns (IV. 57 to 3) dedicated to the supposed Lord of Field (and not Indra) are a pointer to this stage whose advanced nature is revealed from the hymns (I. 42. 1-10) by the dominance of pastoral agriculture of the nomadic advanced cultivators. The *Pusan* deity is invoked to lead them to good green pastures in their advent to new regions without any troubles from the people committing outrages by intercepting their journeys. Forest clearance by trees and later on burning (mentioned as shaving of the earth) to gain new agricultural lands is mentioned in X. 142. 4. The indirect evidence of land burning due to heat of the summer is in I. 164. 44 wherein the importance of different seasons in agriculture is explained. These give the picture of early nomadic Aryan agriculturists. The whole Sukta (X. 142) indicates that the land (grass or forest) after burning of the vegetation becomes fertile—fit for the better growth of the desired vegetation. The people used to live in forest areas with huts and their cattle freely grazing and with ample wholesome delicious forest fruits naturally grown and sufficient for a long period without taking troubles to cultivate as the necessity exists in regular settled life (x. 146.). This is the picture of nomadic agriculturists. Because of this natural gift from forests a forest-deity (Vanadevi) came to be worshipped during this stage for maintenance and safety of the man and his domesticated animals. The land after vegetation burning became fertile for the production of other plants (X. 142) and from this the act of fertilizing soil with ash might also have been picked up by man at that time as an advancement in the stage of manuring.

Brihati is said to have ploughed the land by yoking wolves, for the benefit of his devotee named Manu (VIII. 22.6) in ancient times. This gives the nature of a crude type of ploughing which began under a comparatively wild state of living, *i.e. nomadic stage* when man had begun to learn the art of agriculture; and that this condition existed in very old times as the prehistoric Manu is mythologically considered to have made the beginning of human race and culture on this earth. Manu was taught the art of sowing (I. 112. 16), the Aryans the art of ploughing (I. 117. 21) by Asvins who also give rains. These are different from the allusions attached to Indra and other plough references (IV. 57; X 101. 3 and 4) which speak of furrow drawing, drawn by bullock pairs, and not horses, producing a picture of almost the present day local Indian plough. This improved edition of plough and the art of line sowing against broadcast-sowing can be expected as the climax of the later primitive stage gradually developed.

(B) *Naked-Fallow System*: The very name 'Arya' means 'cultivator' (a regular settled cultivator and not the nomadic cultivator) being derived from a root meaning 'to cultivate.' The reference to 'Indra's Vajra' as made of horse-bone marked the beginning of this stage which is considered to start with the improvement of the practices in the previous stage leading to help the settled life. The reference of Asvins (I. 11. 7. 21) for teaching the art of ploughing and sowing in contrast to Indra in similar and other respects indicates that Asvins were the deities of Agriculture prior to the development of Indra Cult. And since, the development of the importance of drought and rains and their relation with agricultural produce marks the need only of the settled agricultural life and that this importance is given to Indra as evidence from many Rig-Vedic hymns, the Asvins-cult begins with the beginning of this stage when the cultivator is changing from nomadic life to settled agriculture with the preliminary knowledge of ploughing and sowing. The Indra cult is the final or climax period of this stage when the cultivator became a completely settled regular agriculturist with advanced knowledge of ploughing and sowing. There is a definite need of ploughing the land to produce food in such a case as opposed to naturally available food in forest for a pretty long period—a picture clearly depicted in X. 146. It is in this final period of the stage that the people called 'Arya' came to be distinguished from the unsettled agriculturists still in the nomadic stage and becoming a *regular nuisance* to the settled agriculturists. As such they might have been named differently. The emphasis on deity shifted from Pusan of Nomads to Asvins of early settling, and further to Indra in settled agriculture by the end of this stage. The fallowing of land during this stage, may-be at any interval, can surely be developed as the result of their experience gained in shifting agriculture during the previous stage, since land's productivity

is reduced by constant cropping without any other considerations after some years.

It is in this settled stage that the beginning of rapid strides in the advancement of agricultural methods can be expected. It is here that further increased values of domesticated animals, cows and bullocks, can be visualised as a grave necessity because of their indispensability for dung manure, milk and draught for agricultural implements. A development of cart and other useful agricultural tools and implements was rapidly taking place for the ease and security of agricultural mode of life, and cowherds were becoming more and more important. And it is in this latter stage of primitive agriculture cow-cult and later on Indra-cult (by end of this stage) probably took their birth. Some of the Rig-Vedic hymns show the greed of the Aryans for cattle possession, even by indulging in praise (VI. 53. 4, VI. 56. 5) with prayers offered to Pusan for success. This clearly indicates that those Aryans were in the later primitive agricultuarl stage (not towards its end) when animals were still considered a great property and the Aryans had not yet become fully peaceful and settled people. As well, other prayers are for the gift of cattle. The prayers for the possession of good grasslands with common grazing and common cattle pens or open sheds give the same dominating idea of the advancing primitive agriculture with much greater safety involving less endeavour on the part of man. The barter system of trading with cow as a unit of exchange shows that the Aryans had not then crossed the neolithic age and hence the early agricultural periods. Kine were exchanged for some plant, food-grains, garments, and even brides. Therefore, the possession of cattle denoted wealth, an idea which still persisted in the traditional agricultural stages even till today among the Hindus. Therefore, it is natural that pastoral nature of agriculture, with stock-raising as the main type of farming was the dominant feature of Rig-Vedic agriculture in general and for good pasture lands the need of rainfall (sufficient and at necessary intervals) gave importance to the deity (here, Indra) supposed to have control on rainfall and its distribution. Also, it is by the end of this stage that idea of pronouncing cow as well as cattle in general as "aghnya" arose for the first time due to their varied usefulness, which is found more rigorously advocated during the next stage even though killing them for sacrifice, etc., was not totally stopped by the Aryans (VI. 28, X. 169, X. 19.).

As H. G. Wells says in his *Outline of World History* (p. 77):

> "(Neolithic) men were becoming aware that personally they needed protection and direction, cleaning from impurity, power beyond their own strength. Confused by and in response to that demand, bold, wise, shrewd and cunning men were arising to become magicians, priests, chiefs and Kings."

So the idea of secure community life and invoking of some divine power or powers originated in general, and naturally of agriculture too, as man advanced towards a more settled life and required peace in his life. The various sky principles became the deities for the protection of these settled agriculturists, and thus with the supreme importance of Indra, the rain-god and other related meteorological principles started in their culture and life.

The hymns dedicated to the supposed Lord of the Field (IV. 57. 1 to 3) indicate the advanced stage of primitive agriculture when settled life had become the order of the day, with the thought of the cultivator diverted towards certain principles of crop husbandry. The other hymns in the same Sukta show that Indra cult had started with some definite advanced nature of agricultural practices marking the climax of this stage and fusing into the start of the traditional agriculture. The whole importance centres round the plough affair and cattle-rearing, the deities being broadly invoked to bestow happiness. The same trend is observed in the hymns of x. 101. And by then the horse still finds place in the agricultural work of carting harvested produce (x. 101. 7), a custom finding no place in the later Indian traditional agriculture. The hymns (x. 19. 4, 5, 8), which mention of common cowherd and the nature of tending the cattle for grazing, show that people had then started settling or had just started settled agricultural life with cattle as their mainstay. All these various hymns indicate the danger to the cattle of the cultivators, the greatest importance attached to the cattle and the beginning of agriculture on a sort of co-operative basis.

The sowing method can be expected to be broadcasting to start with, persisting in this stage in earlier periods, and with mixed cropping as originating under natural conditions. It is only the need of varied produce and higher produce for maintenance which can divert the settled cultivator to select the components of his crop-mixture for the best results and also to think of pure crop sowing as a better way of sowing and to discard or remove the unwanted plants (weeds) —all of which seem to gain their origin during this stage and the cultural practices following nature reaching their climax under the prevailing forced agricultural conditions. It is only in their attempt for survival that this settled man might have thought of tapping and thinking of probable, varied and many natural causes or principles limiting the results of his sweat. The legend of failure of Indra in completely defeating the Aryans' enemies with his Vajra made of horse bone, or on its pattern, is indicating this thought under development for fuller grasp of the various aspects of rainfall. The other sky deities are considered separately as Indra's great friends in supporting him in his attempts to give prosperous agriculture to his agricultural devotees. The importance of food derived from land, given in I/187, clearly indicates that they were producing varied, many and quality (for nutrition)

foodgrains. The initial attempt under these early cricumstances can be of producing these many articles on ones own land with varying acreage as per needs as well as producing them as mixed sown crops as best as they can, since early sowing connot be expected as pure crop sowing as the man was learning, to start with, from the natural existing conditions. The cult of considering bullocks, like cows, as unslaughterable and even if done so considering the act as telling on one's power or energy (X. 28. 11) can only be developed in this initial settled agricultural stage when domesticated animals were found indispensable for agricultural operations. Sun-god is intimately connected with agriculture with whose help one can possess cows and family happiness and not by gambling (X. 34. 13). The necessity of rain for good growth of food crops (X. 43. 7) might have been fairly understood during this stage, and further grave experiences of total dependence on this necessity might have created the thought of supplementing or making up the deficiency by artificial watering which thought gets its practical application in the next stage whtn better methods of cropping for higher food production find their natural start.

Sukta 102 of 10th Mandala gives a picture of the settling or just settled society, which is still not peaceful to live in. The enemies are some Aryan tribes as well as non-Aryans. The importance is on bulls which were a symbol of strength, there are constant conflicts for the possession of land and cows. All these things mentioned in this sukta are of this earlier stage. Use of bullock-carts had started. Even the furrow created by the plough is prayed for good yields (IV. 57. 6) Along with Pusan deity of the early cultivators Indra also is being considered another deity connected with agriculture as will be clear from the following translation :

> "May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pusan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn (food crops in general) year after year." (IV. 57. 7).

The last part refers to the maintenance of soil fertility for crop production for years to come, and by that the permanent nature of settled agriculture. Gradually Indra gained predominance because of the most intimate relation of water with settled agriculture and Pusan as the supposed Lord of the Field, and Vanadevi, Koddes of the Forest, were left mostly for those who still practised natural husbandry and lived in jungle areas, only as remanant for others. Thereafter the struggle for acquiring new grassland area, for cattle as well as good arable land, started in which Indra and Agni (or Agni's any other form) deities came into utmost prominence. The discussion (X. 109) between Sarama, a female agent of the cultivators, and Pani, a less religious and boasting people of other tribe, refers to this type of struggle for the fertile grasslands in the plateau regions.

Traditional Agriculture : During this period the Vedic myths seem to have taken deep roots and spread rapidly as the necessity for peaceful life grew stronger. It is during this stage, the Rig-Vedic agricultural village was completely self-sufficient, supplied with all normal wants of the inhabitants. Most of the agricultural references depict the picture of this traditional agriculture, gradually evolved and finally attaining a high standard. The same led to various speculations freely discovering new ways and techniques giving rise to various branches of arts and sciences, and interpretation of correlation for harmony was sought to be established between cause and effect to enable them to reveal the various manifestations of natural events and principles. This gave the beginning of shaking off the absolute dependence on nature alone. The various hymns in IV. 57 indicate the general standard of agriculture towards the end of the primitive agriculture as well as giving the beginning of the traditional agriculture with certain definite agricultural practices, The Indra God is the strongest. So also do the hymns in X. 101. In both these suktas the importance of the praise of different deities for different aspects in the natural way, not beyond broad preliminary operations, for final harvests is still a dominating feature. But even then the idea of the natural principles involved in agriculture seems to have definitely started, this is also clear from the same hymns. The use of leather bucket (moat) for water lifting marks the beginning (X. 101). The crude Persian wheel (X. 93. 13) marks the intermediate period of this advancement, and the canal irrigation (X. 99. 4) marks the great advancement of this stage. The principles of weeding and drilling (line sowing) were now well understood. Gradually the emphasis has been shifted from only the pastoral type to the arable type, and finally it became a good example of the mixed farming. The idea of individual ownership developed as against the corporate agricultural life in the previous stages, so also the idea of the proper valuation of goods (IV. 24. 9) with certain types of currency, finally coming to the actual gold pieces (V. 27. 2, etc). Even then the co-operation in agricultural aspects was still a dominating feature in some from or the other on the basis of a village common, specially cattle grazing, as found today also in the case of villages in and round about the forest areas. Indra's Vajra is made of iron, all the eternal natural principles rest in him and because of his previous and future meritorious deeds he becomes the leader of the Aryans (X. 48. 3).

(A) *Legume Rotation Stage* : The nature of relation of heat (summer and winter season) with rainfall giving clouds, explained figuratively as those of cows and cowherds and requesting Indra to turn these cows (rain clouds) for man's happiness (X. 19) indicates the beginning of early meteorological knowledge and with it the beginning of this agricultural stage. The Aryans had by then fully settled, thinking of the prosperity of this life but still with the strings of primitive agriculture in livestock dominance in their

agricultural pursuits. The principles of crop production were being visualised (I. 121. 15) for the first time as connected with Indra and agricultural land was now being considered as Mother and human beings as her children entitled to enjoy her milk (produce from the land) as a result of for *upasana*—cultivation. These considerations can start only when the balance of agriculture is being gradually shifted from stock-farming alone to arable farming as well. The 101 Sukta of the 10th Mandala speaks about shallow water-table well from which water is lifted by moat (leather bucket) for horses of warriors meant for cow protection. This importance to cows during the period, when iron was in use along with water-lifting appliances, can be said to be only of this early traditional stage when cattle maintenance was still a dominating feature. The same watering arrangement is asked for bullocks employed in ploughing the land in which later on seeds are sown, etc. But no clear indication is given of this water lifting for any irrigation at all. The picture of advanced people in other aspects but still maintaining their high attachment to cattle wealth, fear of non-religious people and other things mentioned can be considered to indicate this early stage of traditional agriculture (VIII. 5).

It cannot be asserted that a rotation of crops is mentioned in the Rig-Veda. The reference to Indra and Pusan together to help in ploughing and growing corn in such ploughed lands year after year (IV. 57. 7) shows that—by the fag end of the later primitive stage continuous cropping was still a practice without regard to crop rotation. Various cereals grown include pulses (legume crops) as fruits and vegetable were also grown for food. The weeding and line-sowing of crops (X. 131. 2) are practices which have their origin in the early traditional stage and are gradually, undergoing the process of perfection. "The cultivator harvesting the sown barley (crops in general) separately and in due order."—This has been interpreted variously by different translators—broadly, giving the idea (1) of crop sequence or rotation, and (2) line sowing and avoiding weeds during harvest. Sowing in furrows prepared by a plough (plough as drill) is referred to in IV. 57. taking these two references together it is concluded that (1) orderly harvesting is due to line sowing, and (2) separately harvesting the sown crop is for avoiding the weed mixture growing in the field (and thereby giving the importance of weeding in field crops)]. The perfect understanding of their importance reaches a climax at this stage and is the beginning of the later following stage. Similar to the practice of naked-fallow rotation of fields in the later primitive agriculture, resulting out of necessity in settled life, and the experience gained in the nomadic stage, the rotation of legume and non-legume crops is the resultant of mixed cropping, the climax of the second stage, through the experience gained leading to the beginning of the traditional agriculture during which period most of the principles of agronomy found their start and in the process developing to a sufficiently high degree of perfection.

(B) *Field-Grass Husbandry* : The whole philosophy of Aditi (the eternal and inviolable principle), along with several deities as sons of Aditi having a solar character, seems to mark the development of this stage when man has progressed sufficiently to a settled peaceful life. The earlier gods of the sky (prominently, Dyau, Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Maruta) find their relations better understood and are in a wider compass linked up with the Aditi principle; they lose their previous independent importance vastly developing the ideas of astronomy, meteorology and geology (origin of universe). *Purusa Sukta* (X. 90) explaining the evolution gives the relation of various arts and sciences in human welfare. We find in their explanations the relations with agricultural enterprises have clearly developed but the actual improvement in the crop husbandry proper seems to have progressed a lesser degree. The thought of land improvement for better produce is much advanced (VI. 47. 21-28) but the same for crop improvement and the rotational side, and for soil fertility maintenance has not probably received much attention, even though this aspect might have been understood as expected normally. The great importance given to food quantity in Anna Sukta (I/187) can only be the outcome of the traditional stage and more specially of its later part when arable farming had developed equal importance along with stock farming. The various attributes for a good farmer stated in X. 101. 4 indicate by themselves the well advanced agricultural standard attributed to this agricultural stage, as we know that agriculture is not the concern of the fool of the family. The praise of land, bullocks, seeds and peasants in various hymns, considering the same as pillars of agriculture, clearly indicates that the balance has now shifted to arable farming, crop-husbandry with different types of field grasses (non-leguminous) for food and fodder being considered for the dual purpose of man and animal (X. 27. 8). It is not yet of the present-day-type perfect convertible husbandry. However, now the cultivator as well as the agricultural profession receives the most respectable position in the society. It is during this stage both arable and stock farming get equal importance along with the development of the best type of balancing mixed farming, and as such now Indra is invoked for a boon of plenty in both pursuits (X. 42. 7).

The Indra cult has taken very deep roots during this stage, since all meritorious past and future deeds are attributed to him in whom all the eternal universal principles are considered to rest (X. 48. 3). Now he is armed with iron-vajra. All wealth (Divyadhana) is

attributed to this source (X. 48. 5). In different Rig-Vedic translations Yava is translated often as corn or cereals (or grain crops), even though it literally refers to barley. If this is to be taken as a generalised term then the field grasses were very well understood both for grain and fodder purposes. Barley is being equally used as a cultivated fodder grass in Western and American countries and it is not unnatural that the Aryans who were still continuing their attachment to cattle might be using this cultivated barley either in the field stage itself as green fodder for their cattle or as grain for human beings and its straw and bhusa for cattle (X. 27. 8) since these food crops are after all grasses (X. 27. 9). The importance of food gift (X. 117) and worth of vegetables for sacrifice meaning that vegetarian diet should be preferred to non-vegetarian *i.e.*, animal food, can alone be developed during this agricultural stage when food crops were sufficiently produced for maintenance of life. The idea of good soil management for better harvests (VI. 47. 21 to 28) can be attributed to this stage only (in which Indra answers to the question related to soil improvement). Likewise, the knowledge of other various sciences applied in agriculture is the outcome of the traditional period and their higher standard is the product of more peaceful and advanced society with this later stage.

The Rig-Veda thus finally gives the picture of a well settled traditional agricultural economy with a self-sufficient agricultural village. The Aryans were sufficiently advanced, at this fourth stage, in arable farming even though the advancement in social and other scientific aspects was of much higher order. The various references to cattle as wealth, to cattle lifting, their loot, pillage, etc., indicate that the mixed farming which followed stock-farming had a much superior status. The arable farming was probably limited to a much smaller area of greater fertility in river valleys whose people showed greater cultural advance while other people (with their primitive type agriculture) were still in perpetual conflict with this more advanced settled section of the people who were rapidly advancing towards urban economy and greater dependence on agricultural industry. It is this settled-society people who indulged in speculations about cosmic forces by which they were surrounded and discovered their intimate relations with them through which the knowledge of various sciences applied to agriculture could be known. Of the two main branches of farming, stock-farming is frequently mentioned, directly as well as figuratively, while crop farming is much less mentioned. However, these scattered references supplemented by the interpretations of other references show that most of the principles of crop husbandry were well understood by the climax-stage of the Rig-Vedic period. And finally a brief picture of the *Sapta Sindhu* Aryan's agricultural prosperity can be had from the hymn, meaning "The Sindhu is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever-fresh, abounding in Silama plants, the auspicious river wears honey-growing flowers." (Wilson, X. 75. 8).

It is thus clear that the Agricultural development had progressed gradually through natural conditions and reached a sufficiently high standard under artificially controlled conditions. The references for food, food from soil, soil to give food, point towards grain or arable farming; and references to cow, cow care, milk and use and importance of milk products are for stock farming. And finally the advice (V. 34. 13.) to desist from gambling and take up agriculture and keep cows in the house for complete happiness, clearly indicates the importance of both in agriculture, *i.e.*, mixed farming should be the rule in agriculture for the best result. All such references clearly indicate that arable farming was equally important and as such it will be wrong to say that Rig-Vedic people were mainly pastoral, but that they valued *mixed farming* greatly, the farming now advocated as best for the welfare of any nation, the medium of production of food for man and animal. Indra is invoked (X. 42. 7.) to give plenty in both grain food and milk food derived from the cow and to give fertile soils for the purpose (referred elsewhere). The present trend is towards cultivated grasses (in any pattern). It is but natural that the modern standard could not be expected then but the fact remains that the importance of mixed farming was well understood.

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CAPE COMORIN

The Land's End of India

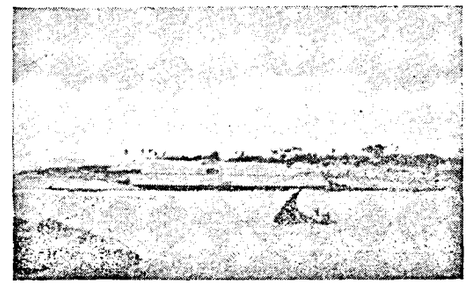
BY MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

A journey to Cape Comorin, the farthest point to the south of India, specially from Calcutta, is really an adventure in itself. There the Bay of Bengal and the vast Arabian Sea meet and flow as the great Indian Ocean. The three different colours of the waters of the three seas become apparent to the eyes of the inquisitive tourist at sunrise and sunset, which a traveller may chance to miss if the sky is cloudy which is generally the case here during the months of October and November. To reach Cape Comorin the tourist from Calcutta has got to catch the Trivandrum Express at Madras which leaves Madras at night and reaches Trivandrum just at candle-light the next day. There is also an aerodrome at Trivandrum very near the sea-beach, and travel by air is also comfortable up to Trivandrum.

Devi Kumari, Cape Comorin

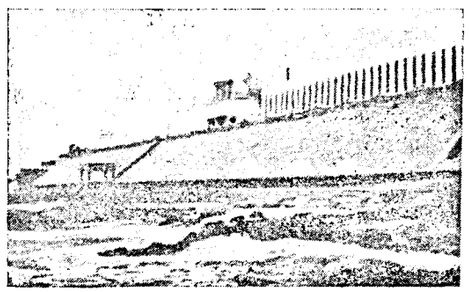
Trivandrum is the capital city of Travancore-Cochin. On the 25th of September, 1955, we left for Cape Comorin at one o'clock by a special bus reserved for us for convenience of journey. Of course, there are public buses too, the fare from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin being Rs. 2-8 by Express Bus.

We drove through valleys up and down shadowed by cocoanut groves on all sides. The hamlets on the roadside looked very neat and clean. We found no bushes anywhere. The scenery around looked charming indeed. As the bus trekked its speedy way over zigzag concrete roads up and down the valleys overgrown with cocoanut groves with minglings of palm, mango and fur trees, for the first time we saw tapioca plantations. Tapioca is widely cultivated in Travancore-Cochin. It looks like a papaya tree with a lean and thin stem. It has herbaceous roots which are succulent. The root is dried, powdered and eaten



The Temple at the Land's End, Cape Comorin

as a substitute for rice by the poor. To me Travancore looked partly like Bengal and partly like the Santhal Parganas. The soil appeared vermilion-red at most places. I was told that Travancore is blessed by two monsoons a year, once between May and July and again between October and November. The latter comes from the North-East of Travancore (Cape Comorin) and I was told by Sri P. S. Kukallaya, Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, Travancore-Cochin, that only a third of the area, that is up to Quilon, is blessed by this monsoon.



The Temple, Cape Comorin

As we drove through avenues of cocoanuts, rains set in, so much so that at places the bus had to negotiate pools of rain water with which the highways were logged up. We felt as if we were in Bengal. The peculiarity of Travancore rains is that it is seldom deep and continuous and as such it is called the rain-shadow.

Bathing Ghat, Cape Comorin

People seemed to greet us from doorsteps with smiles as we drove through hamlets. Though most of the houses had brick- or stone-built walls all of them had thatched roofs. The dried cocoanut leaves were very decently dressed for thatching as it appeared to our eyes.

Not very far from Cape Comorin (scarcely some eight to nine miles) stands the holy temple of Suchindram in the vicinity of which is a natural Salt Factory which we visited with interest. Salt, we saw, was being manufactured there by the method of evaporation through condensors, salt water being allowed to accumulate in low-lying beds at first.

Swami Vivekananda Rock, Cape Comorin

Here we had our afternoon tea and my friend S. K. Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, took some photographs himself and had some of his likenesses taken by me.

As we approached Cape Comorin we found that there was a scarcity of cocoanut trees and a vast area looked arid and barren but for some nursery gardens under State enterprises.

When we arrived within a mile of Cape Comorin we saw brick-built houses and *dharmasalas* (as is common in holy places in India) but the most majestic building on the shore is the Cape Hotel. It was then 5 P.M. but the sky remained cloudy and occasional drizzles poured over our heads as we were standing on the sea-shore. There we were practically besieged by sellers of conch-shells who placed their varied articles before us till they were besieged by eager purchasers like ourselves who, though very few in number, all gathered on the sea-shore. Sri Nath and I myself stood in silence within the closest reach of the waves till we found that dashing waves at last calmly kissed our feet and retired from the shores, and our joy knew no bounds as we began to play with the frolicking waves. Sri Nath said, "Take my photo as the waves kiss my feet please, Mukherjee." I smiled, waited for the opportunity and at last caught him in the camera with dexterity if I may say so. To our great dismay we missed the beautiful sunset

Sun-rise, Cape Comorin

(not to speak of sunrise) as the sky remained cloudy till nightfall. The best thing for a tourist is to stay at Cape Hotel one night and see sunrise and sunset the next day, but we could not do so under pressure of official business.

Leaving my friend Sri Nath to have his own way with his camera I sauntered along the sea-shore in search of the holy temple of Kanya Kumari. After a walk of some ten minutes or so I came to the temple where I found some of our fellow-travellers including Sri S. N. Sen Gupta (Technical Advisor, Boilers, Government of India), and Sri M. N. Kale (Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply). Sri H. G. Chaoji (Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madhya Pradesh) was then seen returning with his wife after a sacred bath in the temple. But the Cape Hotel has within its own enclosures very excellent arrangement for a bath; the charge levied for a bath is two annas only.

When we expressed our intention to enter the temple we were informed unless we bared up our body and put on a loin-cloth around our waist we

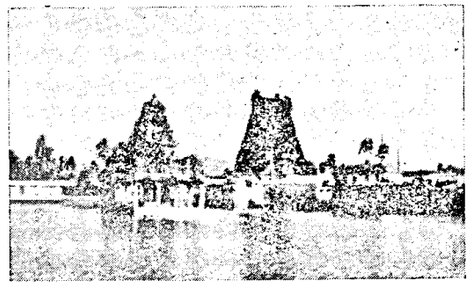
cannot do so. As most of us were with trousers on we felt dejected but I found out a means as a solution. One of the priests being requested lent us a loin-cloth for which he was paid back along with the cloth itself. We bared up our body, put on the loin-cloth around our trousers and entered the temple one by one. Charmed already as we had been with the majestic view of the temple which has stood for centuries we were much impressed as we got into the temple full of perfumed incense and were blessed with the glimpse of Devi Kumari. None are allowed to get near to the deity and I was told that there are three diamonds on the sacred body of the deity, one being just on her forehead.

Sun-set, Cape Comorin

The temple escaped the ravages of foreign invaders (all temples in Southern India are marked by such ravages) because of its unique position. It stands as it does surrounded on the East by the Western Ghats and on the West by the vast seas, namely, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal having their confluence in the Indian Ocean. There is no harbour nor could we find any ship or boat but only the waves roared and rolled in beautiful bounds. We had some purchases of curios in the temple-shops and I went round the temple surrounded on three sides by three seas as it was. The sea-view was really enchanting and I scarcely felt any inclination to quit. In silence I stood gazing at the dancing waves of the Bay which only reminded me of the broadmindedness of Bengal itself which is eager to embrace all India like the Bay of Bengal even a thousand miles away from Calcutta.

Some snapshots are published which I am sure will prove to be of some interest to my readers and for which I am vastly indebted to my dear friend Sri S. K. Nath, my constant companion on tours.

As I have said already the pilgrim or tourist from Calcutta has got to come up to Madras by train or plane as the case may be. If he intends to travel by



The Ancient Temple, Suchindram

rail the Trivandrum Express leaving Madras (Egmore) at 20-25 hours will reach him to Trivandrum the next evening. Trivandrum to Cape Comorin is a distance of some 54 miles by road and there are ample conveyance for the journey. Calcutta to Cape Comorin is a journey of 1,598 miles by rail and road.

We bade goodbye to Cape Comorin at about 7 o'clock in the evening and came back to Trivandrum at about 10 o'clock in the night.

Cape Comorin will and still lives in my mind. India has her panorama all around.

(*Photographs: Courtesy of Hari Kumari Arts*).

THE LATE LALIT MOHON SEN
A Tribute

By M. R. SEN

In the death of Sri Lalit Mohon Sen, Principal of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, India has lost a great artist. The late Sri Sen although a product of the West blended the Indian subjects with Western realism in a manner which is remarkable indeed. By nature Sri Sen was shy and unassuming. He shunned publicity. If he loved anything passionately it was the silent work of art which he practised in various spheres for about forty years. His grasp of the details of his art was complete. Looking at most of his works we find the stamp of vigour, honesty and forcefulness of a vital personality.

A lino-cut sketch

During his life-time I met Sri Sen many a time to know his considered views on art in India. He criticised the present unfortunate tendency of some of our leaders to show special "favour" to foreign artists and also to Indian artists of inferior types which he said was calculated to bring disrepute to the fair name of real art in India. I once asked him his opinion about an Indian artist and about a foreign artist. He said :

"Artists in Europe work silently and therefore most of their works are creative. To them art is a religion. In India, unfortunately, our artists talk much and work less."

Referring to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples Sri Sen remarked :

"Abanindranath is a great artist in the true sense of the term. He is also a great teacher. His approach to art is rational and initiative. Therefore in his work we find all the qualities of drawing, composition, colour and his particular mode of expression."

Sri Sen told me in the course of discussion that the present-day followers of Abanindranath Tagore lacked these essential qualities of their revered Guru. He added :

"I find that those who profess to belong to Tagore school of arts do not study drawing in the same manner their master did. Their chief defect lies in the fact that they draw inspiration from somebody else's painting and drawing without studying the nature properly."

His Work and Life-sketch

Lalit Mohon Sen was born in 1900 at Santipur (Nadia) in the district of Bengal. In his boyhood he was of indifferent health. In 1911, while a boy of eleven he came to Lucknow for a change. In the same year he got himself admitted into the Queen's High School, Lucknow. He had particular aptitude for drawing and painting and soon he found school-life uninteresting. In 1912, the Government School of Arts and Crafts was started in Lucknow. Lalit Mohon, a boy of 12, joined the Art school along with ten others on the very first day of the opening of the school. He completed five years' course in painting and he was one of the first batch to be awarded the diploma in painting. In 1918, the U.P. Government specially opened a commercial art class to absorb Sri Sen as a teacher which position he held for five years. In 1923, the U.P. Government awarded Sri Sen the first technical scholarship for higher studies in art in England. He joined the school of painting in the Royal College of Arts, London. He completed the diploma course within two and a half years before the scheduled period and thus obtained the Associateship of the Royal College of Arts. He was also awarded a special certificate in wood-engrav-

Boatman's wife, Srinagar
(A pencil sketch)

Joonkiri—a pahari girl
(Red-chalk drawing)

ing. His merit was appreciated by the late Sir William Rothenstein, the then Principal and Professor of Painting of the Royal College of Arts who allowed him as a special case to sit for the diploma six months earlier.

On return to India in 1920 he was appointed Superintendent of Drawing Teachers' Training of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, which post was also created only to engage him. In 1928, he was awarded the Government of India scholarship along with three others out of an All-India competition for the decoration of India House, London, where he went for the purpose of mural decoration of the walls of India House. During this trip he visited all the important art centres of Europe for the purpose of studying the old methods of Fresco painting in different techniques. During his stay in England for four years his paintings were exhibited in various exhibitions. Perhaps he was the first Indian artist whose pictures at the Royal Academy of Arts were purchased by Queen Mary. He was, perhaps, the first Indian artist whose beautiful water colour painting entitled *The Queen of the Hills* was published by the Fine Art Society, London, who sold signed proofs of 100 copies at £2 and 2d each. It was so much appreciated that the whole edition was sold out within three months in London alone. Besides, the publisher had to bring out a cheaper edition of 300 copies which were sold in provincial towns. This was a recognition which was not probably given to any Indian artist.

On his return to India in 1932 he worked in various capacities at the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow. After several promotions he became the Principal.

Besides painting Sri Sen also practised in wood-engraving in which he was a leader in the country. Two of his wood-engravings—portraits of Gandhiji and Rabindranath—were acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museums, London, as far back as 1920. He has also produced some very good stone-carvings, wood-carvings and modelling. He also specialised himself in etching, lithography and photography. Besides practising all branches of arts and crafts, Sri Sen devoted himself mostly to painting of portraits in pastels and drawing out typical heads in crayon. His finished paintings are marked by a remarkable rendering of mellow highlights and judicious shades. Most of the landscapes painted by him are renderings of typical Indian scenes. Sri Sen was fond of making holidays in remote and picturesque corners of the country and all the time he returned with beautiful sketches and line drawings.

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WANDERING BLACKSMITHS OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M.A.

Scattered over many parts of Rajasthan and its adjoining States for the last 350 years or more are to be found the most interesting nomadic tribe of wandering blacksmiths or the *gadulya lohars* as they are popularly known. These people have no houses, nor even tents; their only shelter is their open carts, beneath which they huddle in sunshine or rain, on the out-skirts of a town or near a well in a Rajasthan village. They park their bullock-carts with their men, women and children in shabby dress and go about attending to the day-to-day routine, preparing knives, tongs, scissors, sickles, axes, bolts and nails, etc.

Origin

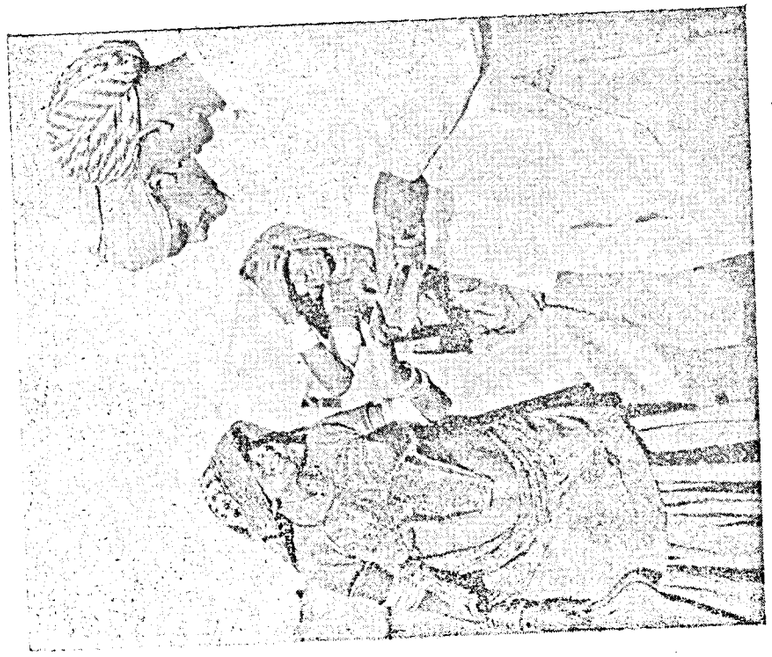
The story of Gadulya Lohars is traced back to the fall of the fort of Chitor in 1568 which was invaded by the imperial army of Akbar. Their forefathers, when driven from their houses at the sack of Chitorgarh in the former Mewar State, took a vow that neither they nor their descendants would ever again enter a house to live in, till the fort of Chitor had been liberated. At the same time, they also took the solemn vow of not sleeping under a roof or on a cot until their glory was restored. Many generations have come and gone since then, but the Gadulya Lohars still stick to their oaths.

Population

In view of their wandering character, it is very difficult to get the correct data of the population of Gadulya Lohars. However, the Census Report, 1941, put forth their population at 6,970 in the whole of the then Rajputana Agency. A major part of this population according to the report, is in Marwar, Jaipur, Bikaner and Mewar. No Gadulya Lohars are available in Bharatpur, Dholpur and Tonk.

Economic and Social Aspects

In the past those people had a sound reputation for their fine craftsmanship and found sufficient work to enable them to earn if not a large, at any rate a sufficient income for their simple needs. Their main



An old lady showing some iron-made implements to her customers

Two Gadulya Lohar ladies in their full dress

A view of a Gadulya Lohar's kitchen

work was the making and repairing of agricultural implements, and the forging of the metal-work of carts and tools for village carpenters or weavers. But the Gadulya Lohars have now fallen upon evil days. Cheap machine-made tools and spare parts for agricultural implements are available in almost every village-shop and handicrafts in general are rapidly being ousted by factory-made goods. Their economic condition now is often pitiable.

A Gadulya Lohar's better-half not only manages her household affairs but also participates in the manufacturing work

We may now proceed to consider their social condition. As a whole they are regarded in Rajasthan as "untouchables" and are not permitted to draw water from the village wells. Entry into Hindu temples and other places of worship is also prohibited for them. The hoard of myths and tradition combined with their illiteracy and social disabilities have all gone to make their position static and their mode of living continues to be the same as it might have been two hundred years ago.

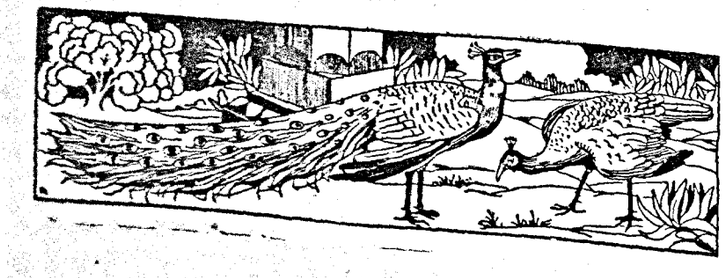
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Illiterate as they are, they are blind believers on the plane of religion. The gods and goddesses they venerate belong to the Hindu pantheon. The Goddesses Durga and Sheela Mata are invoked to protect them against evil spirits which, they believe, dwell in certain trees and bushes. Animal sacrifices are also performed to please the deities; and festivals like Dewali, Holi and Dushera are celebrated with great rejoicings. The marriage of a Gadulya Lohar generally takes place at an early age and betrothals take place even earlier, sometimes when the betrothed is not even born. Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed, but bigamy for a woman is held to be a serious offence. The moral standard of these people is higher than that of our so-called civilised members of society. It is taken to be disgraceful for a Gadulya Lohar to charge interest on loan advanced to another member of the community. The breach of social customs and community laws is punishable by Panchayats functioning as social tribunals for different communes.

NEED OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Under tre existing circumstances, the only remedy to the miseries of Gadulya Lohars is their permanent settlement. Social workers engaged in tribal welfare and the leaders of Rajasthan are now of the view that with the attainment of independence, the time has come for the Gadulya Lohars to abandon their nomadic life and settle down in one place. A conference of these people was, therefore, convened at Chitorgarh on April 6. Led by the Prime Minister Shri Nehru these Gadulya Lohars marched to the historic fort of Chitor and thus fulfilled the vow undertaken by their ancestors more than three centuries ago.

The Rajasthan Government have decided to provide every possible facility to rehabilitate them in suitable places.



FATHER HENRY HERAS

A Distinguished Orientalist Passes Away

BY ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

AMONG the leading orientalists of the twentieth century the name of Father Henry Heras is in the top list, having been the Founder-President of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay, the Vice-President of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Dr. H. Heras passed away in Bombay on 15th December, 1955, after a brief illness. With stoic serenity the ailing orientalist and historian told his friends and admirers visiting him: "I am going now to my Eternal Home."

Father Heras, born in 1888, received his early education in Spain. Then, he went to the United States for advanced studies. His inquisitive and open mind soon absorbed the grand spirit of Western civilization. In order to pursue his studies and realise his aspirations, following the traditions of genuine *Swamis* and *Sanyasis* like Vivekananda and Dayananda Saraswati, Heras, at the early age of sixteen vowed himself to life-long purity and voluntary poverty, to *brahmacharya* and *aparigraha,* and he entered the Jesuit Order which became the nurse and mother of his vocational mission. Heras was fortunate to find sympathetic and wise guidance, protection and canalisation of his vast mental resources in the Jesuit Order, which, far from crippling his talents, canalised them, strengthened and nurtured them.

At the age of thirty-three Heras was already appointed principal of a college of Saragossa in Spain. A year later, in 1922, Heras came to India as professor of History and Archaeology at St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It was here in India that the young professor discovered the treasures of Indian wisdom. "I discovered Indian History," exclaimed Heras, hardly a few months after his arrival in this country.

Dr. Heras related the story of his discovery of Indian History in these words:

"When I arrived in India the Principal of St. Xavier's College asked me: 'What subject do you like to teach?' I replied: 'Indian History.' Then the Principal retorted: 'But, what do you know about Indian History?' I replied: 'Next to nothing.' Surprised at this ignorance, the Principal asked me: 'How, will you, then, teach Indian History?' I answered: 'I will learn.' This happened over thirty years ago, and, ladies and gentlemen, I am still learning Indian History. I have discovered the treasures therein."

So said Prof. Heras at a packed audience during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Historical Institute in 1953 presided over by Sarvapalli Radhakrshnan. From the beginning of his academic career in India in 1922 until he died, Prof. Heras dedicated his life, talents and every bit of energy in exploring the virgin fields of Indian history, archaeology, Indian philosophy and culture. Like the great orientalists of the last century, eminent minds like Max Muller, Monier Williams and Paul Deussen, Henry Heras

Dr. Henry Heras

loved India because of her culture, her religious lore and her philosophy and history. The lyrics of the Vedas, the psychological metaphysics of the Upanishads, the music of the Bhagavad Gita and the rhapsody of Indian religious atmosphere—all enraptured that receptive, sympathetic and intuitive mind of Heras. He became a lover of India which, in his words, is "the most ancient classical land of the highest wisdom of God."

HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

In order to investigate into the deeper significance of Indian history and culture and canalise the energy and pool the resources of the research students of Indian history, Dr. Heras founded the well-known Indian Historical Research Institute in Bombay. When the Institute began its life in 1926 it had hardly

a couple of hundred books. But today the library of the Institute has a collection of well over 25,000 books, the majority of them being rare, specialised and select books. The Institute has its own museum and archaeological section which contains some very select monuments of Indian history, specially documents connected with the early Mohenjo Daro and Harappa civilization and the Buddhist period of Indian history. The Institute library is one of the best in the whole of the Bombay State and—for that matter—in the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

This institute, started from a scrap, is today one of the best research centres in this country. Hundreds of savants, scholars and research students have gone through its halls, always guided by the inspiring direction of Father Heras who was affectionately called *Guruji* by his students. The publications of the Institute have contributed much to the elucidation of Indian history, not merely as a record of dynasties with names and dates, but as a creative force in the evolution of the Indian people.

Indo-Aryans

Among the works of Dr. Heras his masterpiece is his *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, which throws much light upon the Indo-Aryan civilization *vis-a-vis* the Dravidian culture. The main thesis of Heras in this book is that the pure Aryan race is now almost extinct in India and what survives today is the outcome of the meeting and mating of the earliest Dravidian civilization with that of the culture of the Indo-Aryans. In the writings and teachings of Dr. Heras one senses the idea that the Dravidian culture detected in India and the Mediterranean, all along the Dolman Belt, was the parent and originator of human civilization, although later on enhanced by the Aryans, a theory which runs counter to the racialist fads of Rosenberg and Hitlerite Germany.

Besides hundreds of articles on physical anthropology, history, religion and culture and history of India, Dr. Heras published many books among which the important are : *History of the Manchu Dynasty of China. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, The Pallava Geneology, Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, The Writing of History, Min Kan* or *The Mystical Meaning of Possessing Fish Eyes* and his greatest and last book on *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*. In his *The Jesuit Policy of Conversion in India*, Dr. Heras substantiates the thesis that the best and most representative Jesuits never attempted transplanting of Christianity in this country, but only a vital synthesis between what is best in the oriental culture with what is best in Christian civilization, a position which would be welcomed by all sane nationalists.

Christian Yogi

In recognition of the great historical research work which Father Heras did in India many countries in the West and in the East honoured him with degrees and titles. Spain honoured Dr. Heras by making him a member of the Academy of Historical Sciences in Madras. Poland awarded Gold Cross of Merit to Father Heras and Afghanistan awarded him Decoration of Learning. Many Indian universities availed themselves of the scholarship of Father Heras who was a member of the Board of Studies of the Poona University. Bombay, Delhi and other Universities have many a time seen Prof. Heras lecturing to their students. But the biggest title which adorns Heras most is that of Founder-Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay which celebrated its Silver Jubilee under the presidentship of Dr. Radhakrishnan in 1953. The Commemoration volume published by the Institute gives us an insight into the multifarious activities of the Institute and of its Founder-Director, Dr. Henry Heras.

From an Indian point of view, what marked him out as a singular individual was his deep spiritual insight, his life that proved the dictum: "What does it profit a man if he gained the whole world and suffered the loss of his own soul?" Yes, Dr. Heras was not merely a scholar of international repute; he was also a saintly man, one who set his heart and soul for the task of self-purification and self-realisation not less zealously than Gandhiji, Ramakrishna or Vivekananda. From the close acquaintance which the present writer had with Dr. Heras it may be stated that he was a pattern of *Christian Yogi* who dedicated his life and energies for the study and spread of historical, cultural and philosophical knowledge through his saintly life, his lectures and books.

Love of India

Like C. F. Andrews whom Gandhiji described as his "dearest friend on earth," Dr. Heras was a genuine lover of India. Although born in Europe Heras adopted this land as his own and gave his unstinted energy to the study and spread of Indian culture. Whatever charges may be levelled against a number of foreign missionaries, we do know that Dr. Heras was far above any petty communal, racial or national prejudices.

His large heart went to the extent of explaining away even the apparent anomalies and contradictions in India's social, religious and cultural traditions. He drank deep from the Upanishadic and Vedic lore and thus became a veritable bridge-builder between the East and the West. Heras was also an apostle for Inter-religious understanding and he worked to the end of his life for the cementing of cultural unity and solidarity between the Christian civilization of the West and the Hindu-Buddhist culture of the East. That is this permanent legacy for posterity in India and the world.

CONSPECTUS OF BEAUTY AND ITS RELATION TO ART

By K. L. GOSWAMI

The current concept of beauty is limited in historical time. It was associated with a particular phase of philosophy in Greece which was essentially anthropomorphic. Idealisation of nature and man was expressed in their enlargements, primarily in the art of human form. After a lapse of several centuries, the cult was revived in the Renaissance. This particular ideal type of art differs from a Byzantine ideal which is divine rather than intellectual or from Oriental which is abstract and non-human.

Beauty may simply be defined as that which gives pleasure. But it has also been brought to a point of absurdity, reckoning, eating and smelling, as art. Further, though Benedetto Croce's tenet of art simply defined as "intuition" also met with criticism in a confused plane, the term "intuition" which is again capable of meaning various shades, is reduced to a point of absurd distortions.

Beauty is evanascent. In the appreciation of beauty we proceed from the physical object though its penultimate reach is abstraction. From an initial cognative plane to a spiritual conception, the peregrination takes us through different stages in consequential importance. The knowledge of the form of beauty is imperative. This knowledge is acquired, as Plato laid down, by a systematic study of the exact science of measuring, weighing and counting called the theories of Numbers, Geometry, Stereometry and Astronomy. In course of prolonged study of these branches, the seeker will be rewarded suddenly with the apprehension of beauty—a kind of mystical flash. Thus beauty whose foundation is firstly established in a sensuous plane is stabilized into a plane of spiritual realisation.

The formulated mind, according to Plato, hovers around external objects, blurred by the wall of senses. Outside its ken of immediate experience the reality which is beyond and behind is unperceived by a cramped mind. The world of senses is but reflected shadows of Reality. The existence of material forms are chimerical which dims our vision and warps our judgement. That which is nearer seems truth—the beyond is impalpable. The world of Plato is a world of metaphysics, which, however, is not our field of enquiry.

In the view of modern psychology, the trends of creative process proceed to realise 'illumination' in a devious route. The creation of a work of art is preceded by an intense preparation. It means that an artist must have fundamental knowledge of that branch of art in which he employs himself, such as, music, painting, literature or an art of allied kind. The sudden chrysalis of creative art with which we are presented with is but the conclusion of an intense activity which precedes it. Thereafter, the artist passes through a period of 'incubation.' He jostles and nurtures with his idea in a plane under the surface of mental immediacy when the appearance of a happy idea looms up in a flash of 'illumination' and finally comes before us in the shape of finished art, be it music or painting. These series of processes play unseen to us and even unconsciously to the artist. According to this notion, a piece of creative art from a genius as coming in one stroke is a misjudgement. The fact is, the artist has to pass through a welter of stages all the while beneath the outward ripples of his activities. Modern psychology and behaviourism, in their basic root, point to this end. The final vision has its root in a world of unapprehension.

Tolstoy (1828-1910) defined the process of art as:

> "To evoke in oneself a feeling one has experienced and having evoked it in oneself, then by means of movement, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art."

He further says :

> "The others are infected by these feelings and also experience them with that of the creative artist."

So long Tolstoy's theory of art was praised and enthroned. In recent time, with the development of the study of aesthetics, the theory has lost its shine. According to him any artistic representation should be judged by its effectiveness upon the persons who perceive it as the "communication of emotion." The artist is successful only when he is able to transmit the same intensity of feeling to the recipient. In other words, when a peasant fails to be appreciative of the same intense feelings of a Bach, Beethoven or Shakespeare, which are acutely complex, the artist has failed. If, to the uninitiated peasant, this form of art is jejune, why should it be condemned,—a modern mind fails to accept. Tolstoy opines the artist must be successful in transmitting his feelings. But the real function, as the exponent of modern criticisms estimates, is not to transmit the feeling but to "express feeling and transmit understanding." The cardinal function of art is to empathise. To follow Tolstoy's enunciation is to

accept jazz over Kruetzar Sonata or figure of a bathing belle scoring over Botticelli's Madonna.

Belief in ethical values of matter or conduct helps little to solve problems in aesthetics. The basis of belief warrants suspension of judgement and the differentiation in objects good or bad are of no importance. Apprehension of beauty presents us problems which demands acute intellectual undertakings. It does not appear in a flick of intuition. Intuitional interpretations in aesthetic judgement are misleading. It may lead us to namby-pamby expostulations.

A clear idea of objectivity and subjectivity is a prerequisite element before we can embark upon pivoting a definite position in the values of art or beauty.

> "A subjective judgement is a judgement that the experience of the person making the judgement is being modified in a certain way—that something is happening in or to the subject. Whereas in the objective judgement—the world external to the person judging, is characterised by a certain quality."—JOAD.

As an illustration in subjectivity, it may be cited the colour of the sky is blue or green as it affects a particular person's vision but the objectivity of the truth of $5 \times 5 = 25$ or that the table is square is undeniable.

In the aesthetic judgement of beauty the relation of mind and object is of importance. It is, in fact, to be realised as a harmony between these two elements. Both of these entities form an integral whole and that "the wholes are both more than and more real than the sum of their parts." This view is associated with Monistic metaphysics. It poses a number of questions. An object of beauty, say the statue of Venus de Milo, lay buried in the heart of Africa and was dug out before the gaze of a primitive people in whom the slightest trace of civilization is absent. Would they be able to appreciate its unique beauty? If the statue is an object of beauty, would its excellence dawn upon them, on viewing its rhythm and plasticity? If not, how does this object remain unappreciated in spite of its inherent quality of beauty? Is it a matter of any importance whether the primitives appreciate its beauty or not, which had existed all the time in it and still remains at the moment? In other words, in spite of non-appreciation, the beauty remained in it. Or do we attribute a notion or idea of beauty in it according to our sophistication or degree of embellishments. That it had no quality of beauty in itself but derived it only by agreeable attribution of our mind. If beauty exists independent of one's appreciation or not, why the primitives fail to appreciate? Does beauty then depend on som factors extraneous of its existence? Is it a built-up? These problems can only be solved by mastering the knowledge of subjectivity and objectivity in the study of aesthetics. Mostly the difference in judgement is born not as a difference in taste but difference in knowledge.

Dr. J. A. Richards states that beauty is emotional satisfaction. In beauty we realise an emotional equilibrium where the impulses are harmonised. The fact that certain forms, colours, tunes move us and others do not provoke any emotional participation, leads us to questions which await answers. Dissonance caused by misarranged notes in music or colours in painting jades the aesthetic sensibilities and dissipates the harmony content. It happens due to the lack of what Clive Bell termed as significant form. The presence of it in objects, evokes a kind of peculiar emotion we call works of art. The quality and intensity, of course, differs and largely depends upon the content of emotional expression. The difference between a creative artist and a mere copyist is the difference of this peculiar emotional experience in expression. The artist paints a landscape or creates a tune which is in complete harmony with this aesthetic feeling. This creation becomes just not an object, a face but is expressed in a significant form which invests the object with peculiar traits carrying with it sparks of creation. These can be intellectually measured in terms of balance, rhythm or harmony but in reality it is instinctive in origin. That is why a primitive art is not a lower kind of art than a civilized one but rather a product of lower kind of civilization having more elemental force.

Aesthetic sense is, thus, immured in even primitive people. These are amply exemplified in the cave drawings of animals at Altamira in Spain as well as in those of the Bushmen of South Rhodesia and South-west Africa. However, the plastic sensibility found in this period disappears in the Neolithic period. Foregone illustrations deny the common acceptance of co-relating beauty with art. Art fulfils itself in harmonious expression which may not be beautiful. In paintings, particularly of the surrealists or savage primitives, they attempt to express in grotesque forms which are far from being beautiful. They are a far cry from a Greek Aphrodite or a Byzantine Madonna. From the standpoint of classical concept of beauty they are definitely ugly and unbeautiful but nevertheless they can claim to be called works of art.

SANTINIKETAN

To Rabindranath During His Closing Days

BY KALIDAS RAY

(Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the original Bengali)

The barren tract of *Bhuban-danga*, for aeons did I lie,
Clasping beneath my rugged ribs heaps of human ashes, O!
Behind my bushes thick, bandits used to roam at night,
And jackals yell in fierce delight,
Feasting on the victims, now and again.
The cows would browse in the plain,
Seeking the scanty grass during the day;
The herons in the sun would bask; and shepherds play.
By constant clash of the mongoose and snakes,
Scarr'd with claws and clotted with blood,
Lay this rugged part of West Bengal,
Desolate and dismal.

Ah, what a glory was in store!
How hast thou got the clue and from my core
Unearth'd the hidden treasure and lore,
Like the deep-sunk Throne of Thirty-two Nymphs, famed in tales of yore!
All cover'd with ant-hills were my limbs,
Cleaving them asunder, verses flow in streams,
Mingling with rills of Light supreme.
Never did I dream,
What hermit sate in trance under my banian tree!
Invoking the Spirits of the *Tamasa* and *Niranjana*,
And flowing the two currents in me!
Day dawns on the domain of Gloom,
Of a sudden gets back Ind, her long-lost speech,
Resplendent and rich.
O glorious day, the day of my dreams!
In perfect harmony swell the pealing hymns
From every temple and shrine, cloister and hermitage;
Heralding the New Age.
From far and near the herbs, the *Khas Khas* raise their heads,
And fill the air with incense fine;
As thou treadest this ground of mine,
The woods rustle sweet and creepers entwine;
The herbs, the shrubs, the grass, the insects
And every common thing,
With songs immortal, ring.
The benumb'd gravels and pebbles,
As in incredible fables,
Throb with life and make an Eternal spring.
All World focus their eyes at me, wonder wide,
There hath come a beam!
Every bird that twitters in the thicket,
Doth chant a Vedic hymn, like Tittir of ancient days;
Here meet all Faiths, all Creeds, all Ways.

A thousand petals of my heart O my Sun!
Thou hast unfolded with manifold rays of thine.
Lo! the lyre divine
Vani Herself plays! What web is spun
In music fine!
What lay inarticulate so long
Gets a tongue in thy Song;
Pathos untold, chords unstrung, melodies mute—
In every modulation of tones and tunes
They ring in thy lute.
Spellbound the world hears!
My heart throbs, bestow'd with myriad ears.
In this cultural Fair today,
Treasures of ages are giv'n away.
A thousand folded hands gather round me,
O glory!

But my golden days, how long will they last?
Much it pains my heart to think of evening O!
The shades of twilight are falling fast
O'er yon tops of *Sals*; silent, slow
The clouds of a tragedy deep, are gathering lo!
As I gaze at thee—
Thoughts of afar wrinkle thy brow, I see—
Time and again thou dost cast thy eyes
On the fathomless Sea, and void of the skies.
Where sinks all Humanity!
What whisperest thou so languishingly
Into the ears of Eternity?
The Day's on its pyre, O sire!
What tune is this that's play'd upon thy lyre!
Stay! Stay! The world entreats thee,
O pace this Earth a few years more!
A mystic gleam falls upon thy brow from an unknown shore.

My heart aches and knows no rest
As I listen to the solemn melody;
There's unrest in the *Mahuya*-groves,
Do they sense the Tragedy?
Ah, from what lovely horizon far away,
Tearing the Mystery's screen,
Tomorrow's Star doth flash its sheen upon thy brow?
Gilding now in twilight ray the rim of the sky!
What joy, what hope, what solace, therein doth lie!

I recall today O Poet! Oft hast thou said:
The Eternal Traveller gives back the dust to dust;
For return he must, the clay that clings
to his feet,
As he embarks his Pilot to meet
Called away to new, yet newer shore,
That lures him evermore.

Like earthen pots away he casts the mortal frame,
And quits the banquet-hall without remorse,
In vain doth Love entreat to stop his course.
As I bring to mind these burning words of thine,
The very dust of my ground doth pine
And writhes in agony untold—
What if the sky burns red and gold!

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GANDHISM AND TECHNOLOGY

By SUDHIR CHANDRA LAHA and BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

In the concluding chapter of *My Experiments with Truth* Gandhi has written:

"My uniform experience has convinced me, that there is no other God than Truth."

But how to realise this Truth? Gandhi says:

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

This identification with others implies that we do unto others what we would that they should do unto us. G. K. Chesterton in his *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* writes that he treated whole mob of men as a mob of kings. A king moves amongst hundred courtiers but he was a courtier who moves amongst hundred kings. Similar was the reverence of Gandhiji for human personality. More than gold and material goods we want to be treated with courtesy and honour.

This innate respect for human individuality determines Gandhi's attitude towards machines and technological development. Dr. Alexis Carrel, Nobel Laureate, in his famous book, *Man, The Unknown*, writes:

"Esthetic activity remains potential in most individuals because industrial civilisation has surrounded them with coarse, vulgar, and ugly sights. Because we have been transformed into machines. The worker spends his life repeating the same gestures thousands of times each day. He manufactures only single parts. He never makes the complete object. He is not allowed to use his intelligence. He is the blind horse plodding round and round the whole day long to draw water from a well. Industrialism forbids man the very mental activities which could bring him every day some joy. In sacrificing mind to matter, modern civilisation has perpetrated a momentous error. An error all the more dangerous because nobody revolts against it, because it is accepted as easily as the unhealthy life in great cities and the confinement in factories."

In the same strain Arnold J. Toynbee writes in the IXth Volume of his great book *A Study of History*:

"We invent the machinery of mass-production, and for the sake of cheapening the unit, we develop output on a gigantic scale. Almost automatically the machine delivers a stream of articles in the creation of which the workman has had little part. He has lost the joy of craftsmanship, the old satisfaction in something accomplished through the conscientious exercise of care and skill."

By the end of the eighteenth century Adam Smith boasted that it took eighteen men to make a pin, each man doing a little bit of the job and passing the pin on to the next. This was to many a triumph of civilisation. By setting each man to do just one little bit of the work and nothing but that, over and over again, he became very quick at it. Thus pins became plentiful and cheap. Bernard Shaw in *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* remarks about this fact:

"The country was supposed to be richer because it had more pins, though it had turned capable men into mere machines doing their work without intelligence, and being fed by the spare food of the capitalists as an engine is fed with coal and oil. That was why the poet Goldsmith complained that 'wealth accumulates, and men decay'."

Gandhi, like Goldsmith, clearly perceived the degrading effect of industrialisation on human personality. His soul revolted against this mutilation of man's individuality. To Gandhiji man was an end in himself. He was created to realise God and not to be treated by another man like a helpless instrument for the production of his wealth or for the satisfaction for his distress. When a man degraded into a machine

he is denied the satisfaction of realising the best of his personality. For the growth of one's personality one should have the largest opportunity of creative work and life in aesthetic surroundings.

Gandhiji, therefore, laid great emphasis on the spinning wheel and decentralised rural industry. In order to stay the dwarfing and dwindling of man under the tyranny of machinery Gandhi sought to promote all that is creative in man. For, as Bertrand Russell rightly says:

"The supreme principle, both in politics and in private life, should be to promote all that is creative, and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession."

Gandhiji sought to halt the process of regimentation of human beings into robots by large-scale mechanical industry and by resuscitating decentralised cottage industries he sought to open out new channels for the majority of men and women for the fullest expression of their creative personalities.

This decentralisation would also halt the tragic exodus of men and women from villages into overcrowded cities about which the Irish poet and philosopher George Russel laments:

"More and more men and women in our modern civilisation drift out of Nature, out of sweet air, health, strength, beauty into cities where in the third generation there is a rickety population, mean in stature, vulgar in character . . ."

It is true that when we are deprived of the simple instinctive pleasures of leisure and love, sunshine and green fields, generosity of outlook and kindliness of disposition are hardly to be expected.

It is a mistake to suppose that Gandhiji was against machinery and technology as such. He wanted both but only to the extent that they should conduce to the ultimate well-being of man. He was shocked at the craze for machinery and the mastery of mechanised technology over men. That the ever-increasing growth of urban industries should kill the rural industries and compel villagers to flosk to cities appeared to be a great curse. He believed that the resuscitation of rural civilisation was the greatest need of the time. For life in close proximity of Nature would give back to man his lost happiness and his sane outlook. The blind worship of Technology has led man to lose charity towards Nature. It has led him to ravage its forests, pour filth into its rivers and poisonous fumes into its air. The law of non-violence that he discovered to be the guiding principle of all life made him also perceive that large machineries have led men not only to exploit other men but also to violent exploitation of peaceful Nature. We all know that Gandhiji had deeply studied Ruskin and Thoreau, Tolstoy and Edward Carpenter and we also know their immense love for Nature. All these savants ardently believed that to live aloof from Nature was prejudicial to the highest interest of man. Gandhi, therefore, sought to restore man to his proper place of balance in Natural surroundings. His warning against excessive use of machinery was therefore not a retrograde measure or a return to the primitive life of a barbarian but a step forward in the march of humanity towards a more enlightened and richer life. He reminded men that it is beneath human dignity to lose individuality and become a cog in the machine. For to use the language of the Bible: "What shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"

IRAQ AND SYRIA—THEIR POLITICAL PROBLEMS

By S. H. HASHMI, M.A.,

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It is no more fashionable in India to dub Britain as an imperialist power. The Iraqis, however, do not agree with this view. Britain is still as unpopular, there, as she was in the Indian sub-continent before our independence, though Iraq achieved her independence as far back as 1932. Iraq is not an independent country or at least the majority of the educated Iraqis think in such terms. According to them, Iraq is still a British mandate, if not a colony. The Britishers have retained their stooges, who are simply tools in their hands. Britain is also remembered in connection with the creation of Israel and is considered to be the villain of the piece in the dreadful drama of Palestine. Even a high school student knows something about the Balfour Declaration and its far-reaching consequences. They consider that all the sufferings of the present-day Iraq are mostly because of Britain. Her imperialism would not allow Iraq to try to form a federation of all Arab States. She does not want to see stability in West Asia.

The United States is also counted as a new member of this gang of imperialist exploiters. She is one of the most hated nations in Iraq. Every one is convinced that it was only because of the United States that the thorn of a Jewish State was thrust in their flesh. The American money, the American arms and ammunition and the American pressure on other small nations were responsible for the establishment of the "49th State" of the American Federation. The Iraqi armies, they say, were only twenty miles from Tel Aviv, when they were ordered by the Security Council not to proceed further, otherwise the latter would intervene. It can be remarked that if the United States is hated anywhere outside the Communist countries, it is in the Arab world. To the Arabs, she is definitely an imperialist power, though in a sheep's clothing.

Not many people know much about Communism and Soviet Russia. In fact, they are somewhat afraid of discussing Communism publicly. They are afraid of the police which might suspect them, if they talk about this unwanted and foreign evil. An overwhelming majority of the people do not find any attraction in it, which according to some, does not recognise individual's freedom of thought and expression. The educated persons are aware of the fact that life is not happy in Communist countries and at least from this view-point they prefer the democratic way to the Soviet system. Among the students, too, it is not a very appealing doctrine; the tendency being somewhat unusual for Asian conditions. The majority of them is ultranationalist, which wants "independence" for Iraq and the complete withdrawal of foreign influence and interference from their nation's politics.

In this background we can read the re-action against Iraq's entry in an alliance with Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. From the topmost leaders to an ordinary student, everyone criticises this action vehemently, and it is not without any reasons. The Iraqis even now resent every move which endeavours to establish alliance with their old enemy—Turkey. The bad memories which a subject nation usually has about its ex-rulers are to be found in the minds of the Iraqi people, too, for they were under the Ottoman governance for many centuries. Making friendship with their ex-master is not a matter for which the people may give sympathetic consideration. In recent years, the recognition of Israel by Turkey and the establishment of friendly ties between the two countries have added to the unpopularity of the latter in these lands. Secondly, it is the view of the Iraqis that this sort of alliance is not in any way, beneficial for the people of West Asia. They contend that this alliance is for the protection of the American and British interests in which the Arabs need not sacrifice their lives. They consider that they do not have any Russian danger. Why should they enter into such alliances? If there is a third World War, it will not be a war between Democracy and Totalitarianism, it will be a war only between the United States and her friends and Russia and her satellites. So there is no need of sending Iraqi troops to defend British imperialism and American capitalism. There had been loud protests against the Turco-Pakistani pact and many demonstrations took place against it. The overwhelming majority of the newspapers wrote against this pact, which was considered to be another effort of the Western imperialists to retain their hold on West Asia. Some booklets and pamphlets were written in Arabic, on the subject, in which the authors tried to show that this pact was harmful for the Iraqi people. They maintained that if Iraq joined it, she would become a tool in the hands of Western Imperialism. While considering these views, we must keep the fact in our minds that in Iraq, there is a wide gap between the people and the government and it is not necessary that a government may act according to the desires of the people. Iraq has joined the so-called Baghdad pact but over and above and against the expressed desire of Iraqis.

Elections in Iraq are a farce. Though every adult man because women are not allowed to vote even now—enjoys the right to franchise, about 85 per cent of the voters do not bother to go to polling booths. I was in Iraq before the election of 1954, and I did not find so much enthusiasm and interest among the people about the matter, as was witnessed in our election of 1951. One of its reasons is that the voters know the outcome of these so-called free elections. Thus it is their view that it is not worth the labour to mobilise opinion for a particular candidate. The fact is that Iraq has not seen even a single free election, though this mockery has been repeated very often in the last fifty years. When an illiterate voter, for instance, goes to the polling booth, he might be asked by the polling officer to whom he is going to vote?. He may be persuaded to vote for a particular candidate. If he does so, well and good; if not, the counting of the votes is in the hands of the government and it would see that only its party wins the majority of Parliamentary seats. This misuse of the democratic methods leads to military interference in politics. Iraq had its experience in the thirties. The politicians themselves, by their corrupt and illegal actions, give them an opportunity to take authority in their hands, though after attaining power, they, too, are involved in the same malpractices. This is a vicious circle, which never ends.

Syria

Syria is smaller in area and population than Iraq. Its population is less than three and a half million. The internal problems of Syria are of different nature than those of Iraq. It is a republic but is ruled more by the dictators than by the democrats. It is the most unstable Arab country, but it is interesting to note that the Syrians do not attach much importance to this characteristic of their political life and are not anxious to find out and remove the causes of this instability. In Aleppo, I asked a Professor of Political Science the reasons of instability in Syrian politics. Well, he replied, we do not give much importance to this problem, and in fact, it has become a usual feature of our political system. He wanted to be given some time to think over the reasons of instability. The problem of instability is not confined to Syria only. Many other Arab countries, also, share the credit. It seems that one of the reasons is to be found in the character of the Arabs, who are, by nature, very emotional and guided by passions. This aspect of their character is witnessed in their political life, too. Secondly, the corrupt politicans sometimes, make the coup d'etat indispensable, and the military rulers get an opportunity to boast that they saved the nation from the grip of wicked politicians, who were ruining the country by corruption, nepotism and misrule. The people of these countries do not get any opportunity to express their views through their true representatives, because the elections are not fair. If the elections had returned true representatives, there would have been definitely less chances of the rapid changes in governments. In Syria, the French were also responsible for not creating the proper atmosphere for the establishment of stable governments. The ministries changed in France very often and Syria also inherited this feature of her erstwhile ruler. The difference is that in France the ministerial changes are within and in Syria they are without Parliament. The French, when they ruled Syria, did not give the indigenous people that type of political education, which Britain imparted to the Indians. The Civil Service was exclusively for the French and all political liberities were crushed. The people, when they got froedom, were naturally not mature enough to be well-versed in the art of self-government.

An important problem, which still looms large over many Syrians is the inclusion of Alexandretta, in Turkey. This Mediterranean coastal plain was handed over by the Allies to Turkish Government in 1922. The Syrians claim that it is a part of Syria and should be returned to her. It is very difficult to assess the genuineness of the case of either of the two parties. An Arab writer has conceded that before Alexendretta was handed over to Turkey, out of all sections of the population, the Turks were more in number than any other section, including Arabs, though they were not above 50 per cent of population. The Syrians still claim this territory and this is the main reason of the cold—if not strained—relations between the two neighbours. Turkey, no doubt, is more unpopular in Syria than in any other Arab country. The two states have only commercial relations with each other and this is another reason, why Syria does not like to join the Baghdad pact.

Among the Arab countries, Syria is very susceptible to accepting foreign aid of any kind. She does not take military aid and is one of the very few non-Communist countries which has refused to accept even the economic aid from the United States.

Out of all common questions concerning the Arab world, the toughest and the most provoking problem is the presence of a Jewish State in their heart land. As a senior Christian Arab statesman, who after my return to India, became the Prime Minister of Syria, said to me:

> "Our greatest and most threatening problem is Israel. It is possible that it might take a long time to throw them out of our motherland, but we are determined to do so."
>
> "You know," he continued with the zeal of a patriot, "Christians kept Jerusalem in possession for about two hundred years, but they were driven out at the end. Israel may pull on for the same period. It does not matter. She would go ultimately."

The Arabs think in these lines and it shows how deeply attached they are to every inch of their soil, which they consider Israel has usurped. The Arabs know it very well that the Britishers are responsible for sowing this seed of permanent danger for the Arabs and then the United States entered the scene as the chief culprit and chose to become the "Father of Israel." The majority of the Arabs believe that a day would come when they would be able to clean the surface of Palestine from Israel.

The danger of Israel, which is common for all Arab countries, has at least compelled them to set aside the internal differences and to unite, because they know that Israel would not be content with the present boundaries,

but would definitely endeavour to expand herself, till she has included all the territories west of Euphrates and south of Medina. They admit that if there is a union of all Arab countries, they would be stronger and be able to defend themselves against a small but highly mechanised and militarised Israel. The idea of the creation of a Federation of all Arab countries is not only in the minds of some Utopian thinkers, but it has been and is being discussed by the Arab press, politicians and parties. The obstacles are both internal and external. As far as the external reasons are concerned, there are some powers, which see the danger of being ousted from the political scene of these countries, if a Arab federation is formed. Britain is one such power. She still has a very powerful influence in making foreign policy of Iraq. Jordan had till very recently a British Commander-in-Chief and could not be trapped in the Baghdad pact mainly because of a wrong British approach. Though many Arabs are of the view that the United States also wants the existing disunity among the Arab States it seems to be a false idea. A Lebanese Professor of Political Science agreed with me that a powerful and possibly stable anti-Communist Arab federation would definitely be in a better position to contain Communism in this part of the world than the divided, weak and underdeveloped so-called independent Arab states.

It cannot be refuted by any Arab statesman that the main hindrances in this way are internal. There are kings in this regions, some of whom are getting millions of dollars, every year, as a royalty from the oil, which their hitherto barren land is producing in abundance. They would not be ready to share this amount with their fellow-brethren. They would not consent to be deprived of their authority and power. It is maintained that the leader of the Arab countries, Egypt, hereself, is not in favour of the formation of an Arab federation. The traditional rivalry between the Hashmi rulers of Iraq and Jordan on one side and the King of Saudi Arabia on the other, still exists. Moreover the small Arab states fear that they would be completely subjugated by their more powerful neighbours. These and so many other usual difficulties in the formation of a federation together with the negative British and indifferent American attitude towards this problem, are responsible for keeping the Arabs in this present, far from happy, state of affairs.

India's foreign policy is liked in all Arab countries, for they are not a party and do not want to be a party in the East-West conflict. In joining a third area they are with us. Nehru enjoys great respect and prestige in all these countries. To them also, he is one of the greatest statesmen of the world and perhaps the greatest in Asia. His independent foreign policy is considered to represent the mind of the Arab people, though some are of the view that he is over-sympathetic in his attitude towards communist China.

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FOREIGN AND YUGOSLAV AUTHORS IN NEW YUGOSLAV THEATRE REPERTOIRES

By C. MINDEROVIC

Nine of the largest Yugoslav theatres have prepared fifty-eight premieres for the new theatre season. These are the works of twenty-six foreign and eighteen domestic authors to be performed in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Skoplje.

The Yugoslav audiences will be able to see for the first time or in a new case and production the works of the Greek classics, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophernes. The Slovene drama in Ljubljana will stage *Antigone*. The Zagreb dramatic theatre will give Euripides' *Hyppolyte* while the Belgrade Drama Theatre will present *Lysistrate*.

An already large number of Shakespeare's works to be found on the repertoires of Yugoslav theatres, will be augmented by three new plays. The Yugoslav Drama Theatre which is already showing *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet*, will enrich its repertoire by the addition of *Macbeth*. The Slovene Theatre in Ljubljana will put *Henry the Fourth* on the stage, while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will present *As You Like It*.

The English Drama will also be represented by the performance of three plays by Bernard Shaw *viz., Pygmalion* (The Belgrade Drama Theatre), *The Devil's Disciple* (The Yugoslav Drama Theatre) and *Joan of Arc* (The Croatian National Theatre).

Of the modern English dramatic works, the Slovene National Theatre will present T. S. Eliot' *Cocktail Party* while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will give Samuel Becket's drama *Waiting for Godot*.

The German classic works will be represented by Goethe's *Egmont* and Schiller's *Don Carlos*. Besides this, the Zagreb Drama Theatre and Sarajevo National Theatre will present *Mutter Courage* by the contemporary German dramatist Berthold Brecht while his work *The Good Man from Sechouan*, which is already on the repertoire of the Drama Theatre, is also being prepared for showing by the Ljubljana Municipality Theatre.

This season again the repertoire includes several American dramatic works. Miller's *Crucial* which

has already been shown in Belgrade and Zagreb, will be one of the premieres of the Macedonian National Theatre in Skoplje and the Slovene Theatre in Ljubljana. The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing Tennessee William's *Camino Real*, the Ljubljana Municipal Theatre O'Neill's *The Mourning of Electra*, the Croatian National Theatre *Cane Mutiny* by Herman Wouk, while the Macedonian National Theatre *Philip and Jonah* by Irvin Shaw.

Of the Modern French scenic works four dramas by Jean Giraudoux will be shown, *viz., Pour Lucrece* and *Apollon de Bellac* in the Zagreb Drama Theatre, while *La Folle de Chaillot* and *La Guerre de Troie n'a pas eu Licu* will be produced by the Slovene National Theatre. The works of the French Classics will be performed this season again.

In addition to Tchekhov's and Gorki's plays which are included in the repertoire of most of the threatres, Tolstoy's *The Live Corpse*, shown earlier on the Yugoslav stage, has again been placed on the repertoire of the Croatian National Theatre. Gogol's *Controlling Official* will appear in the Macedonian National Theatre, while his *Wedding* will be performed by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The *Bloody Wedding* by Garcia Lorca—last year's premiere of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre—will be given by the Slovene National Theatre as some of its next premieres. Another play by this Spanish writer *The Love of Don Perlimplin* will also be performed in Yugoslavia.

A work by Strindberg, *The Father*, is to be performed by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre. The National Theatre in Belgrade will also show the play *The Latest News* by the Rumanian writer Mihail Sebastini.

The name of the Italian Renaissance writer Machiavelli will appear also in this year's bills. His work *Mandragora* will be one of the three premieres of the Slovene National Theatre. The Italian drama will also be represented by Pirandello's play *Siesta* in the performance of the Zagreb Drama Theatre.

It is characteristic for the new season that nearly all theatres are staging works of the modern Yugoslav drama. The Belgrade National Theatre will give a new performance of Miroslav Krleza's *Agony*, while his work *The Glembays* recently had its hundredth performance in the same house. Two Krleza's legends *Kraljevo* and *Christopher Columbus* were shown as the first premiere of the Belgrade Drama Theatre this season, while the Slovene National Theatre is preparing his drama *Calvary*.

The Croatian National Theatre has opened the season with the performance of a work by the young author Dusan Roksandic, *White Butterflies*. This theatre is also preparing *Gloria*, a drama by the prominent Croatian prose writer Ranko Marinkovic, which will be one of the premieres also of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The Zagreb Theatres are taking the lead in staging the works of young Yugoslav authors. Thus, one of the premieres of the Croatian National Theatre will be a play by the humourist Fadil Hodzic, entitled *We are only Men*. The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing *The Even at Gog* by the Slovene writer Slavko Grum (to be shown also by the National Theatre in Sarajevo), and *The Narandzic Family* by the Croatian author Grga Gamulin. This threatre will also stage the dramatization of the novel *Poem* by Oskar Davico on a theme of the time of occupation The premiere of the dramatization of the same work is also awaited with interest in the National Theatres of Belgrade and Sarajevo. Dramatization of the novel *The Roots* by the contemporary writer Dobrica Cosic, who received a prize for this work dealing with conditions in Serbia before the First World War, will be shown in the Belgrade Drama Theatre.

The National Theatre in Sarajevo has opened the season with the performance of a domestic drama *People by* V. Subotic. This play won the first prize of the Federation of Educational Societies of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a contest for the best dramatic work. The municipal theatre in Ljubljana, is preparing three modern plays: *The Universe in Aquarium* by Matej Bor, *Two Hillocks* by Mladen Leskovac and *One Room for Four Persons* by Miroslav Belovic.

The Dubrovnik Renaissance comedy writer Marine Drzic (1508-1567) whose work *Uncle Maroje* was shown by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre at the First International Drama Festival in Paris in 1954, will be represented by this comedy at one of the premieres of the Zagreb Drama Theatre which will also perform *Jovadin*, a play by an unknown Dubrovnik writer from the eighteenth century.

The Suspect by the prominent Serbian comedy writer Branislav Nusic (1864-1938) whose plays are still filling a considerable part of the Yugoslav repertoire, will be one of the premieres of the Belgrade Drama Theatre. The National Theatre in Belgrade has already staged *Uros's Wedding*, a historical play by the poet Milutin Bojic (1890-1917).

The Slovene Theatre is refreshing its repertoire with the play *The Romantics* by Ivan Cankar (1879-1918), a short-story writer and dramatist who primarily treated social problems in his works.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of the famous Serbian writer of comedies Jovan Sterija Popovic (1806-1856) will be marked by jubilee performances of his works *The Miser, The Liar and Super-liar, The Marriage, Patriots* and others in all the big theatres.

ECONOMICS OF CATTLE WEALTH AND CATTLE INSURANCE

By Prof. J. C. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.SC. (Ag.),
College of Agriculture, Banaras Hindu University

"The bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like Simla. The railway train and the motor car are there, but all along the mountain road I found bullocks trudging up and down, dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if this means of transport is part of our lives and our civilization. And the bullock has to endure if our handicraft civilization is to endure."—Mahatma Gandhi.

Cattle have been the most valuable asset to our country for its economic value and for a long time even the standard of living in ancient India. 'Mother cow' has been highly regarded and respected by us for centuries and her protection has been an article of faith with the Hindus. Oxen and bullocks were used for ploughing, drawing and carrying loads and have been the only means of rural transport.

Mythological Legends

According to Hindu mythology, Lord Krishna sheltered millions of cows, Emperor Dilip offered his own life in lieu of that of his preceptor's cow, Nandini, and Arjun courted exile for 12 years in order to rescue a Brahmin's cow. Apart from this, the mention of the 'River of milk and Land of honey,' has been made on several occasions in the Rig-Veda.

Thus the cattle wealth of this country has an intimate bearing on its agricultural development, health and economic prosperity of the people. Bullock-power is available for various agricultural operations and for a large majority of the people the only source of animal protein in their diet is milk and its products. It has, therefore, been rightly said that the cow and the working bullocks bear on their back the entire structure of the country's agriculture.

Population

India's share in World's cattle wealth is rather too high, *i.e.*, more than ¼ of the entire World's population. This is evident from the following statement taken from *India in World Economy*.

World Cattle Population in 1945
(in '000)

Country	*Population*
1. India	1,36,739
2. U.S.A.	85,573
3. China	19,828
4. Australia	14,133
5. S. Africa	12,593
6. Canada	10,258
7. Turkey	9,549
8. Italy	6,550
9. Ireland	4,211
10. Denmark	3,237
11. U.K.	1,331
12. New Zealand	459

Further, according to 1951 census India's cattle population has increased to 185 million, and the density ratio is 75 cattle per 100 acres of cultivated land and 60 cattle per 100 persons, though the distribution is quite uneven.

Importance

In India's economy the cow plays an important role both for the purpose of draught and milk for human dietary. Though she has over 18.5 crores of oxen and buffaloes, the production and consumption of milk and its product per head in the country is probably the lowest, which is clear from the following tables:

Per Head Milk Production

Country	*Srs.*	*Ch.*
1. New Zealand	7	10
2. Denmark	4	10
3. America	1	6
4. Germany	1	1
5. England	0	7
6. India	0	4

Per Head Consumption of Milk

Country	*Srs.*	*Ch.*
1. Sweden	1	14.5
2. Austrilia	1	6.5
3. England	1	3.5
4. Canada	1	1.5
5. America	1	1.5
6. Germany	1	1.5
7. France	0	15.0
8. India	0	3.5

This is due to the low productivity of the Indian cows. The cowdung which no doubt can be best utilised as manure to maintain soil fertility, is the vital problem on which Indian agriculture almost depends. But farmers misuse the dung by converting it into cakes for burning as fuel, which is due to the scarcity of an alternative cheap fuel. According to Dr. S. K. Dutta nearly 67 per cent of the dung is burnt as fuel and the remainder is utilized as manure.

Contribution

The annual contribution by cattle to the national dividend has clearly been worked out by Sri N. S. Srinivasan in his *Cattle Wealth in India*. (1953). This is reproduced below:

Item	*Value in crores of Rs.*
1. Milk and milk products (500 million maunds)	800
2. Ploughing and agricultural labour (cultivated area 230 mill. acres)	1,200
3. Transport for agricultural produce	300
4. Meat (20 million maunds)	120
5. Hides and skins	50
6. Dung	1,000
Total	Rs. 3,470

Further, this contribution can well be compared with that of other industries in India to the national economy. This has been given by Dr. S. K. Dutta.

Item	*Value in crores of rupees*
1. Iron and steel (1949-50)	50
2. Cotton textile and yarn	150
3. Jute	78
4. Sugar	54.5
5. Coal (3 million tons)	500
Total	Rs. 832.5 crores.

From the above statements we note that the most backward and uncared cattle wealth gives Rs. 3,470 crores. whereas the basic industries yield only Rs. 832.5 crores. What a contrast indeed! The economist may have exaggerated but it can be confidently said that cattle wealth do affect considerably a country's economy. The value of India's livestocks and their porducts as estimated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, exceeds that of her crops. As such the "Grow-More-Food" campaign can only succeed if proper development of cattle is carried out simultaneously. Wherever cattle are good and well cared for, the people are more prosperous and healthy and they get better returns from the land. But in general their living condition is astonishingly perplexing. In spite of the existing huge number of cattle there is acute shortage of milk and bullocks of good draught capacity. They are generally in unthrifty condition with poor productivity, stunted growth, late maturity and long calving intervals.

Therefore the proper development of cattle is of great national importance. There are manifold aspects of this problem which have to be tackled simultaneously on its all fronts to achieve the desired objective. To examine these, I shall discuss the problem on the following heads:

1. Feeding, 2. Breeding, 3. Housing, 4. Mortality.

Feeding

Feeding is an important problem for maintenance and production of cattle. Cattle fodder and well maintained pastures are the secrets of successful cattle husbandry and good breeds are found only in such areas.

The cattle feed provided by us badly lacks in vital nutrients necessary for upkeep. They subsist on the most meagre ration, *i.e.*, the byproduct of agriculture. The advisory board of Imperial Council of Agriculture makes the following estimate of availability and requirements of the cattle feed.

Type of feed	*Total production in India (million tons).*	*Annual requirement (million tons).*
1. Roughages (fodder crops, straw of cultivated crops and grass)	175	270
2. Concentrates (oil cakes, cotton seed, cereals and husk etc.)	3.7	15

This gives a clear idea of the entire problem. Therefore, the essential prerequisite for improving our cattle wealth is the cultivation and proper conservation of fodder crops. Berseem and lucern provide the richest type of fodder and also enrich the soil fertility with the help of nitrifying bacteria present in their root nodules.

Breeding

Good food can help to improve the milk yield and draught capacity of our cattle only up to a certain level beyond which porgress can be made only if improved blood is introduced. "Bull is half the herd." The present detericration of cattle in India is mainly due to malnutrition and improper breeding. Due to unhealthy condition the conception does not take place quickly. Therefore, the breed may be improved through pedigree sire with a view to develop their inherent qualities for milk and draught. Upgrading *i.e.* mating of common or local breed with that of more highly improved and pure breed, is an important way open to solve the present crisis in a short period. The method of artificial insemination is also being made use to overcome the shortage of good bulls.

Housing

It is needless to say that the housing condition of cattle are far from satisfactory. The cattle live under the most unhygienic condition and this is one of the main causes of diseases in the country. In compact village condition the position is still worse. Words cannot picture the plight of cattle in the urban areas. The common practice prevailing in the villages is to leave the cattle in open fields during the day and tie them under trees in nights. This is nothing but cruel and inhuman to the creature, and they are exposed to all vagaries of nature. It is, therefore, urged to protect this agricultural wealth under shed with sanitary conditions.

Mortality

Morality is another pressing problem. By far the largest mortality amongst livestck is due to contagious diseases and next in importance are the parasitic diseases. Accident and injuries are also quite common. The majority takes a heavy toll on the cattle population. The following statement will show the magnitude of cattle mortality in India as per Government of India report on the problem of cattle insurance 1950!

Annual death due to diseases among oxen and buffaloes per 1000 animals during 1938-39 to 1940-41

Animal	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
1. Oxen	1.74	1.54	1.72
2. Buffaloes	1.74	1.13	1.52

All these aspects on the whole affect the rural economy of the country which is summarised below;

1. Loss of cattle affecting financial drain on the cultivators and pressing need for replacement.
2. Inconvenience, delay or break in farm operations.
3. Loss of working days.
4. Inefficient agriculture.
5. Unfit animals become liabilities on the owners.

Viewing all the above, we have to bring out some concrete measures to overcome these ills. No doubt the Department of Animal Husbandry is taking great pains towards this pressing need of the country in improving feeding, breeding and dairy matters but the point lacking as to what measure can help in absorbing the shock of these calamities and other difficulties of our cultivators towards cattle and the answer is Cattle Insurance.

Cattle Insurance in India

The history of cattle insurance in India dates back

to 1913. In 1923 there were 27 cattle insurance societies in Punjab, 8 in Coorg, 9 in Bombay and 1 in U.P. By 1935 all these were liquidated and the reasons of failures were very many. Cattle insurance is carried out in many countries abroad and the main countries are Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Great Britain. It is carried out under state supervision in those countries.

Goshalas and Pinjrapoles

It is estimated that there are at present 3,000 goshalas and pinjrapoles all over India, maintaining nearly 6,00,000 heads of cattle at an annual cost of about Rs. 7 crores, met from private charities on a voluntary basis. The primary object of establishing these during the last two centuries was to arrest any deterioration of milch cattle as a giver of milk and to protect them from indiscriminate slaughter. Though suffering from apparent drawbacks, they could serve as sanctuaries for the preservation and betterment of the cattle wealth of the country, they also provided asylum to milch cattle from cities and towns during dry periods.

But now a number of drawbacks have appeared, and further because of a wide diversity of unfavourable conditions it has not been possible to run these institutions successfully. Efforts, therefore should be made that these institutions may be organized on proper lines, supplemented by converting them into milk-producing and cattle-breeding centres. Efforts should also be made to bring these in each state together under the Co-operative Unions and to have a uniform federation.

Gosadans

Here it would not be out of place to make a mention of Gosadans. This is a scheme of the Government to open Gosadans, segregation camps for unproductive cattle. All the economically unseless bulls are to be isolated and castrated. Such cattle can advantageously be maintained, without much cost on grazing in forests or other waste land where they might even prove useful in fertilizing the soil. The expenditure on these may be shared both by the Centre and the State Governments.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are suggested:

1. Castration of all scrub bulls and their substitution by those of approved bulls.
2. Upgrading of productive cattle by scientific breeding. Adoption of the technique of artificial insemination to make the widest possible use of available superior bull.
3. Establishing of calf-rearing farms.
4. Preventing and eradicating infectious and contagious diseases.
5. Introduction of improved fodders.
6. Taking effective measures to prevent the slaughter of useful bovine cattle.
7. Salvaging of dry cattle from towns.
8. Organising short-term training course for goshala and pinjarapole workers in animal husbandry and dairying.
9. Providing technical assistance, veterinary facility and approved bulls for stud purposes and other facilities, like mobile dispensaries, grazing and land for fodder cultivation.
10. Introduction of Cattle Insurance scheme under State supervision, either through co-operatives or a start through National Extension Schemes.

Increased agricultural and dairy output is the need of the day and no efforts should be spared to achieve this objective. Cattle are the backbone of our agriculture and low production terminating in deficit economy due to the above-mentioned hazards will surely be ruining the progress of the country if not checked at the opportune time. So if risks and uncertainties are minimised and agriculture be made a safe enterprise, all the other difficulties will ease automatically and there must be some form of Insurance against these risks.

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DEFENCE OR DEVELOPMENT?

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Intervening in the debate on Demands for Defence grants, Prime Minister Nehru told the Parliament that although a war between India and Pakistan was "unlikely," the possibility of "some emergency arising" could not be ignored. Pakistan, he said, had received Military aid in considerable quantity from the United States and this posed a "terrible" problem for India from the point of view of diversion of our resources from developmental to Defence needs." He added: "The problem which has been thrust upon us by Military alliances is how far, to ensure safety today, we are to sacrifice and delay tomorrow's development." The Prime Minister said that it was not an easy matter to decide this question. He was, however, of the opinion that the real answer to the Atom Bomb lay in "the spirit and unity of the people and their will to survive in spite of difficulties." "If this is weak, it does not matter how many tanks or aircrafts you may put in somewhere." The Prime Minister observed: "The equation of Defence is your Defence forces plus your industrial and technological background, the economy of the country and the spirit of the people."

It is true that it would be suicidal to underrate the importance of national defence in the light of existing circumstances in which India is placed. But it will be equally suicidal to slow down our pace of economic development which, in more senses than one, is the real and lasting Defence of the country against violence and disorder, both internal as well as external. We have to realise that the real stability of a country ultimately depends on the mental and moral satisfaction enjoyed by its citizens. If the people are dissatisfied

owing to economic and social conditions and there are fissiparous tendencies among them owing to casteism, communalism and regionalism, merely the possession of a large army well-equipped with modern weapons will not be of much help in ensuring the safety of the country. As the Prime Minister remarked, "If I am confident about India, that confidence depends more on the spirit and unity of the people than on other factors."

In this connection the importance of basic and defence industries cannot be over-emphasised. In the modern world no nation can be politically safe and secure if it is not more or less self-sufficient in the necessary weapons of warfare. Without an industrial and technological background, merely importing highly technical weapons from foreign countries will not be of much avail. As the Prime Minister pointed out, if the machines go wrong and if a foreign country refuses to supply spare parts, the weapon becomes useless. Under the second Five-Year Plan, therefore, it is necessary to build up our Defence industries and attain maximum self-sufficiency in this sphere. It must, however, be realised that India will have to content itself with a comparatively small but efficient standing army. It would be futile for us to try to compete with the Great Powers in building up our Defences. If some Power which has nuclear weapons at iis disposal chooses to attack India, from the purely Military point of view we have little Defence. It may be that from another point of view we may yet be able to meet even the menace of Atom Bomb. As the Prime Minister observed, "A people that will not surrender whatever happened can never be beaten." On the other hand the people of a nation who have developed a strong will for political independence will crumble down easily despite a large and well-equipped army. Our national Defences, therefore, have to be built up in the minds and hearts of the people.

From this point of view, we must, even from the Defence point of view, give the highest priority to our Plans for providing full employment to the people and for reducing the existing disparities of wealth and incomes. The draft outline of the Second Five-Year Plan has been now before the nation for some time. It will soon be finalised. But before we do so, it will be necessary to lay special emphasis on the need for improving the social and economic conditions of the backward sections of our people. According to the targets mentioned in the Plan, our National Income is expected to rise by 25 per cent after five years. But, as the Finance Minister stated in the course of his Budget speech, merely working out a statistical average of incomes will not do. We will have to take special care of the poorest sections of the society. From this standpoint, the rise of incomes among the poorer sections of the population during the next five years will have to be much higher than the proportionate rise of incomes among the richer sections. This has not been the case during the first Five-Year Plan. For example, let us glance at the estimates of per capita income in Uttar Pradesh since 1948:

Year	*Total*	*Rural*	*Urban*
	(In term of 1948-49)		
1948-49	149.4	200.9	550.1
1950-51	259.4	198.5	645.8
1952-53	259.5	198.0	649.2
1954-55	276.7	210.1	698.0

These figures have been taken from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* issued by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Uttar Pradesh Government.

These statistics clearly indicate that there has been hardly any rise in the incomes of the rural people during the last seven or eight years, whereas there has been a definite increase in per capita incomes in the urban areas. This is surely disquieting. India is predominantly a country of villages and if your National Planning does comparatively much less good to the rural population, we cannot expect the millions of our people to be enthusiastic about our Plans and Projects. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to take special care of this aspect of economic development in the next Five-Year Plan. This could be achieved only if we develop small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country. Under the existing Plan even in the Community Project areas, the rich seem to be getting richer while the poor people hardly seem to get any tangible benefits. The order must be reversed now. Our plans should benefit the poorer sections much more than the richer sections. Our scheme of taxation and Public Finance should also undergo a radical change from this point of view.

The recent border raids by Pakistan on Indian territory are surely a cause for some alarm. It is surprising how, instead of expressing any regrets, the Pakistan Government and the press have been telling the world that it is India which has been raiding the Pakistan territory. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to deal with a neighbour country when even elementary canons of truthful behaviour are not observed. At any rate, we should utilise these border incidents for serious re-thinking in regard to our Defence and Development programmes. National development, however, does not mean mere economic development. Without proper development of national character side by side with economic well-being, it would be impossible to build up our national defence on a sound footing. The values of money and power seem to be most attractive to most of us. The values of life must undergo a definite change. It is high time for us to realise that the real values of life are essentially moral and spiritual. As the Prime Minister observed, our real Defence would depend upon the 'spirit' of the people. That is why Mahatma Gandhi always told us the real answer to the Atom Bomb was the *Atmik Shakti* or spiritual power.

and understanding; he takes the reader into immediate and easy confidence. There is a short, but delightful, little western interlude which takes the author to some European cities, reviving fond and wistful pre-war memories. All in all, Dr. Sinha has given us a book that will earn for him new friends in this country as well as in other neighbouring lands.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

A CRITICAL STUDY OF RABINDRANATH'S 'CHITRA': *By K. S. Appaswami Ayyar. Chandra Publishing House, Mylapore, Madras. Price Re. 1.*

In this booklet on Rabindranath's 'Chitra' (Bengali *Chitrangada*) the author has given evidence of devoted study and power of appreciation. An outline of the story is followed by a short critical estimate. The picture on the cover of the book is definitely unsatisfactory.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

COMMUNISM O KRISHOK: *By Ramswarup. Translated into Bengali by Amalendu Das Gupta. Published from 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 242. Price Re. 1.*

This is the Bengali translation of the English book written by the author to prove that Communism and its methods did not help the tillers of the soil in U.S.S.R. The book is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Soviet Theories, Communistic Methods, World Communism and Its Programme and, Indian Agriculture and Its Improvement. At the end of each chapter a bibliography is given which will help the readers to know the sources of information and also to refer to the originals, if necessary. The book has been published with a view to challenge certain facts regarding progress of Soviet methods of agriculture. The book is well documented and as such will be of interest to those who want to know the other side of the picture.

KENO BANKE TAKA RAKHBO: *By Rabindra Nath Ghosh. Published by Debkumar Bose, 7-J, Panditia Road, Calcutta-29.*

The author is well-known as a writer on Economic subjects in Bengali and himself a bankman. It is not easy for a layman to select a bank for his deposits. The brochure under review will be helpful not only to a layman but to a businessman as well, to select a bank where money may be deposited with safety. The book deserves wide circulation among those who are interested in Banks as customers.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SANYASI AUR SUNDARI: *By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Published by Rampuria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Around the Buddhist tale of Vasavadatta, the courtesan, and Upagupta, a disciple of the Enlightened One, the young novelist has woven a full-length stirring story, in which the perpetual duel between the love of passion and the passion of love is described in all its perversity and puissance, on the one hand, and candour and chastity, on the other. The courtesan's play and pleasure of sensuous love is only a veneer for her underlying cry for and claim to the heart of one, who would love her for her own sake and not merely for her physical charm and capacity for entertainment, as do her many rich and pleasure-seeking customers. Against all this, the self-controlled Upagupta's love and reverence for her as an individual, entitled to appreciation and affection and esteem in her own right as a fellow human being is a beacon-light for all those who would tread the difficult path of Love. The author promises to be one of our front-rank novelists in the not distant future.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) KAKANO SANJAYA: *Price Re. 1-12.*
(2) MADHAV KAKA: *Price six annas.*
(3) KUNAL: *Price eight annas.*

All three composed by Chhotubhai Joitaram Bhatt, "Shreya's" Juvenile class, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These three books are meant for young children and convey information on various subjects in a chatty style. The first book, for instance, gives all that is worth knowing about the Nile Valley and old Egypt. *Kunal* teaches grace and mercy. They are illustrated.

(1) BALAKONO ACHAR, (2) BALAKONO ANAND: *By Somabhai Bhavasar. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950. Price As. 3 and As. 6.*

Both these small books are full of stories meant to delight children and guide them in the right and correct path. There are pictures in them.

(1) INSAN MITADUNGA AND OTHER STORIES: *By Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani. Price Re. 1-4.*
(2) SONANO SURAJ: *By Pitambar Patel. Price Re. 1-4.*
(3) KOINE KAHESHO NAHIN: *By Mrs. Rambha Behan Gandhi. Price Re. 1-4.*
(4) SWAMI SAHANJNI VATO: *By Shrimati Jayavati Ashok Kaji, B.A. Price As. 6.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Dr. Shridharani even before he left for America, had been writing in Guiarati, verses and stories. They were of a high order. His residence in America made him a noted writer of English. After he came back to India, he has revived his interest in Gujarati literature and the chief story in Book No. 1, *Humanity in you will be destroyed by me*, relates to the hard and unbearable experiences of a prisoner from the time the police takes charge of him to take him to jail till his release. This story and the others are told in a very popular way and sustain his position as a good story-writer. Pitambar Patel's *Golden Sun* consists of 24 stories told in his characteristic style, meant for the uplift of the village, socially, sanitarily and in other ways. The other two books are written by ladies who have mainly to deal with children. Rambha Behen's practised pen enjoins children. "Do not tell this to any one." The simple, short, interesting dramas written by her, chiefly, as Radio addresses and talks are likely to be popular with children. Mrs. Jaya entered into literature with the editing of stories told to children after supper in Prof. Dewan Bahadur H. L. Kaji's family circle. They were published in magazines by his daughter, Mrs. Tarusuki Dehejia and are now collected and printed by this Society.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Eighth Year: *The Eighth Year* outlines the more important achievements of the Central and State Governments between April 1954 and March 1955. Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 234. Price Re. 1-8.

Second Five-Year Plan—The Framework: The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with Draft Plan-frame, Part II, Tentative Framework, Part III, Basic Considerations and Part IV, A Note of Dissent. Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 176. Price As. 12.

Education and the Plan: Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 44. Price As. 8.

Basic Education—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

Children's Films: It discusses the importance and necessity of producing films for the edification of children and deals with the formation of a Children's Film Society for the production of films specially for children. Published by the same. Pp. 40. Price As. 8.

Minor Irrigation: It deals with the minor works of irrigation which include wells, tanks, pumps, tube-wells and channels. Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

Asian-African Conference (18-24 April, 1955): It contains Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches at the concluding session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, April 24, 1955, and the Final Communique. Published by the same. Pp. 38. Price As. 8.

Tito Speaks (In India and Burma): Published by the Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi. Pp. 120. Price not mentioned.

Nepal and the World: By Rishikesh Shaha. Foreword by Shri B. P. Koirala. It deals with the Genesis and Growth of Nepali Nationalism and Factors in Nepal's Foreign Policy, *e.g.*, Nepal and India, Nepal's Relations with Tibet and China and with other countries in Asia and the world. Published by the author on behalf of the Khoj Parishad, Nepal Congress (Natitonal Congress Associated), Kathmandu. Nepal. Pp. 54. Price Rs. 2.

See India—Banaras: Published by the Publications Division, Government of India on behalf of The Tourist Traffic Branch, Ministry of Transport, New Delhi. Illustrated with photographs and a map of the Banaras City. Pp. 20. Price As. 8.

See India—Simla: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

See India—Dalhousie: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 20. Price As. 4.

Malavyaji—His Life and Work: By Puran Batra. Published by the Nath Publishing House, Rajamandi. Agra. Pp. 40. Price As. 12.

Ahimsa: By Kamta Prasad Jain. The author recommends Ahimsa as the right solution of the world's problems. Published by the World Jain Mission, Aliganj, Etah, U.P. Pp. 44. Price not mentioned.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE BOMBAY DOCKYARD AND THE WADIA MASTER BUILDERS: *By Ruttonjee Ardeshir Wadia. Published by the author, Thakur Nivas, Jamshetji Tata Road, Bombay-1. Pp. xx + 401. Price Rs. 22-8.*

This is a work of considerable study and research. The author has utilised a large mass of very valuable material comprising not only printed works and files of old journals but also unpublished papers from the Records of the Bombay Secretariat and the India office in London (the last two being arranged under four and eleven heads respectively). The work consists of two Parts. In Part I, the author after a preliminary sketch of the early history of Bombay Island and the early ship-building activities of the Indians reviews the early history of ship-building at Surat and Mazagon, and he more particularly traces the development of the Bombay dockyard from the construction of the first dock in 1693-94 onwards. In Part II, the author deals with ship-building in Bombay with special reference to the activities of a distinguished Parsi family, the Wadias, who filled the office of master-builders in the Bombay dockyard for a century and a half (1736—1884). The most important period in the history of ship-building at Bombay opened in 1798 when the East India Company's Court of Directors gave orders for the construction at its dockyard of the first ship for His Majesty's Navy. The author quotes extensive facts and figures to prove that "the vessels built at Bombay by the Parsi Master-builders whether for the navy or for private owners were vastly superior to anything built anywhere else" at that time. This, however, was not permitted to be recognised "largely because of the potential effect of such recognition upon British and European shipyards." Thanks to the policy of the British Government, ship-building at Bombay after reaching its zenith with the fifth Master-Builder of the Wadia family the great Jamshetjee Bomanjee (died 1821) and dragging on a short period of existence thereafter, entered upon its decline with the retirement of the sixth Master-Builder in 1843. The end came when the Indian Navy was abolished in 1863 entailing with it a considerable curtailment of the Bombay dockyard establishment. The book is illustrated by a large number of photographs as well as some maps and plans, five Appendices (including a list of vessels built in the Bombay dockyard and another list of vessels built at Bombay for the Royal Navy together with the years of their construction and their short descriptions) and an Index. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, contributes a short foreword.

The paper, print and general get-up of the work are excellent. We have noticed two misprints, Necolo Conti (p. 15) and Brahmani King (p. 16) not corrected in the list of errata at the beginning of the work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE BRAHMARSHI'S GOSPEL or the Transcendental Bases of Vaidik Religion and Society: *By V. K. Palekar. Published by the Director of Bharatiya Sanskritika Bidyapith, Durganibas, Hyderabad-4, Deccan. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This book contains a brief biography and the valuable thesis of Sri Anna Saheb Patwardhana whom the late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak revered as his Guru. Sri Anna Saheb was a great figure in the early British regime and worked for the regeneration of his country under the inspiring guidance of Sri Narasimha Saraswati Swami Maharaj. His remarkable personality was a unique combination of political and spiritual genius. Dilating like a learned professor of historical and comparative jurisprudence that he was, he proceeds to prove in this thesis that the foundations of Vaidik Society and criminal law are nearer perfection than western parallels.

Another point made in this thesis is that Vaidik language is still unpolluted and the efficacy of Vaidik mantras still undiminished and verifiable by proper experiments. He has adduced plenty of philological evidence to show that the Vedic language has influenced and modified other languages both Indian, such as Tamil and Telegu, as well as Trans-Indian, such as Greek and Latin. He claimed that Greek is corrupt Tamil and Latin is corrupt Telegu. The most important part of his gospel, however, deals with the aims and objects of *yoga* which in its comprehensive sense is called by him transcendental science. About fifty distinguished authorities, Indian and foreign, are cited and used in this thesis.

It is a pity that the get-up and paper in particular, of such an important work is much worse than ordinary. It is certainly a discredit to the publisher who has written a preface to this book and is himself the author of a book on the science of Yoga.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN CURRENCY: *By Dr. K. N. S. Nambudiripad, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Continental Prakashan, 196-19, Sadashib Peth, Tilak Road, Poona-2. Pp. vi + 380. Price Rs. 7-8.*

As the name implies this is a short history of the Indian Currency and Exchange since the passing of the Act of 1833 introducing uniform currency in 1835. The subject has been divided into 22 chapters and the circumstances leading to the appointments of different committees and commissions and their findings have been given in some detail for the benefit of students. The Herschell Committee (October, 1892), the closing of mints to free coinage of silver (1893), the Fowler Committee (July, 1899), the Gold Exchange Standard, the Chamberlain Commission (April, 1913). J. M. Keynes on a Central Bank for India, Indian currency during First World War (1914-18), the exchange ratio controversy, the Babington Smith Committee (May 1919), the Hilton Young Commission (August 1925), the great world depression, establishment of Reserve Bank of India (1935), Second World War (Sept., 1939 to Aug. 1945), Exchange control during War, Post-War Exchange Control and Inflation, International Monetary Fund, India's independent Monetary Policy, Nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India, Sterling Balance Agreements, Post-War Dollar Shortage, Devaluation of the sterling, etc., have been discussed supported by illuminating statistical tables. The author has spared no pains to make the book authoritative by quoting profusely from specialists, also by supplying statistical figures from Blue books.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—A New Approach: *By Susil Dey, I.C.S. Published by Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., Ltd., 3 Esplanade East, Calcutta-1. Pp. 82. Price Rs. 5.*

Mr. Dey, former Development Commissioner of West Bengal, states in brief the case of all-round rural development as envisaged in the Community Projects undertaken by the State Governments all over India. The story of Kulkuri is an authentic record of such a progress. That in competitive industrial world, the village productiton on a small scale on the basis of co-operative and mutual understanding has a prospect of survival, nay an assured place in the country's economy, is proved by the story Mr. Dey depicts so nicely. Even Mr. Joan Robertson, the noted Economist of Cambridge, admits of the possibility "on the exact analogy between the shortage of cash in villages and shortage of dollars in Europe."

This small book will be an eye-opener to those of our countrymen who have still doubts about the success of the Community Projects. What is wanted is persevering patience for work from village level with a view to rouse the villager to economic and moral consciousness to work up in co-operative and mutual trust for individual and collective benefit.

A. B. DUTTA

GAUTAMA (The Story of Lord Buddha): *By Shakuntala Masani. Illustrated by Nena von Leyden. Published by Blackie and Son (India) Ltd., Post Box 21, Bombay-1, and 285, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. December, 1955. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book is a timely publication on the eve of the 2500th celebration of the Buddha Jayanti this month. The story of Lord Buddha, one of the greatest prophets of one of the greatest religions of the world, is admirably narrated by the authoress in a lucid, simple style which will not only delight the juvenile readers and the general public but also students and scholars, and its numerous illustrations beautifully sketched by Nena von Leyden in the Ajanta style will fascinate the readers. The story is told in 14 chapters; at the beginning of each chapter are quoted suitable lines taken from the *The Light of Asia* by Sir Edwin Arnold. The paper, get-up and cover of the book reflect the credit of the well-known publishers.

AMIDST THE CHINESE PEOPLE: *By Prof. Jagadish Chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6 Illustrated. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 5.*

The author was formerly a Professor of Peking University, China. With his first-hand experience of the country and its people he is well-fitted to present the Indian reader with a book about China and the Chinese people, full of exhaustive and informative facts and figures. Sri Mulk Raj Anand has written a prefatory letter to the author for his self-imposed task of interpreting China to the Indian people. In several chapters, *viz.*, Introduction, Towards China, On the Soil of New China, Peking, San Fan Movement, May Day, Health, Students, Universities, Schools of Peking, Chinese Language, Modern Chinese Literature, Chinese Opera, Cinema, Music and Dance, Chinese Painting, The Land Reform Movement, Co-operatives, The Working Class, Shanghai—The Centre of Trade, Religious Tolerance, Liberation of Women, The Communist Party, The Peace Conference, The Korean War, Sino-Soviet Friendship, etc, the author has described all about New China and its people. The book is illustrated with a good many photographs. Binding and get-up is good. The quality of the paper should be improved in the next edition.

B. K. SEAL

BLOWING UP INDIA: *By Philip Spratt. Prachi Prakashan, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2 (3sh. 6d. or 50 cents abroad).*

Mr. Philip Spratt, an ex-Comintern Emissary, came to India in 1926 and was for a time an important figure in the Communist Party of India. He was one of the accused in Meerut Conspiracy Case, which started in 1929 and cost more than twenty lakhs of rupees to the Indian exchequer. Mr. Spratt was sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

Mr. Spratt has since abjured Communism and in common with all neophytes he is bitter against all his erstwhile 'comrades' and near-'comrades.' The U.S.A. and India are both bitterly criticised—the one because it is not *sufficiently tough* with the Communists and the other, for its *pro-Communist* foreign policy.

The author concludes his long tirade against Communism, which the volume under review is, with the following words: "India is being led rapidly and almost unresistingly into, or at least dangerously near the Soviet bloc . . . It is time for the public to make up its mind and assert itself." Not many in India, we think, will take Mr. Spratt seriously.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ON A FORBIDDEN FLIGHT: *By Satyanarayan Sinha. Bhavan's Book University Series No. 31. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 121. Price Re. 1-12.*

In parts, this modest little book reads like an adventure story out of the world. The author is the Chief Whip of India's Parliament and his own forty-five short years of life has itself been a rare, thrill-packed existence. Dr. Sinha took time off from his heavy official duties and flew off in a battered old tramp plane towards what was still largely a *terra incognita* over the bewildering knots of mountains that straddle across India's north-western frontiers. In these rugged regions, Dr. Sinha found likable, lovable and friendly people, belying all the complacent and meaty generalizations of the conventional travel books. Dr. Sinha's narrative style is unpretentious and simple and is tempered besides by humour

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Moral Imperative in the World Community

Dr. Philip Lee Ralph writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The absence of a reliable moral code governing the behaviour of nations in their relationships with one another has long been remarked and deplored. Centuries of social evolution have produced relatively effective disciplines for the individual members of organized societies, not only in such intimate units as the family but also in fairly large and impersonal communities. In spite of the fallibility and waywardness of human nature, moral sensibilities have been nurtured and made fruitful in the development of individual personalities. But there is a notorious gap between the ethical principles accepted by even the ordinary and passably good citizen of a civilized community and the principles which seem to underlie the policies of organized states. Since the days of Machiavelli at least, it has been debated whether the State is amenable at all to the moral restraints that have become almost axiomatic in private life or whether the State is a law unto itself, bound only by considerations of calculated interest and the limits of its own strength. Paradoxically, the growth of successful and powerful governments has exposed and augumented a state of anarchy between governments.

In modern times considerable effort has been directed toward the replacing of international anarchy with a system of international law. This highly commendable effort has met with limited success, not only because of the inherent difficulty of law enforcement over a wide area, but also, and more fundamentally, because of the lack of a tradition which would give such a law the sanction of universal assent. Within well-established communities, whether civilized or primitive, the greater part of law is not a conscious creation but the embodiment of custom. Parliaments and congresses grind out huge quantities of legislation every year without producing a very marked effect upon the basic law of the land. Barring revolution, legislation can modify but little the fundamental habits and relationships of the body of citizens. Similarly, a really meaningful international law cannot be created by fiat or by solemn resolutions. A formal renunciation of aggression does not put an end to war; neither does a judicial condemnation of international aggressors, even when it is carried out by victors who are in a position to enforce their sentence upon the vanquished. International law will be respected only when it appears as the crystalization of the experience of nations that have begun to share a community life. International law can be no stronger than the moral sensitivity of the separate nations that support it. Unfortunately, there is no simple recipe for the heightening of moral sensitivity, but the need for such a transformation has become increasingly apparent.

The dichotomy between private morality and public morality is seen in traditional attitudes toward the stakes and techniques of diplomacy, the handling of international disputes and the problem of world organization.

While in the field of personal contacts, even with strangers and foreigners, it is natural to assume at least a fifty-fifty chance of finding mutual trustworthiness, it is considered the height of *naivete* to regard any foreign state (perhaps even one's own) as dependable and honourable except when its own immediate interests clearly impel it to be. Acknowledging the principle that states are naturally at enmity with one another, it is argued that any effective scheme for world government must incorporate a paramount authority with sufficient force at its disposal to coerce recalcitrant nations. And the schemes die in embryo because no powerful nation is willing to surrender its sovereignty—which means, to put it bluntly, its right to act irresponsibly in a crisis.

No sane member of a civilized human society would dream of claiming sovereign independence for himself. To do so would be to jeopardize his most precious interests as well as to alarm his neighbours. Sovereignty is not to be confused with freedom. Actually, the more freedom is recognized and embodied in the *mores* of a community, the less will be the individual wish to burden himself with defences against the violation of his own personal rights. Enabled to take off his armour and lay aside his weapons, he becomes more completely freed for the business of living. True, there remains an organized power within the State to protect the individual against violence and to punish him if he resorts to crime, but under normal conditions this force is hardly noticeable or needed. The consciousness of belonging to a respected and purposeful community, the habitual acceptance of the norms of group behaviour, play a much larger part in shaping the conduct of the ordinary citizen than does the presence (or absence) of the local police force. Among nations, however, there is as yet no such community sense and no such established tradition of reciprocal respect. Hence the nations cling tenaciously to their sovereignty, even though it is a heavy yoke on their shoulders and a stumbling block to the realization of greater freedom.

The proverbially low estate of international morality is not attributable to any insurmountable defect in human nature or to the inherent limitations

of politics. It can be accounted for historically by the fact that nations have been, until recently, generally isolated from one another, with only casual or traumatic contacts and little opportunity for discovering abiding common interests. In ancient times it was possible for an entire civilization to run its course and disappear without serious repercussions in other parts of the world.

Our own age is unique in having created a condition of proximity and interdependence among nations.

Because human progress is a spotty affair at best, it is inevitable that institutions frequently fail to accommodate themselves to changes in the environment or in the balance of social forces. We enter the age of jet planes while our political habits and concepts are still in the "horse-and-buggy" stage. The terrible secret of the atom, unlocked by erudite scientists, becomes a pawn in an international struggle where the prevailing code of ethics is no higher than that of the cave-man. Perhaps, it would be fairer to say that governments today in relationship to one another are in a condition analogous, not to the Stone Age, but to that of the frontiersmen living precariously on the edge of civilization. The frontier dweller is notoriously independent, quarrelsome and quick to avenge an injury, but he can also be friendly, generous and hospitable. He is an ambivalent kind of creature, half forerunner of a more expansive and freer culture and half outlaw. The frontier has a curious morality of its own, which is by no means entirely savage, but which is inadequate for the needs of a civilized state and a miserable foundation for an international code of ethics. And there is one significant and startling difference between the historic frontiersman and the modern nation state; the resources of the latter are by no means meagre or primitive. Frontier morality, hardly less than cave-man morality, is disastrously dangerous when its adherents are equipped with nuclear weapons.

Some contend that it is utopian to imagine that the nations can ever be brought to bind themselves with a rigid code of conduct such as applies to individuals in a community. Certainly it will be a difficult accomplishment, but it has never been easy to establish ethical standards, either for the group or for the individual. The taming of the ego, the instilling of attitudes of unselfishness and responsibility, has been the most formidable task confronting any society during its formative stages, but it has also been the most essential requirement for progress to a higher level of community life. The development of an ethical sense is never automatic but always the result of painful struggle, beset with anxiety and disappointment. In view of the diversity of opinion as to what constitutes desirable behaviour and in view of the refractoriness of human nature, it seems almost incredible that much moral progress could be achieved. Yet history bears impressive witness to the growth and maturation of conscience, to the displacing of the blood feud by adjudication, to the enlargement of the orbit of loyalty, and eventually to the discovery that forgiveness is sweeter than revenge. A moral truth, first projected by prophetic genius, becomes gradually incorporated into the social consciousness of a community as its utility is demonstrated by experience. And, as the community gains in maturity and as the scope of its contacts widens, standards of behaviour must be examined objectively and broadened or refined accordingly.

The great question of our day is whether the nations can manage to replace their tribal consciences with a world conscience before they destroy one another, along with every hope of a viable international order.

Will they be able to make the big moral jump in time to prevent World War III or World War IV? If so, the lead obviously will have to be taken by the most powerful nations, because they are the ones who hold in their hands the means of wiping out civilization and reducing the world to chaos.

For too long the advocacy of international-mindedness has remained almost exclusively the concern of idealists, even visionaries, as if the cause was a work of extraordinary merit, hardly to be encompassed by the ordinary citizen. Tribute is paid to the concept of world government as an ultimate ideal, earnestly to be desired—like the Kingdom of Heaven—but likewise indefinitely postponable. Meanwhile statesmen concern themselves with more immediate and "practical" issues, above all with the quest for national security.

The irony of the situation is that in the present state of military science and technology there is no such thing as security, there are no impregnable defences, there is no immunity from the death-dealing fires and poisons of the laboratory. The only salvation for any nation now lies in self-imposed restraint and in the institution of measures directed to the benefit of all. For the first time in history the fate of the

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—Edited by A. B. Lal, Reader in Politics, Allahabad University Rs. 15

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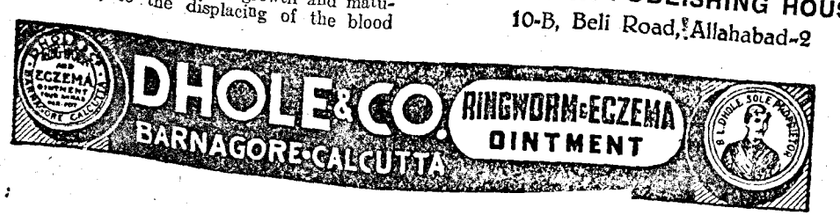


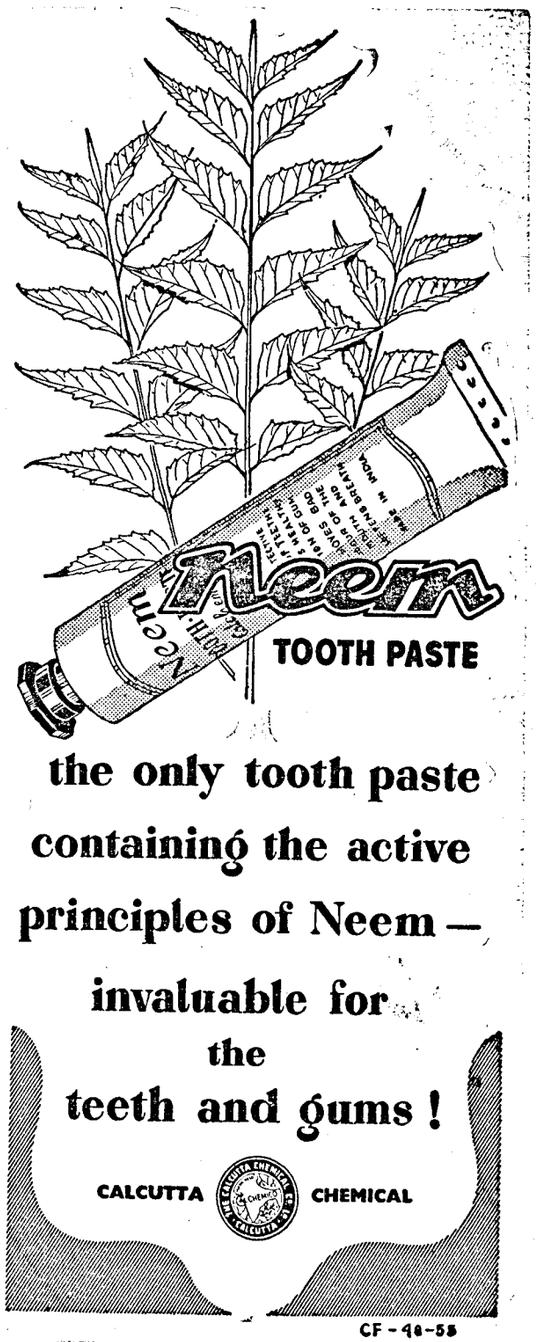
habited world has become a single one. If the nations cannot live together, they will die together. The security which is feverishly sought in a race for superiority in devastating weapons is like the desperate security of a gangster who has holed up in his hideaway, determined to "shoot it out." It is the false security which grimly fulfils the scriptural prophecy: they who would save their lives will lose them.

Beyond the fact that the projection of moral standards into the international sphere has become a necessary condition of survival rather than a mere pious dream, there is a deeper reason why the task must be undertaken. Private morality cannot be maintained independently of the moral standards practised by the organized groups that predominate in world affairs. Moral and ethical codes, whether primitive or advanced, always have relevance to the society in which they operate. Their efficacy grows with use and dwindles with neglect. But no longer is any society a self-contained experimental laboratory. The technological revolution of the last fifty years has drawn the nations together, whether they wish it or not. The actions of individuals, as well as of nations, have effects beyond the borders of their own state and will be judged in the court of world opinion. Unwittingly and unwillingly, we have all become our brother's keeper, and our neighbour is an alien whom we never expected to meet. Hence, time-honoured codes of national interest suddenly appear limited and parochial, insufficient to serve as mainsprings of action in a community which encompasses the experience, the needs and the aspirations of the whole human family.

The gap between private ethics and public policy has begun to put an unbearable strain upon the individual.

He stumbles against and is frustrated by the double standard. He is thrilled by an unending procession of scientific marvels, proof of the triumph of the free intellect and forecasting a fabulous era in which man may conquer time and space. Then he finds that scientists are bullied into silence by suspicious governments or bought and sold on an international black market. His religion—whether Eastern or Western—impels him to accept the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man; but he sees these precepts excluded from affairs of state and learns that, although a nation may be anxious to dump its surplus goods abroad, morality is not for export. Struggling to rear his children to be unselfish, generous and decent, he must send them out into a world where the assassination of millions of their fellow human beings may, at any instant, become the order of the day. It is no wonder that people are breaking under the strain, succumbing to neuroses or feeling themselves drawn into a spiritual vacuum.

The moral and spiritual values which give meaning to civilization and to life itself will atrophy and our souls will shrivel within us unless we inject and activate these values in the entire sphere of public, national and international relationships. This is a large order, but it is not sentimental altruism. Upon the success of the undertaking depends, ultimately, the safety and sanity of every individual. There is no longer a question of having one world or several; we already have one world. The choice, and one within our power to exercise, is between a co-operative world and a blighted planet.



Guru Gobind Singh

A Versatile Personality

Gobind Singh writes in *The Sikh Review* :

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, is generally regarded as a soldier, a warrior *par excellence*, a leader who defied the power of Aurangzeb. Very few people know that he was a versatile genius, a many-sided personality. He was a patriot, a nation-builder, a poet and a thinker. His versatility is an index to the rich gifts he possessed and which he used in the service of humanity.

A Patriot

Installed on the *gadi* at the tender age of nine (1675), Guru Gobind Singh began preparations to challenge the Mughal power. After-all, the Mughals were foreigners. They had come from Central Asia to exploit the resources and people of India and had no roots in the soil. Guru Gobind Singh desired to end this occupation. Moreover, Aurangzeb was a bigoted and power-intoxicated ruler. None could muster up courage to oppose him. The Guru threw the gauntlet to the despot and united the *rajas* of the Simla hills to join him. But they were afraid of Aurangzeb and helped his army in opposing the Sikhs. Single-handedly the Guru succeeded in defying the Mughal power.

A Nation-Builder

Guru Gobind Singh desired to create a strong and self-respecting community. He inspired the Sikhs with courage, hard work and simplicity. Once he burned all costly clothes at Anandpur and threw a considerable treasure into the Sutlej River to teach his followers the folly of hoarding property.

He also started an arms factory at Anandpur for the manufacture of swords, arrows and lances needed for his soldiers. The Sikhs were encouraged to make offerings of horses, weapons and uniforms in place of money. Once when the *brahmins* insisted that he should worship the goddess Durga in order to win victory in battle, he agreed to do so and kept up the farce till nothing came out of it. At the crucial moment, the Guru unsheathed his sword, exclaiming, "The sword is the Durga which will give us victory over evil-doers."

On Baisakhi day in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh fulfilled his life mission by the creation of the Khalsa. Five Sikhs responded to his call and expressed their willingness to die under his orders. They were baptized with *amrit* and were called *panj piyare*. This was the beginning of the community of warriors—the Khalsa—which was the spearhead of the defence of the weak against aggressors and evil-doers. Within eight years the number of the Khalsa rose to 80,000.

A Sanyasi

Renunciation does not lie in wearing the saffron-coloured robe or givig up family life. True renunciation implies giving up evil and desire. One must live in the very vortex of life but remain unattached to worldly things. Guru Gobind Singh described renunciation thus: "Oh, my soul, practise renunciation in this way: consider thy house a forest and yourself an ascetic in it. Let continence be thy matted hair and communion with God thy ablutions; instead of growing long nails, pray daily; exert for the acquisition of divine knowledge; instead of rubbing ashes on the body, repeat His name."

Guru Gobind Singh was a real *sanyasi*. He offered his all in the service of humanity. He pressed his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur, to offer his life as a saviour of the Hindu community. He sacrificed his sons for the vindication of truth and justice. When the news of the murder of his two sons by the Nawab of Sarhind was brought to him, he stood up and offered a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty: "Today I have discharged the trust (sons) committed to my care. The life of my children has been sarificed for the faith."

A Poet

From childhood, the Guru drank deep at the fountain of Hindu scriptures and folklore. At his court there were 52 poets. He himself wrote soul-stirring poetry.

There are two main themes of his poems—the glorification of God and the value of arms in inculcating courage and heroism. The Jaap is a collection of verses expounding the glory of God, written in a variety of metres, requiring deft and artistic handling. The Zafarnama is a poetic epistle in Persian addressed to Aurangzeb. It is not only a plea for justice and fair play but also a song of the glory of God who through small ants kills thousands of tyrants. It contains a message of hope add cheer. The Dasam Granth is a monumental anthology bearing testimony to the genius of the Guru and the talents of his court-poets.

A Saint

It is difficult to find an example of such a warrior-saint in history. Even on the field of battle the Guru insisted on prayers. The morning and evening services were held in the theatre of war. Once a Sikh, carrying news of the approach of the Mughal army, came running to the *divan*. The Guru did not stop *kirtan*. He completed it as usual and then faced the enemy.

The Guru held that prayers must have precedence over fighting with the enemy. Devotion came first and resistance to evil next. It is devotion which creates determination and courage to face evil and suffering.

The Guru showed sympathy to his enemies. He did not pursue the defeated foe but, on the contrary, offered him food when he was in need. That is because he was fighting against evil and bore no ill will to his opponents. He was an apostle of love and peace who put into practice the precept, "fear naught, frighten naught."

On the auspicious occasion of his formation of the Khalsa let us search our hearts and do a sort of stock taking and find out how far, both in words and deeds, we have followed the footprints of the great Guru. This sort of introspection will help us spiritually and enable us to make some progress on the road to divinity.

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Housing in the Second Plan

Bharat Sevak writes editorially :

Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for works, Housing and Supply, said that though no final figures had yet been decided, the allocation for housing under the Second Five-Year Plan was expected to be about Rs. 120 crores—more than three times the provision under the First Plan.

The effective utilisation of the sum would largely depend on the enthusiasm evidenced by the State Governments, for housing was primarily their responsibility rather than of the Centre. He added that in respect of housing in the Second Five-Year Plan the Government's policy "will have to be conditioned by the basic fact that housing cannot be divorced from our general standard of living." It must bear a closer relation to what people could afford to pay for it and must not be unrelated to the physical and material resources at their command.

Industrial Housing Scheme

Referring to the *Industrial Housing Scheme* he said that to date the Government had sanctioned Rs. 21 crores for the construction of 73,000 houses, 85 per cent. of which would have been built by the State Governments, 13-1|2 per cent, by the employers and 1-1|2 per cent, by the workers' co-operatives. During the Second Plan all these three agencies would have to redouble their efforts in order to provide houses for the industrial workers.

Low-Income Group Housing Scheme

Under the *Low-Income Group Housing Scheme*, about Rs. 21 crores had been sanctioned to State Governments, for disbursement as loans to individuals. The scheme had been in operation for a year now.

The Second Five-Year Plan will see the beginning of what has been described as the middle-income group housing. The scheme envisaged loans advanced by Government and insurance companies to individuals up to the extent of Rs. 25,000 per house, or 80 per cent of the cost of the house, whichever was less.

Slum Clearance

Stressing the need for slum clearance and re-housing of the displaced slum-dwellers, the Minister said that almost all the State Governments had emphasised that they could not undertake any work in this field without substantial aid from the Centre.

"I think opinion is now almost unanimous that a beginning must be made in the matter of slum clearance in the next Plan period and that a provision, however modest, should be set aside for dinbursement as loan and subsidy to the State Governments for the purpose of clearing the slums.

"Slum clearance is where Government must itself step in, in order to redress an evil of long standing, without entering into fine calculations about whether the rent-paying capacity of slum-dwellers would justify giving them better surrounding and better dwellings," he said.

Rural Housing

On rural housing the Minister said: "We must evolve and set the pattern of rural housing in the country within the context of what the community as a whole can reasonably expect to spend on it during this Plan.

"Experiments are being carried out even now on setting up with the aid of local labour, initiative and resources, a few model villages in the countryside, in order to test the economics of the operations. If such model villages could be set up, even on a modest scale, at selected sites, we will have succeeded in evolving a pattern which can be followed to improve the standards of rural housing throughout the country. The Second Plan should see an intensification of our efforts in this direction."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Jefferson—Freedom Was His Creed

In the history of mankind's struggle toward political democracy and freedom, the name of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, will always be in the forefront. On April 13, America will observe the 213th birth anniversary of this great leader.

Americans honour him not merely because of the important part he played in shaping the destiny of the newly-formed nation but also because he stands forth as the timeless embodiment of the freedom of the human spirit. A forceful and original thinker, Jefferson was, in addition, a great statesman, architect, and scholar.

Born in 1743 in colonial Virginia, Jefferson, as much as anyone, influenced the institutions of the U.S. Government. He was the author of the American Declaration of Independence, champion of the "Bill of Rights," and the founder of the present-day Democratic Party. He embodied the ideals of the Great American Revolution—its economic individualism, and its conviction that through political democracy the lot of the common man could be made better.

Jefferson had an abiding faith in the ability of man to choose good over evil when permitted a free exercise of his reason. He regarded the best government as the one in which its citizens have the most freedom. His faith in the dignity of man found powerful expression in the Declaration of Independence, which opens with these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Individual liberty and social freedom formed the cornerstone of Jefferson's idea of democracy. Equal justice to all men, the right of the people to elect and control their government, popular education, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press these were the principles he considered fundamental to a democratic form of government.

His own words, inscribed on the white marble Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., are the key to his philosophy. "I have sworn upon the altar of God," he wrote, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Equal opportunity is another aspect of Jefferson's philosophy, which has stood the test of time. The key to equal opportunity, according to Jefferson, is education. He had complete faith that a people enlightened by education could under democratic institutions govern themselves better than under any other system.

He was the founder of the University of Virginia, a role of which he was proud.

Jefferson's views on religion will be of special interest to India where religious freedom is a constitutional right. He devoted several years of his life toward the eradication of religious bigotry and coercion, whether by state or church. During his term as Governor of the State of Virginia, he wrote and finally got passed the famous Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom—the first charter for complete religious liberty in North America, a model for other states and for the U.S. Constitution. To him the religion of any man was a private matter, like his family life, and nobody else's business.

Jefferson was third President of the United States and served two four-year terms (1801-1809). His public career also included service as envoy to France under George Washington, as Secretary of State under Washington, and as Vice-President under John Adams. Before the colonies established their independence and after, he had served Virginia in all capacities from justice of the peace to governor.

As an architect he drew the plans for his home, called Monticello, which is today one of America's cherished national shrines. The rich genius of Jefferson, the timeless quality of his spirit and philosophy are perhaps recognized more today than in his own time. His words have spanned the decades, but they are still quoted everywhere. And he remains a perennial inspiration to all those who cherish the dignity of man and his inalienable right to political and religions freedom. —*American Reporter*, April 11, 1956.

1955 : Spinoza Brought Up to Date

The following article of David Gittleman on Spinoza in *Unity*, November-December, 1955, is worth reading :

What was it in particular that turned the Biblical scholar anathema to his dogmatic yet well-meaning community, made him change his name from the good Hebrew Baruch (Blessed) to Benedictus, forced him to accept the hospitality and solitude of an attic in a Christian household, finally to emerge the God-intoxicated seeker after truth and wisdom, whose greatness soars with the passing of the centuries?

Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-1677) was a pioneer of humanity, a spiritual and ethical rebel who set out to re-evaluate accepted standards, using the yardstick of free research and reason. His aim was to understand, to ennoble, and to strengthen the moral character and ethical content of living man so as to make it possible for the growth of a humanity with dynamic spiritual discriminations. He looked upon man as a product of omnipresent godliness, with unlimited capacities for high idealism and noble emotions, disciplined by logic and a will-to-do-good. But he realized that man will never be true to himself until he actually lifts himself above those abominable practices which degrade his innate human and humane dignity. He was a lover of peace and freedom; but his inquisitive mind and yearning soul could not be appeased with ritual or mere freedom of the jungle. He felt that nations can be steered by means of pre-

cept and moral training to follow things that would lead to personal and universal edification. Well aware of man's wavering multiple personality and the recurring breakdown in the moral leadership of organized society, he held fast to the Talmudic adage that knowledge (Torah) is greater than priesthood and the royal purple; and he proceeded in bold strides to glean the best from the dry compost of a strife-infested past undermined by its own contradictions and ill practices.

Spinoza himself epitomized Lao-tse's principle in action, namely, that though he who overcomes others is strong, he who overcomes himself and his own unfavorable environment is indeed mighty. He could find evidence that within the mind of mortal man there are latent immortal divine ideas and aspirations capable of peaceably revolutionizing human society, and thus actually bring down closer to earth the prophetic vision of the Kingdom of a Loving God within reach of man. Joining the contemporary visionary, Spinoza too would plead that if it is possible for a man to reach out to the universe and draw down power to light our cities and homes, why can we not reach out into the same universe and draw out spiritual power to illuminate this world, to drive away the dark shadows of fear, prejudice, war, and economic troubles?

The humble polisher of lenses saw with his inner eye unity and love and beauty in the mechanics of the Cosmos, and wanted us all not to miss this thrilling experience of living a richer and nobler life triumphant. The Dutch philosopher would sympathize with the current verdict that the tragedy of life is not that men perish or lack the means, but that they cease to love—a sacred sentiment which is being replaced by a glamorous parody flashed as an ill substitute on the silver screen. It was the late Santayana who maintained from his ivory tower that man is not made to understand life, but to love it. It is to Spinoza's credit that he labored to fuse both understanding and love in the service of his fellow men for the greater glory of an omnipresent creative godliness. For in his own life, he replaced book-religion and church-religion with a life-religion or, as he himself phrased it—"the more things the mind knows, the better does it understand its own strength and the order of nature; by increased self-knowledge it can direct itself more easily and lay down rules for its own guidance and, by increased knowledge of nature, it can more easily avoid what is useless . . . the less men know of nature the more easily can they coin fictitious ideas."—(*On the Improvement of the Understanding*). This bold approach to the general subject of cherished norms and prejudices was matched by a righteous zeal which formed the very essence of his monumental *Ethics*. Enlightenment is a virtue which carries its own rewards.

The ethical rebel challenged his elders and the status quo of the seventeenth century with the provocative declaration: "Man thinks."—(*Ethics*); and he labored to fuse phenomenal reality into an all-embracing dynamic moral pantheism. "Men who are governed by reason," he went on to explain, "that is, who seek what is useful to them in accordance with reason— desire for themselves nothing which they do not also desire for the rest of mankind, and, accordingly, are just, faithful and honorable in their conduct." Of course, the author of *Ethics* knew well that from the days of hoary antiquity, reaching out to the tragic much too plausible episode of fratricide with the murder of Abel, *homo sapiens* has been a wolf to man—(*Homo Homini Lupus*); hence his contention that faith must be more than a mere appeasing ritual of ancient custom. Religion must be steeped in the daily workings of fellowship, mutual helpfulness, and justice. For Spinoza the words "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you" had a positive meaning, reflecting the actual way of life —the Will of God dedicated to the moral good of all mankind. In fact, he himself was permeated with Hillel's admonition: "Do not unto others what thou wouldest not they do unto thee." He thus pitched his warrior's tent in open battle against all tyranny, injustice, force, and dogmatic opinion. Aiming to sanctify and humanize the lot of mankind, he set the example by refusing to sell his own integrity for a conventional mess of pottage when tempted to do so.

Now, in the year of our Lord 1955, we hear again the familiar cry for the stronger arm; and the dreadfully ominous race is on—men and nations build power, more power, and are in a mad rush for a mightier balance of power. Spinoza, too, had a word for it. But his conception of "the stronger man" points to a course that would avert calamities and strife and would actually usher in the saner order of peaceful co-operation and mutual aid. Says Spinoza: "He that is strong hates no man, despises no man, and least of all things is proud . . . he strives before all things to conceive things as they really are and to remove the hindrances to true knowledge, such as are hatred, anger, envy, derision, pride and similar emotions . . . he endeavours —as far as in him lies—to do good, and to go on his way rejoicing."—(*Ethics*).

How up-to-date was the Dutch philosopher? It was for good reason that one of our greatest contemporary novelists has penned his sincere tribute to our subject when he confessed in his self-revealing soliloquy: "I look upon my first reading of Spinoza," says W. Somerset Maugham in *The Summing Up*, "as one of the signal experiences of my life. It filled me with just that feeling of majesty and exulting power that one has at the sight of a great mountain range.." Indeed, to the thoughtful reader of today, Spinoza's course or blueprint to Utopia is no product of wishful thinking and fuzzy-minded optimism. His ethical aspirations and logic are in line with the aspirations and reasoning expressed by the foremost thinkers of modern times. "In a rational ethic," says Bertrand Russell in *Conquest of Happiness*, "it will be held laudable to give pleasure to anyone, even to oneself, provided there is no counterbalancing pain to oneself or to others. The ideally virtuous would be the man who permits the enjoyment of all good things whenever there is no consequence to outweigh the enjoyment."

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

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Spinoza's humanitarian sentiments are best expounded by the ultra-modern Aldous Huxley in his Introduction to *Bhagavad-Gita* when he warns us that "there will never be enduring peace unless and until human beings come to accept a philosophy of life more adequate to the cosmic and psychological facts than the insane idolartries of nationalism and the advertising man's apocalyptic faith in Progress towards a mechanized New Jerusalem . . ." While the renowned British historian Arnold J. Toynbee place the seal of approval with a profound summation in effect that "it is our moral plight in our small atom-bomb haunted planet that makes our physical weapons dangerous" (*New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1955), and again, that "mankind's success in bringing human conduct under the rule of ethics in practice has, so far, been very unequal in human affairs; in international relations we are living in a primitive age of anarchy."—(*New York Times Magazine*, May 29, 1955). But, as Professor Toynbee's distinguished countryman assures us in his credo, there is no room for pessimism. "Science can, if it chooses, enable our grandchildren to live the good life by giving them knowledge, self-control, and characters productive of harmony rather than strife."—(Bertrand Russell: *What I Believe.*)

Thus, throughout the ages, unbound by man-made frontiers and prejudices, there is a "network of loyalties held in common" which is dedicated to the Better Life, and which by its very nature is not utopian and cannot be diverted, destroyed, or halted by tyrannous assaults and misrepresentations. It is well at this point to recall the gentle words of the ancient sage: "Man is born good, but ignorance makes him bad; he knows no better. Let us have patience, let us teach him and make him better. Then we will have a better world." Even the great Disraeli had a word for it in his *Sybil*: We are all born for love. It is the principle of existence and its only end.

It is conceivable that Spinoza would agree then that the real dilemma of our twentieth century and what this Atomic Age now needs most is not bigger material structures of puffed-up pride, but more respect for the dignity of the humblest of human lives: more concern for the sacredness of all mothers' sons throughout this inhabited world; not more awe-inspiring mechanical monsters and gadgets and man-made heavenly satellites, but more security, more human kindness, more individual and collective happiness and peace

Such was the faith and the vision of the prophets the world over, of the Nazarene, of the saintly Gandhi; such was also the faith and the vision of our own Founding Fathers, who braved to dream and dreaming boldly labored to bring closer to materialization a peace-loving Brotherhood of Free Men. It is left to the guardians of today and a revitalized unified religion of tomorrow to accept the challenge of this Atomic Age.

Killers of the Insect World

A tremendous toll of death and disability is still levied each year by plague, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, malaria and a host of other diseases spread by flying and crawling insects, and there is no present prospect of eradicating these scourges, reports Dr. M. G. Candau, Director General of the World Health Organization, in the current (April 1956) issue of the *Unesco Courier*.

Fleas and lice, mosquitoes and flies have influenced the rise and fall of civilizations; they have determined the outcome of military campaigns and shaped the course of history. The diseases they carry have enfeebled whole sections of the human race, depopulated fertile food-producing tracts, and held down man's levels of living particularly in the tropics but also in temperate climates.

"Despite the strides that have been made in our own day towards the control of many of these scourges," Dr. Candau writes, "there is scarcely one which does not still represent an actual or potential danger to large numbers of human beings."

In the past fifty years, the *Unesco Courier* reports, plague has killed more than 12,5 million people, and plague smoulders in many countries among wild rodents whence it can easily spread to common house rats in towns. The parasite that causes the dreaded sleeping sickness exists permanently in wild game in Africa and constantly threatens to infect men and cattle through the tsetse fly.

Yellow fever has been eradicated from most cities of the Americas, yet it is known to be firmly entrenched in the jungles among monkeys and other animals. A wave of this jungle yellow fever has been moving slowly but steadily up through Panama and Central America since 1948. Now, the *Unesco Courier* reports, yellow fever threatens to invade Mexico "probably in the next few months and almost certainly within a year," according to Dr. Fred. L. Soper, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington. Dead and dying howler monkeys infected with yellow fever virus have been officially reported in Guatemala, and the disease is now only 75 to 80 miles from the Mexican-Guatemalan border and 800 miles from the United States border where the whole southern third of the nation is classified as a yellow fever "receptive area."

After the discovery of modern insecticides like DDT it was generally believed that any insect-borne disease could be conquered rapidly by exterminating the insects. Insecticides have proved amazingly effective in controlling malaria, in strangling the threat of louse typhus during and after the last war, and preventing the spread of epidemics in many parts of the world. But the insects are not yet conquered.

"It would be a serious mistake," Dr. Candau warns in a frank editorial, "to underestimate these ancient enemies of mankind. It is already clear that residual insecticides, powerful weapons though they be, do not provide the final answer to the disease-carrying insect. Nor is there at present any prospect of eradicating those diseases that have become permanently established among the domestic and wild animals. There they remain, a constant threat calling for constant watchfulness."

According to a report published in the current *Unesco Courier*—devoted in its entirety to the "Killers of the Insect World" on the occasion of World Health Day on April 7—a super race of insects resistant to all types of insecticides is now developing and has already been noted in 32 countries. Some 35 species of insects are already involved including those that spread some of the world's most dangerous epidemic diseases.

Malaria-bearing mosquitoes show immunity to DDT in some areas of Greece, Lebanon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Panama and Mississippi (USA). Body lice spreading typhus can no longer be controlled in Korea. Fleas which are responsible for plague are manifesting resistance in certain parts of South America.

These warning signals have led scientists to look in other directions and to seek new methods and solutions. They have served as a great stimulus to new research and in many instances have revealed how ignorant scientists still are of disease carrier biology.

Thus no scientist can yet say with certainty what causes death when insects are exposed to insecticides and what the physiological and chemical bases of resistance really are. As Dr. B. de Meillion, of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg, writes in the *Unesco Courier*: "More research is being done today than ever before because of the gaps that have been revealed in our knowledge through studying the effects of DDT."

Thus World Health Day on April 7 this year will, it is hoped, serve to make people everywhere realize that although the insect-borne diseases are increasingly held in check, they are a long way from being conquered. "To achieve that final victory," Dr. Candau has said, "man will need all his intelligence and resourcefulness. Above, all, he will need to act in concert, for this group of diseases is one of the greatest challenges to international health action."—*Unesco Science News.*

Bhakra Project Enters Final Phase

Nangal, Punjab.—Today, out of the rugged foothills of the Himalayas Indian and American engineers are building a new era of prosperity for India. For here, some 200 miles northwest of Delhi, despite the most difficult and precarious conditions, is fast nearing completion the Rs. 159-crore Bhakra-Nangal River Valley Project.

Prime Minister Nehru, in November, 1955, threw the first bucket of concrete in the Bhakra Dam thereby signifying that the project had entered the final phase of construction, that is concreting.

The project is one of Asia's most ambitious and daring schemes to harness and utilize her huge water and power resources. By damming the swirling Sutlej River in a narrow gorge at Bhakra, the project will, through a vast network of canals, irrigate some 10 million acres. The result will be dependable production of over 2½ million tons of food grains, cotton, sugar, and pulses annually.

Second Highest

At the same time, the Bhakra Dam—which will be 680 feet high, second in the world only to the Boulder Dam in the United States—will provide 400,000 kw of power. This cheap power is expected to attract factories of all types, including a new fertilizer plant, and help transform northern India into an industrial stronghold.

From the start the United States has been closely associated with this biggest river valley project of India. Top American experts on high dams like A. J. Wiley, John L. Savage and F. A. Nickell have been giving valuable guidance on the complex problems arising from time to time. A board of consultants consisting of distinguished U.S. engineers has been set up to whom problems are referred.

The Bhakra Dam is similar in design to the Grand Coulee Dam, the design of which was also prepared by Dr. Savage. The construction of the dam is now being executed under the supervision of M. H. Slocum, who is assisted by about 40 American technicians and 300 Indian engineers. The thorough mechanization of all constructional operations, the proper servicing and maintenance of all machinery, and the highly efficient and organized manner in which work is being carried on there clearly bear out the impress of the American way of doing things.

It may be mentioned that on no other river valley project in India is mechanization so thorough as at Bhakra Dam, and this change for the better is mainly due to the American influence. The United States has also helped in supplying all the necessary machines and spare parts required on the project, such as shovels, Euclids, bulldozers, cranes, and belt conveyors.

The construction of the Bhakra Dam has proved to be a very tough job. It has sometimes presented problems of unprecedented nature, more complex than those encountered on the high dams in the United States. But for the guidance given by the American engineers, it would have, perhaps, been not possible to achieve the progress so far maintained on the project.

The construction work at Bhakra has now entered the last phase, that is of concreting. It is estimated that 51 lakh cubic yards of concrete will go into the building of the dam. This quantity is next only to that used on the Grand Coulee Dam. A very efficient and elaborate construction plant based on the models of those used at Shasta Dam and Grand Coulee Dam has been designed and set up at Bhakra for concrete formation. This plant is the first of its kind in Asia.

The construction plant at Bhakra has been designed to make available 400 tons of ready-made concrete every hour. A four-mile-long belt conveyor designed to carry sand and gravel at the rate of 750 tons per hour, from the quarries to the dam site, has been laid.

Best Concrete Used

Extreme care and vigilance are being exercised to see that the best concrete is used and in the manner calculated to ensure strength and stability of the dam. A fully equipped research laboratory has been set up in order to determine the best quality of concrete available under local conditions.

The concreting operations will continue for four years when the dam is expected to be completed in 1959. The greatest advantage will be that Indian engineers, while working under the guidance of the American experts, will gain the necessary training and experience in high dam construction. This will be a standing monument of Indo-U.S. co-operation.—*American Reporter*, November, 1955.

Baroda Prepares Edition of "Ramayana"

Dr. S. N. Vyas contributes as follows in the *American Reporter*, December 7, 1955:

The *Ramayana* of Valmiki, the first national epic of India, somewhat comparable to, but older than, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, will have its first critically prepared edition within a few years.

The huge task of screening and collating manuscripts, scattered in the libraries of home and abroad, has been undertaken by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, with the co-operation of Indo-logists of Europe and America. The ambitious scheme will cost Rs. 8,25,000 and is expected to be completed in 1960.

The *Ramayana* is generally ascribed to a period earlier than 500 B.C., but it depicts the events of a still earlier epoch, the reign of Rama who ruled about 1600 B.C. It was composed by Valmiki, from ancient ballads lauding the glory of Rama and his age. It consists of seven parts and 24,000 verses.

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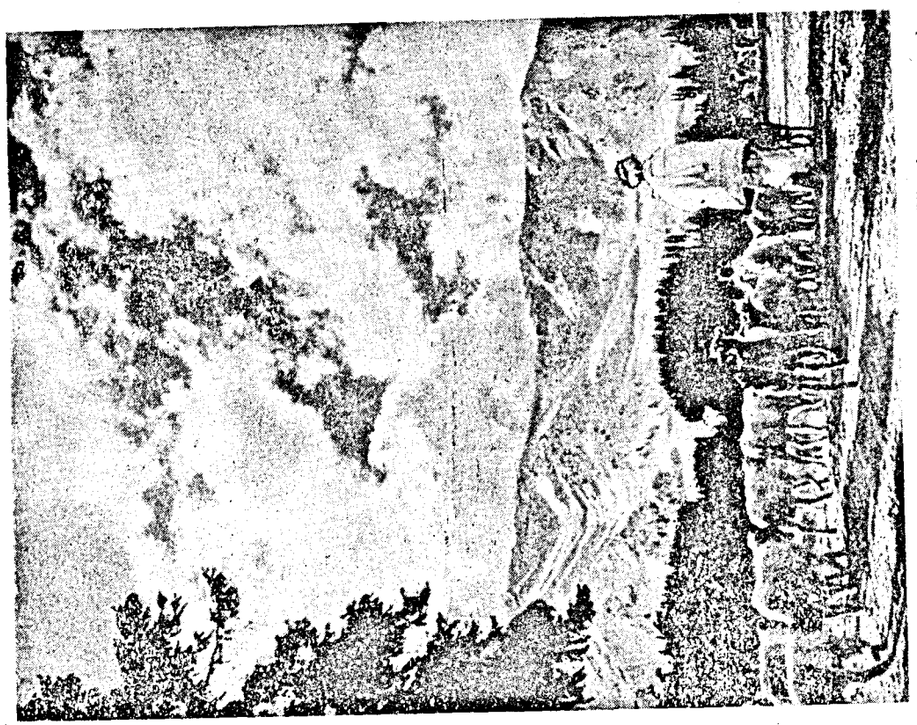

The picturesque Kulu Valley in the Himalayas

As writing was then not much in vogue, rhapsodists sang the epic to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument before enthralled hearers. A lot of additional matter crept into the book by way of interpolations, some of them added by clever poets and some by Sanskrit scholars. These interpolations were considered good and useful by them who desired to propagate ideas of their own or who thought that the original epic could be made more beautiful and fuller in detail in certain parts.

The interpolators did not feel that they were deceiving anybody, because they thought they propagated sound ideas. The larger the copy was the greater the respect shown by devout students, for it was generally thought that the original was very big and many parts had been lost. Some people came forward to supply "re-discovered portions," doubtless valuable but belonging to different periods to the time of Valmiki.

Several Recensions

The oral transmission of the epic gave rise to several recensions and versions of the text in different parts of the country, each preserving its own peculiarities.

This was a great handicap in the critical study of the book. Some eminent Western scholars of the last century felt the urgency of preparing a critical edition of the epic, as they thought that no scientific generalization of any kind was possible on account of the admixture of the old and the new in the text.

Several editions of the *Ramayana* have been published since 1806 A.D., but none of them can be said to enjoy the status of a critical edition.

The preparation of a critical edition of the other epic, the *Mahabharata*, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the chief editiorship of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, a pupil of the late Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University in the United States, highlighted the need for a similar edition of the *Ramayana*.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda University, at the instance of several eminent scholars and institutions, decided to take up the work. In 1951 its Ramayana department was started. It has prepared a descriptive catalogue of about 2,500 *Ramayana* manuscripts with the help of all the printed catalogues of the manuscript libraries of the world.

Manuscripts Collected

Two hundred and thirty-five manuscrips of the *Ramayana* have been collected from different parts of India and the world. A photostat copy of the oldest manuscript from 1020 A.D. and preserved in the Bir Library of Kathmandu (Nepal) has also been obtained at great expense. Prof. Filliozat of Paris supplied a photostat copy of an old complete Bengali manuscript belonging to the 16th century A.D.

Each of these will be judged on its own merits, and that form of the text which commends itself by its documentary probability and intrinsic merit will be finally accepted.

A strong editorial board of Indian scholars, with Prof. G. H. Bhatt as the general editor, has been constituted. Besides, some foreign scholars will be consulted for reference and guidance, such as Dr. V. Kirfel, Bonn; Dr. W. Ruben, Berlin; Dr. L. Renou, Paris; Dr. V. Pisani, Milan; and Dr. F. Edgerton, Laramie, Wyoming, U.S.A. Dr. Edgerton is well known in India for his critical edition of the famous Indian book of fables, the *Panchatantra Reconstructed*.

The *Ramayana* has engaged the attention of not a few American Indologists. Prof. C. R. Lanman guided in the early twenties of this century an Indian student, S. K. Belvalkar, in critically translating the *Later Acts of Rama*, a drama of the eighth century A.D. by Bhavabhuti based on the *Ramayana*. The most notable contribution to *Ramayana* studies was made by E. W. Hopkins. He devoted a considerable part of his time and energy to a critical and comparative study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which together constitute the storehouse of the wisdom of ancient India. He discussed the important problem of the interrelation of the two epics in his *The Great Epic of India* (London and New York, 1902). He also contributed a scholarly paper on the *Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* in the *J.A.O.S.* (*Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 13, 1888, pp. 57—376), drawing his material largely from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*.

Notable Papers

Among other notable papers of Hopkins on the *Ramayana* are the following:

Phrases of Time and Age in the Sanskrit Epic (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 23, Pp. 350-7); *Epic Chronology* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 24, Pp. 7—55); *Allusions to the Rama Story in the Mahabharata* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 50, pp. 85—103); the *Oath in Hindu Epic Literature* (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 52, pp. 316—33); *Parallel Phrases in the Two Epics* (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 19, pp. 138-51); *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Epics* (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 20, pp. 22—39); and *Magic Observances in the Two Epics* (*Proceedings of American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 49, pp. 20—24).

All these studies will be greatly helpful in the preparation of the projected edition being undertaken at Baroda.

Indeed the Western studies and translations of the *Ramayana* have proved that the epic, with its moving story of conjugal love, paternal devotion, truthfulness, and willingness to sacrifice one's interests to secure the welfare of others, has got a universal appeal, strong enough to establish a bond of affinity and brotherhood between India and other countries of the world.

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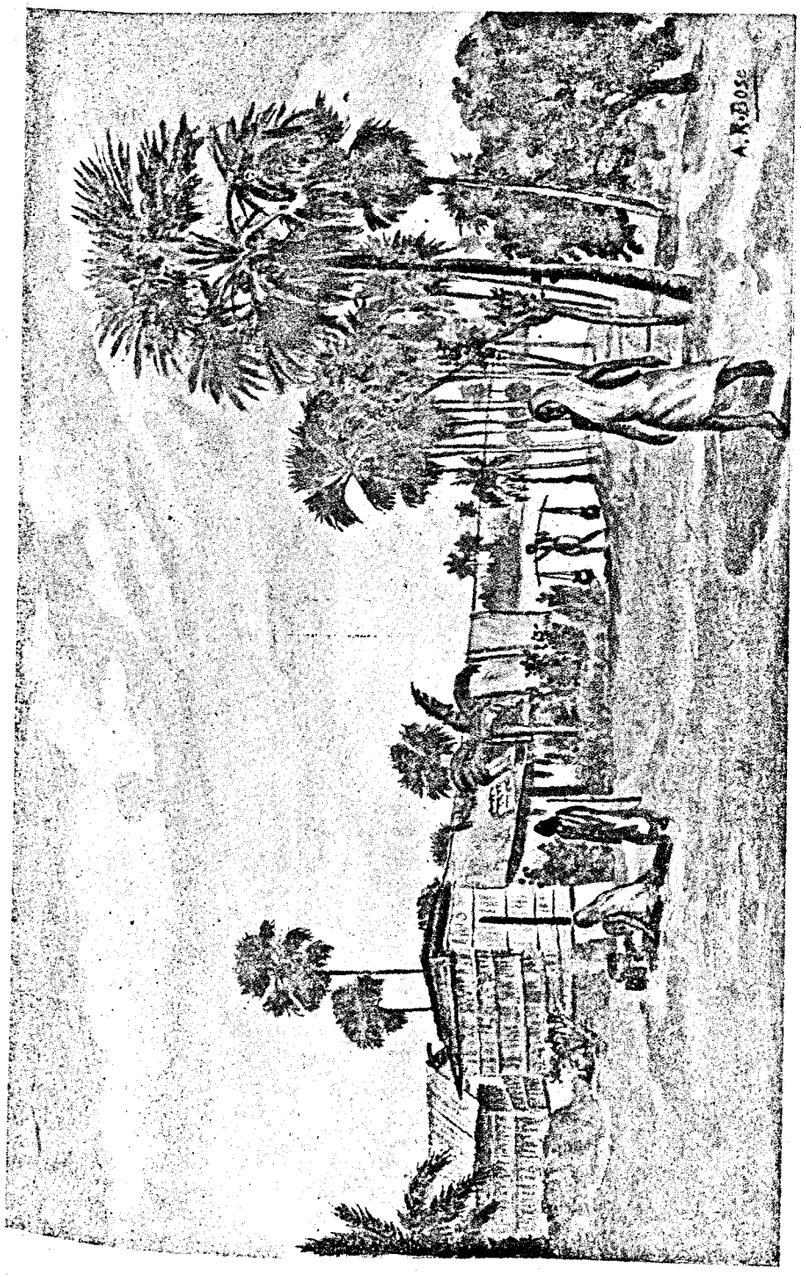

A BENGAL VILLAGE
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NOTES

The Retrospect

The closing month of the current half-year, was crowded with events. Amongst them, of great significance to the group of people that are linked together in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is the meeting of Prime Ministers in London proceeding now. From the news that have reached us till now, it seems that though all members of the Conference were not equally sure about the sincerity behind the new policy enunciated by the Soviets, they were nevertheless agreed on the point that the Cold War situation had considerably eased since their last meeting.

This statement gives the key to the world situation to-day. Doubts and suspicions, covert or openly declared, are the main barriers towards the restoration of normalcy in world politics.

The initiative, at present, in this easing of the world situation has been taken by the Soviet's leaders. Contrawise, the dissenting statesmen are led in the main by some spokesmen of the United States of America.

For example, Mr. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, recently made a statement at Iowa State College, in which he said :

"The principle of neutrality pretends that a nation can best gain safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others. This has increasingly become an obsolete conception, and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an *immoral* and *shortsighted conception*. The free world today is stronger and peace is more secure because so many free nations courageously recognise the now demonstrated fact that their own peace and safety would be endangered by assault on freedom elsewhere."

In commenting on this statement, we quote a remark made by Sir Percival Griffiths, the noted British authority on South-East Asia in the course of a discussion following a lecture on his 48th tour of India, Pakistan and Burma, on the 19th of January of this year. In reply to a question whether the Russian visit had incidentally engendered anti-American activities in India, he said:

"There are no anti-American activities in India, but it is true to say that India is not particularly fond of America at the present time and that the egregious Mr. Dulles made things just as bad as possible by his entirely unwanted and unneeded intervention in the matter of Goa. He has a sublime gift, Sir Percival added, for saying the wrong thing at the wrong time, and he does not exercise it anywhere to more effect than with regard to India."

We would finish with Mr. Dulles by adding that now he has made bad worse, by this recent ridiculous exhibition of unreasoned fanaticism alloyed with malice. It is only necessary to add that Dulles does not in any way speak for all America, or even for his chief, the President of the United States. All the same this attempt

at dividing the world in three parts, namely, We the Righteous, They the Wrongdoers, and those that are Beyond the Pale, shows the state the World is in.

And further, the recent delivery of 40 jet fighters, of the latest model, to Pakistan, has not in any way added anything to the cause of peace in this world. Indeed, on the contrary.

The S.E.A.D.O. group met at Singapore at the beginning of June, with a brave rolling of drums, while Pakistan was making a pact with Russia for a "favoured nation" deal. It is indeed a queer world!

For the present, our own troubled continent of Asia, is in a state of peace, although it is very uneasy in the Palestine area, where a minor clash occurred on the Israel-Jordan border on June 24. Jordan, it may be noted, has become an active participant in the Arab-Israel disputes after the dismissal of Glubb Pasha.

Fierce skirmishing and bloodshed is still going on unabated in Algeria, where the dispossessed Algerians are trying to retrieve their ancient heritage from the intrusive elements of French colonialism. 400,000 French troops are fighting 20,000 Algerians, in the crushing of Algeria's attempt at freedom. It might be remarked in passing that of the vast grain crops of Algeria, from 9000,000 acres of land, almost half is produced by the better and well-irrigated lands of 20,000 French *colon* farmers, whereas 700,000 Algerian farmers get the other half from theirs. About a million half-starved Algerians who eke out a livelihood by intermittent work on the French farms, are out on boycott.

In Cyprus, the British are engaged in an effort at crushing the Enosis movement by force, despite very strong opposition from the Labour party. And there was a minor rebellion in Argentina about the middle of this month.

It should be noted here that even in France there is a strong reaction against the dragooning into submission of the Algerians.

On the positive side, the evacuation of the Suez Canal by the British forces was completed on June 18th, after 74 years of British occupation, thus closing a troubled chapter in Anglo-Egyptian relations. And there was the rapprochment between Yugoslavia and the Soviets which was finalised in a joint declaration on June 20th.

All along, the tests of atomic weapons continue. The latest reports from Japan indicate that both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have made major atomic tests in the latter half of June. The British also made some minor tests on the 19th of June.

In retrospect, it is to be remarked that although President Soekarno had clearly stated the stand-point of the people of the under-developed regions of Asia and Africa, during his recent visit to the United States, the effect is as yet not very perceptible in the U.S.A.

All the same, since the Soviets have come forward to help, the position is somewhat clearer. It is increasingly understood by the Western world that the Cold War is not only retarding the progress of civilization, but also is rendering the atmosphere more and more poisoned due to the awakening consciousness of the exploited peoples. The West can only escape nemesis if it makes substantial amends for the centuries of exploitation in the past. The chief obstacle is the race for arms. That is why even Monsieur Pineau of the French Cabinet, has issued an appeal to end the Cold War.

At home, a crop of bitter recriminations and resignations follow in the aftermath of the S.R.C. Report. To add to the conflict, the Language Commission, whose work was anything but openly public, is going to submit its recommendations to the Parliament.

Banking Developments

The year 1955, states the Reserve Bank's latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, was significant not only for the increased volume of banking business but also for the momentous and far-reaching organisational changes that occurred in the banking sector. Steps were taken to ensure wider banking facilities and to strengthen the banking structure so as to equip it better for its important role in coming years in the finance of diverse forms of economic activity. The generally healthy picture of economic activity in the country was fully reflected in the trends in banking business during the year. Over 1955, scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 80 crores, as against an increase of Rs. 57 crores in 1954 and a fall of Rs. 10 crores in 1953. This figure, however, conceals seasonal variations. The expansion of bank credit in the busy season of 1954-55 at Rs. 107 crores was lower by Rs. 5 crores than in the busy season of 1953-54. What was of greater interest, however, was that in the ensuing slack season, the return of funds to the banking system was no more than Rs. 32 crores which meant that well over two-thirds of the total credit made available remained in the pipe line. The Report observes that the tendency towards contraction of the financial slack season, noticed recently, might be interpreted not so much as an aberration of the pattern but as a reflection of the beginning of an underlying trend of a general increase in, and lengthening of, credit demands as a result of the growing diversification of the Indian economy.

The resources position of the Indian banking system was, taking a broad overall view, fairly comfortable in 1955. An interesting feature as regards the Reserve Bank's lending operations has been that while hitherto the Indian banks had been the main borrowers under the Bill Market scheme, in 1955 exchange banks also exhibited considerable interest in the scheme. This development gives ground for the belief that the Indian money market is acquiring a greater degree of autonomy. In 1955, in continuation of the trend in the two preceding years, the deposits of scheduled banks increased by Rs. 91 crores to Rs. 1,013 crores, passing the Rs. 1,000 crores level for the first time in seven years. The expansion in deposits in 1955, though similar in magnitude differed markedly from that which occurred in 1954. In 1954, demand deposits had gone up by Rs. 35 crores, whereas in 1955, the expansion of time deposits was somewhat more significant at Rs. 47 crores, as against an increase in demand deposits of about Rs. 43 crores.

Over the year 1955, the relatively larger increase in bank deposits than credit and the reduction of cash reserves helped scheduled banks to add to their investment portfolios by as much as Rs. 42 crores. Of this, more than Rs. 36 crores represented investments in Government securities. The additional gilt-edged investments were entirely accounted for by Indian scheduled banks and were made in the second half of the year, partly through subscription to the Central Government Loan floated in July 1955. The maturity pattern of scheduled bank gilt-edged holdings underwent some interesting variations.

During the year, the total number of offices of banks recorded an increase for the first time in the post-war period. The increase was mostly in the offices of scheduled banks which increased by 91 to 2,793. There was an increase by 4 to 66 in the offices of exchange banks, while the number of offices of non-scheduled banks declined by 28 to 1,258. The Report then refers to the State Bank's branch expansion programme. According to the State Bank Act, the Bank has to establish not less than four hundred additional branches within a period of five years or such extended period as the Central Government may specify; as a first step in its expansion programme, a list of 100 centres covering mostly the important district centres has been prepared with the approval of the Central Government and the selection of centres has, for the time being, been confined to Part A and Part C States. Up to June 30, 1955, the State Bank of India had opened 63 branches in Part A and Part C Sstates out of the 114 it was expected to open in pursuance of the recommendations of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950). In the first six months of its working, the State Bank opened branches at 20 centres out of the 51 left over to be opened by the former Imperial Bank of India. Thus, the trends in branch banking as a whole reflected the steady widening of the area of the banking system by extension of branches into the interior of the country.

The scope of branch banking is greatly influenced by costs of operation—mainly by establishment charges. In this regard, the Report refers to the appointment of the Bank Award (Gajendragadkar) Commission to conduct a fact-finding enquiry and make recommendations as regards further modifications, if need be, of the decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal as modified by the Government in August 1954. The recommendations of the Bank Award Commission submitted towards the end of July 1955 were accepted in full by the Government and accordingly, the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act, 1955, was passed in September under which the terms and conditions of the Award will remain in force for a period of five years from April 1, 1954.

The profit and loss accounts of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks showed that during 1955 their gross earnings registered a rise of Rs. 3.8 crores to Rs. 35.0 crores, over three-fifths (Rs. 2.4 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. Total expenses also rose significantly—by Rs. 3.4

crores, more than one-third of which was made up of an increase in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc. Net profits, therefore, went up by Rs. 0.4 crores to Rs. 5.7 crores.

In the sphere of banking organisation and control, the outstanding event of the year was the inauguration of the State Bank of India. The Report briefly recapitulates the circumstances which led to this major step in the building up of a co-ordinated banking system. The expansion programme of the State Bank, and its role in the fields of industry, trade, commerce and rural finance are also explained briefly in the Report. With its network of branches reaching into the interior of districts the State Bank is expected to be of assistance in devising institutional remedies for difficulties connected with short-term finance for rural and small-scale industries, the development of which has been accorded high priority in the Second Five-Year Plan. Apart from this, the State Bank's part in furthering rural credit may be visualised in the provision of vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions, and of financial assistance through purchase of debentures of land mortgage banks or through direct advances against agriculiural produce or small-scale industry products, and generally in co-ordinating its activities with those of co-operative institutions in a variety of ways.

The Report indicates how some of the other important recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee were also translated into law. Thus, to enable the Reserve Bank to play an active part in the organisation of the co-operative structure and facilitate the supply or rural credit, the Reserve Bank of India Act was amended so as to provide for the setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-Term) Operations Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stablisation Fund. Efforts continued to be made to tone up the quality and standards of the existing banking system. The Reserve Bank's regular inspection of banking companies initiated six years ago is referred to in the Report. The first round of inspections of practically all the reporting banks has been completed and periodical reinspection of banks has also been undertaken. While the general position of the banking system continues to be sound, undesirable features have been observed in the operation of some banks. The Report observes that these defects are gradually being rectified though they have not yet been completely eliminated. However, inspection of banks and the advice tendered by the Reserve Bank in following up inspections have been tended to bring about a change for the better.

During the year licences were issued to 12 Indian scheduled banks under Section 22 of the Banking Companies Act thus raising the total number of licences issued to 46. Besides these, there are four banks, namely, the State Bank of India and three other major State-associated banks to which the provisions of Section 22 of the Banking Companies Act are not applicable. The deposits of these 50 banks as at the end of the year 1955, aggregated Rs. 980.9 crores which accounted for 90.8 per cent of the total deposits of banks (both scheduled and non-scheduled) in this country. The Second Five-Year Plan would naturally entail for banks not only an extension of both their area of operations and range of functions but also an expansion in the magnitude of that type of banking business which is now being performed, viz., the provision of working capital requirements to trade and industry. Attempts are being made to correct the lopsided branch distribution of Indian banking with its concentration in the towns through a programme of branch expansion of the State Bank of India and the enlargement of facilities for remittance of funds. With the establishment of the integrated credit structure as contemplated by the Rural Credit Survey Committee, the range of functions of banks will be considerably widened. The importance of sound management is of particular relevance in a period of sizeable increase in bank resources and the wider opportunities for credit expansion which the growth of the economy would open out.

To facilitate easy credit conditions and to widen the influence of the Reserve Bank over the Indian money market we deem it essential that the Reserve Bank should start rediscounting genuine trade bills instead of the present improvised system of bill market. The present practice of rediscounting bills started by the Reserve Bank in 1952 has not yet started a full-fledged bill market in this country as it obtains in other developed countries of the West, particularly in Britain. Under the existing so-called bill market scheme, the Reserve Bank practically gives loan against the promissory notes of scheduled banks drawn on the strength of the promissory notes of the constituents of the banks. The result of the lack of a proper self-liquidating bill market is that there is limited turn-over of bank money and the credit base is considerably restricted.

As regards the proposed amendment to the Reserve Bank Act, we have something to comment. We view with dismay the proposal to abolish the Local Boards. The notes on clauses on the Bill states that with the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank, the need to retain Local Boards has disappeared, because they attended to share transfer work. In the Reserve Bank Act there is nothing to restrict the work of the Local Boards to mere share transfer. Its scope of functions could have been effectively enlarged to look after the regional interests. The abolition of Local Boards would certainly be a retrograde step in so far as it will lead to bureaucratism and too much centralisation of power to the detriment of regional interests. In the USA, the central banking institution is to a great extent a federation of twelve regional central banks that are entrusted with the task of looking after local interests. The abolition of Local Boards will be harmful to the interests of Cacutta, the industrial capital of India. The main office being situated in Bombay, the regional interests of Calcutta and Madras will not receive prompt and due care. Had the head office been situated in a central place like Delhi, the local interests might have received due attention. There is absolutely no point in abolishing Local Boards.

As regards the currency reserve, we are glad that the present system of proportional reserve is going to be abolished. In this journal of ours we have been repeatedly urging upon the authorities to do away with the system of proportional reserve which is a costly affair and does not impart flexibility to currency expansion which is much needed today to finance the Second Five-Year Plan. Under Section 33(2), of the total amount of assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or foreign securities; provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than forty crores of rupees in value. In other words, 40 per cent of total assets of the Reserve Bank must be in gold or foreign securities. In view of this provision, a large amount of foreign assets has got to be immobilised for maintenance of reserve against the issue of currency notes and this involves a great disadvantage to India.

Under the proposed amendment, the issue of currency will have no relation with reserve of foreign securities or gold. There will be a fixed minimum holding of Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities and Rs. 115 crores in gold in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India. This fixed minimum method of reserve will impart greater elasticity to currency expansion. The volume of currency will have no relation with the maintenance of reserve. On March 30, 1956, Rs. 697 crores were kept in foreign securities and this amount India can ill afford to maintain as reserve in view of her increasing expenditures on the second Plan. In Britain, there is the fiduciary system of note issue and that means notes are issued without any gold reserve. There can be no greater credit than a country's credit, and gold reserve is a costly wastage. During the second Plan there will be a deficit of foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores. The amendment will remove the rigidity in currency expansion by providing for the statutory minimum reserve of gold and foreign securities in absolute terms. Henceforth, foreign securities can be in any currency and the minimum amount of such securities should not ordinarily be less than Rs. 400 crores; but on special occasions, it may be lowered to Rs. 300 crores. The volume of gold and gold coins in the currency reserve will be raised to Rs. 115 crores from the present amount of Rs. 40.01 crores. The increase in gold holding will be achieved simply by revaluing the gold. The gold holdings are at present valued at 8.47512 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is the old parity that prevailed before the devaluation in 1931. The new parity will be valued at 2.88 grains of fine gold per rupee and this is at the International Monetary Fund's value for gold, namely, $35 per fine ounce. It may be noted here that for some time past we have been advocating for the revaluation of the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank as the old valuation was out of date and it is indeed a step in the right direction to revalue the gold holdings. The revalued gold will not be added to foreign securities for determining the currency reserve; it will be kept separately as the irreducible

minimum. The revalued gold will have a comparable size against the increasing volume of note issue.

As regards the foreign securities, the maintenance of such a large amount is uncalled for. No other country has linked up her currency issue with foreign securities. India's is a costly measure in this respect, because the balance of payments position will impart confidence to the country's currency issue and the reserve of foreign securities is redundant. However, the proposed measure is devised to maintain a link with the past and to maintain confidence in Indian rupee of foreign countries. Another notable change in the banking field is the change-over from the fixed reserve ratio to variable reserve ratios. On this point we shall turn on again when the measure is put on the Statute Book.

High Level Resignations

The following news is about the three recent resignations at a high level. The most important is that of Shri Deshmukh, Union Minister of Finance, who has been forced to resign due to the stand taken by the Maharashtra Congress group, and the members of his own constituency. It is needless to say that the loss to the Cabinet would be immense, but of course, there are even greater considerations in this complex problem.

Mr. S. K. Handoo, who is one of the ablest Indians in the banking circles, has resigned because of some questions and answers in the Rajya Sabha. Recently a group of irresponsible persons have been tiltering against high-pay for some officials. We have seen nothing but pure unreasoned grudge and malice in most of them. We could understand if they wanted to raise the level of pay, but we cannot make out the reasons for cutting down the pay of faithful and able servants of the State.

"Madras, June 22.—The Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, confirmed here today the report of Dr. Matthai's resignation from the Chairmanship of the State Bank.

"Mr. Deshmukh said: 'Dr. Matthai has informed us that for many reasons that he does not find it convenient to continue. He has asked to be relieved by the end of August. We are considering what action we should take.'

"Asked about the resignation of Mr. S. K. Handoo, the first Managing Director of the State Bank, Mr. Deshmukh said that that was another affair. 'I have not seen the Managing Director's resignation because it was submitted to the Bank's Board. What reasons there are I have not discovered yet. I did hear that he was somewhat aggrieved by some replies given in Parliament in regard to his retention and pay. Probably he thought the references were not very appreciative of him.' Mr. Deshmukh gave an assurance that no offence was meant and he expressed the hope that the Board would talk to Mr. Handoo and explain matters.

"Mr. Deshmukh indicated that he was prepared to reconsider his decision to resign from the Union Cabinet if the Pataskar formula regarding the future of Bombay City was incorporated in the States Reorganization Bill.

"The Finance Minister, who arrived here this evening, said: 'If that provision is not made in the Bill, my decision to resign is irrevocable.' According to the Pataskar formula, he said, the offices of the Maharashtra Government were to continue in Bombay City and the city would be in Maharashtra after two or three years, unless Parliament for good reasons wished to continue the arrangement for some time more.

"According to a P.T.I. message from Bombay, Dr. Matthai, in his letter of resignation submitted to the Ministry of Finance about ten days ago, is understood to have requested the Government of India to relieve him of the post as early as possible.

"The Board of Directors of the State Bank of India is meeting in Bombay on June 29, to consider Mr. Handoo's letter of resignation. Mr. Handoo, it is learnt, resigned in protest against certain remarks made in the Rajya Sabha while the emoluments and service conditions of the Managing Director of the Bank were discussed last month. Mr. Handoo was associated with the Imperial Bank of India for over 30 years and became the first Managing Director of the State Bank of India."

Kaldor on Indian Taxation

In order to reorganise the taxation structure of India, the Government of India invited the noted Cambridge Economist, Mr. Kaldor, to study the Indian Taxation structure and to suggest steps as how best to raise maximum finance out of taxations in this country. Professor Kaldor's suggestions have become to a certain extent controversial and they do not seem to have found much favour with the Finance Minister of Indna, Mr. Deshmukh. Prof. Kaldor's main suggestions are as follows:

That the maximum rate of tax on income should not exceed 45 per cent (as against the present 92 per cent); that there should be a tax on wealth on the excess of capital value over Rs. 15 lakhs at the rate of 1 to 1½ per cent; that there should be a personal expenditure tax at a maximum rate of 30 per cent on a net personal expenditure per head over Rs. 50,000 per annum; and that there should be a gift tax at the maximum rate of 80 per cent on gift received by the persons whose total estate, including the gift, exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs. The suggestion has been made that all realised capital gains should be taxed at the same rate as income (that is, subject to a maximum rate of 40 per cent).

In the view of Prof. Kaldor, the present system of direct taxation in this country is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation, that is, income (as statutorily defined) is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of tax payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of the information furnished by the tax payers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and proper income makes large-scale evasion through concealment or understatement of profits and property income relatively easy.

The Indian taxation structure like most Western countries has been in the grip of a vicious circle as far as progressive taxation is concerned—evasion and avoidance by cutting down the potential revenue led to higher nominal rates of taxation and this in turn to further evasion and avoidance and still higher rates. It is a vicious circle, says Prof. Kaldor, of charging more and more for less and less. He, therefore, comes to the conclusion that from every point of view it is far better to have a fool-proof system of taxation with a moderate rate schedule, than a system which has the appearance of high progressivity, but which cannot be effectively or impartially administered.

With a view to make the Indian tax system more effective and efficient and to break the vicious circle, he suggests an integrated base of five taxes on a moderate scale. The five taxes—income tax, capital gains tax, annual capital tax, personal expenditure tax and the gift tax—would all be assessed simultaneously on the basis of a single comprehensive return; and they are self-checking in character, both in the sense that concealment or understatement of items in order to minimise liability to some of the taxes may involve an added liability with regard to others, and also in the sense that the information furnished by a tax-payer in the interest of preventing over-assessment with regard to his own liabilities automatically brings to light the receipts and gains made by other tax-payers.

Prof. Kaldor observes that the effect of these proposals on the tax revenue will provide the greater part of the requirements to ensure the success of the Second Five-Year Plan and indicates that the estimated yield will run on the following lines: Rough calculations suggest that reforms of personal taxation (taking into account both the revenue from the new taxes and the additional yield due to greater efficiency of assessment and collection) would be of the order of Rs. 100 crores a year or more—though it would take some years before the full benefit is reaped. It is not possible to make any proper estimates of the various changes suggested in the taxation of business profits. The combined effect of the narrower definition of deductible expenses and of the various measures suggested for the control of evasion might yield at least a further sum of Rs. 20-30 crores a year.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, Rs. 450 crores will be raised by way of new taxation by the Centre and the States in the Plan period. Deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores have to be incurred and there remains an unfilled gap of Rs. 400 crores. Prof. Kaldor maintains that the volume of deficit financing per year should not exceed Rs. 150 crores and during the five years period, the deficit financing would aggregate Rs. 800 crores. Mr. Kaldor has thus to find new tax avenues for a total

sum of Rs. 1,250 crores during the Plan period or Rs. 250 crores a year. In the opinion of Prof. Kaldor, the raising of Rs. 1,250 crores in five years would be possible if his suggestions are followed.

As regards the shortfall between the expected yields from Mr. Kaldor's proposals for new taxation and the goal of Rs. 1,250 crores, he states that the remainder of the additional revenue would have to be raised from land revenue and excise duties, which are outside the scope of his report. He considers the case of the middle-class Indian and indicates that the lowest limits of expenditure tax would exempt reasonable middle-class living standards from liability to this tax structure. In his opinion, when the marginal tax is 90 per cent, the net profit on any particular concealment is a 1,000 per cent of the post-tax income. He says that the adoption of a comprehensive tax-base would be a great deal easier—imposing fewer strains on the social fabric and on the administration of the tax system—if it were introduced with a moderate rate schedule; and this would nevertheless inaugurate a more truly equitable and progressive tax system, as well as bringing in a good deal of additional revenue. Prof. Kaldor holds that the amount of evaded tax annually stands between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores and hidden income amounts to Rs. 576 crores a year. The Finance Minister does not agree with Prof. Kaldor over the volume of tax evasion. The Finance Minister puts tax evasion at Rs. 30 crores a year; while the Central Board of Revenue has placed it at Rs. 214 crores.

The capital gains tax is no innovation in this country. It was introduced in Liaquat Ali Khan's budget, and withdrawn in the next year. If there be a betterment levy on urban property, there could be no objection to a capital gains tax. As regards the extent of tax evasion in this country, the Board of Revenue is not agreeable to accept Kaldor's estimates on the ground that Prof. Kaldor bases his calculations on slender statistics. Of course, Prof. Kaldor is aware of that and it may be said that the Board of Revenue's estimates for tax evasion are based on no better statistics than what have been used by the Professor. Professor Kaldor's report deserves consideration and there is a tendency among the authorities to sabotage his suggestions. He is blamed by the Central Board of Revenue for introducing an element of subjectivity in his calculations. He is stated to have assumed a very high proportion of taxable total income on figures the basis of which is not known. Moreover, the Board maintains that he has based his conclusion on an erroneous notion of income. He does not take into account depreciation concessions and various other exemptions which, it is said, have been made after prolonged considerations.

We submit that apart from the controversial issue of tax evasion, Prof. Kaldor's report contains valuable suggestions which ought to be taken into consideration for the purpose of implementation. The Central Board of Revenue itself is at fault when it tries to find fault with Kaldor's findings of tax evasion. Depreciation consideration relates only to the organised sector of the economy and not to all the people subject to the payment of income-tax. In 1953-54, the total contribution of the organized sector to the national income was Rs. 790 crores and this amount was not of depreciation. There are no exact data as to the rate of depreciation and wear and tear of fixed assets. The depreciation figures in the Census of Manufactures have been taken from the returns for income tax assessment and Kaldor was right in not taking again the cost of depreciation. Kaldor holds that evasion is extensive among the large income groups, while the Finance Minister maintains that the evasion is widespread among the lower income groups. In this respect Mr. Deshmukh is a great supporter of Mr. Birla who recently held, while presiding over the annual meeting of the West Bengal State Finance Corporation, that money in India has one way movement, that is, it moves into the countryside never to return and it is there hoarded. Therefore the villages should be taxed indirectly and Mr. Deshmukh has acted upon this suggestion while imposing tax burdens over essential foodgrains in his bid to catch up even the poorest man living in the village.

Our own experience and knowledge is that the worst hit are the middle-class tax-payers, and they are the most severely treated victims of the tax-collection department. Those who are supposed to be of a non-taxable income contain a very large number of small traders with taxable incomes no doubt.

Publication of Text-books

The Andhra Government appointed sometime ago a seven-member committee headed by Shri S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Vice-Chancellor of Sri Venkateswara University, to consider the question of preparation and publication of text-books by the State. The report of the Committee, released a few days ago, made a review of the present system of approval of text-books in Andhra and other states, pointed out their defects, and offered some recommendations for their removal.

Reviewing the current system of selection of books by the Andhra Text-Book Selection Committee the report said that the machinery for approving books was capable of improvements. While no book actually used in schools could be said to be unsuitable, generally the books were not as good as they ought to be and they did not compare favourably with text-books in other countries. Moreover, the report added, there was a widespread belief that books were prescribed by managements for reasons other than their being the best among the available books. "The biggest complaint, however, is with regard to the schools managed by public bodies other than the Government. The obvious reason for that is that a district board has a larger number of pupils in schools under its control than any other single management. If a publisher can get a district board to choose his books he stands to gain a great deal by this single successful canvassing. The impropriety alleged is not always of bribery by money. It may be exercise of influence of people in authority or by others whose support may be needed in elections. It may also be preference shown to near relatives or to a particular community or a political party."

Referring to the defects of publication and get-up of books the report referred to the lack of finances on the part of publishers which prevented them from getting books written by competent authors. The publishers had no agency through which they could come in contact with the results of modern research in text-book writing. Technical advice on book printing and production was not available to most publishers even if they had the financial ability to pay for it.

In view of the defects of the present system the Committee recommended that in Andhra "text-book production should not be left to private publishers, that a Government Department also is not suitable for the purpose and that it should be entrusted to an autonomous statutory corporation." The Corporation was proposed to consist of eleven members—three Government Officials in *ex-officio* capacity, the Director of Public Instruction, the two Vice-Chancellors of the Andhra and Sri Venkateswara Universities, three persons nominated by the State Government (one representing printing, publishing or book-trading concerns, one representing teachers in schools and one from the teachers in training colleges), and two other persons nominated by the Government.

The Committee suggested a phased programme for the publication work of the corporation to be carried out within a period not exceeding five years.

The recommendations of the Andhra Text-Book Enquiry Committee may be studied with profit by other State Governments also.

Soaring Prices

Prices of essential commodities have again begun to rise after about two years of relative stability. The rise has been steep and persistent. According to the *Statesman*, a survey of the Calcutta prices of thirty-five important items of daily consumption showed an overall increase of 26% over those in January, 1956 and of 20% over those a year before in June, 1955. The rise in prices has not been uniform in the case of all commodities and has been more marked in those most required for daily consumption, *e.g.*, rice, dal, vegetables, fish, mustard and coconut oils, chillies, betel nuts and cloths. The middle and poorer classes have thus been particularly hard hit by such price increases.

Part of the increase in prices in some of the commodities may be explained by seasonal factors. For example the rise in the price in vegetables might have been due to the shortfall of production on account at first of drought and then of heavy rains. But that the high prices even of the vegetables were certainly induced in part by the general rise in prices is beyond doubt.

The alarm caused by the steep and steady rise in the price of rice induced the State Government to undertake the distribution of rice at economic prices through authorized dealers—with apparent initial

success in checking the upward trend of the price of rice. But as more recent developments have revealed the problem is too deep-rooted to be solved by such palliative measures as opening token fair price shops for one commodity only. The West Bengal Government, now seems to have come to realize the seriousness of the situation and the part of the hoarders and profiteers in its creation and it is now reportedly considering the adoption of measures under the Security Act for the seizure of the stocks of rice, dal, mustard oil and other daily necessities for the distribution to the public through selected shops.

The measures proposed by the Government though belated are nonetheless welcome and if it means its job seriously it is sure to carry public sympathy.

The Naga Problem

Recent events in India's north-east frontiers involving hostilities between the Indian army and the Naga rebels have revealed the intensity and magnitude of the Naga problem. An excellent background of the present troubles has been furnished by Shri K. C. Chakravarti in an article entitled "The Demands of Naga land" in the *Economic Review* of June 9.

Shri Chakravarti points out Indians in general had no idea about the realities in the north-eastern frontier of India or of its special problems. Because of this ignorance most Indians were not able to realize the seriousness of the situation in Nagaland.

The Nagas were a primitive people living in villages called *punjis* in the hills and jungles. They had various totems and taboos and carried a great pride of their ownselves. Lying, theft and adultery were quite foreign to the Nagas. The civilized Indians from the plains of Assam, however, looked upon the Nagas with contumely. The common Nagas suffered such humiliation without protest. But under the influence of over a century of missionary work many Nagas acquired western ideas and habits and they not only felt "that they are different from the Indians in the plains of Assam but they also feel bitterly the contempt and ridicule which are meted out to their fellowmen." While the educated Nagas resented the contemptuous attitude of the Indians, from Assam plains they bore no malice against India or Indians as such. "If the word India inspires no emotion of love in their heart, it produced no bitterness either," Shri Chakravarty remarks. "The Naga sentiment is bitterly hostile against the Indians living in the adjoining plains of Assam with whom they really come into daily contact, and from whom they receive nothing but hatred and ridicule." The Nagas are hostile to the Assam Government and towards those officers either of the Assam Government or the Central Government who administer the areas.

The Nagas undoubtedly received support from the missionaries but such support alone could not explain the violent and organized revolt of the Nagas. The relaxation, after independence, of the restrictions imposed by the British Government upon the entry of Indians in Nagaland was, according to the writer, one of the contributory causes to the estrangement of the Nagas. Certain administrative moves undertaken by the Assam Government were also partly responsible for Naga discontent.

Shri Chakravarty has very strong words to say about the policy of the Assam Government. He writes : "Just as the Europeans once believed that it was the White Man's burden to civilise the coloured savages of Asia and Africa, the civilized people of Assam think that it is their burden to civilise the uncivilised Nagas. It is difficult to support this policy morally. Yet, now that the Nagas have indicated their strong dislike of being civilised by Assam, the Assam Government has sought support from the Indian army."

The Nagas were no match for the well-organized or heavily-armed Indian armies in positional warfare. But the geography and climate of the region was highly favourable to the Nagas who took recourse to sniping and guerilla warfare. Because of the operations of the Nagas many roads were virtually closed to the public resulting in very great hardship for people in those areas. The result was that "The Indian army is chasing an enemy who exists everywhere but cannot be found anywhere."

In conclusion Shri Chakravarti writes, "The Naga problem is really connected with the bigger problem of the reorganisation of India's north-eastern frontier."

Decimal Coinage

Referring to the Government of India's recently announced decision to introduce new decimal coin throughout the country on April 1, 1957 the *Hitavada* editorially writes that decimal coinage had undisputed advantages over the existing arbitrary system in that it made for speed and simplicity of arithmetical calculations thus saving considerable accounting time. It was also beyond doubt that the present time was also the most opportune moment for such a far-reaching monetary reform. Therefore, the only weighty criticism against decimal coinage was that it would cause a lot of difficulties during the transition period, particularly to the poor illiterate people who would not be able to perform the complicated arithmetic involved in conversion of existing coins into decimal coins and *vice versa* in their daily transactions. The two ready-reckoners published by the Finance Ministry announcing the relative values for the old and new coins below one rupee, by no means provided any guide to those who needed it most but, as Shri Rajagopalachari had observed, "would confuse even literate people, not to speak of the illiterate masses for whose benefit they have been prepared." Moreover, poor and illiterate people would not be expected to carry a copy of the ready-reckoner whenever they would want to purchase anything. "It is obvious," the *Hitavada* writes, "that at best the ready-reckoner has a strictly limited value."

The *Bombay Chronicle* expresses itself more strongly on this point and writes : "What is more important is that both the ready reckoners and the notes appended to them indicates an attitude of mind which is far from being sympathetic to the trouble that will be caused to the vast masses of poor and unlettered people in this country."

In the circumstances both the *Hitavada* and the *Bombay Chronicle* urge upon the Government of India to consider the feasibility of the proposals put forward by Shri Rajagopalachari.

The *Hitavada* writes :

"Under the system envisaged by the Government the Rupee is to be divided into 100 units of Naya Paisa as against the existing division of the rupee into 192 pies or 64 pice. Mr. Rajagopalachari has made a suggestion, which deserves close consideration by the Government, as it eliminates the need for confusing ready-reckoners. He has suggested that we should retain the "paisa" at its present value and work the decimal system upwards from below instead of from top to bottom as envisaged by the Government. In other words instead of having a "Naya Paisa" we will continue to have our existing "paisa" at its current value, and 100 of these "paisas" will make a "Naya rupee." The new rupee would be equivalent to Rs. 1-9-0 of the present currency, or 25 present rupees would yield 16 new rupees. This will obviate the difficulties in the infinite number of small transactions, which must suffer under the scheme proposed by the Government. Accountants and book-keepers in offices and banks will experience little difficulty in dealing with "naya rupee" suggested by Rajaji. There is also another advantage which will accrue by accepting Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme. The ready-reckoners published by Government have admittedly ignored fractions of pies, but in the countryside even these fractions of pies have value in terms of articles of consumption. A poor villager will be loth to leave out of count fractions of pies, as to him they will mean a little more of vegetables or some other cheap consumption article. Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan, by retaining the existing value of the lowest unit of currency, imposes no such hardship. No doubt his suggestion will mean appreciation in the value of the rupee, and a person drawing Rs. 100 as salary now will get only Rs. 64 of the new rupees, but so long as the purchasing power of the lowest unit of currency does not suffer a change, a "reduction" in salary in terms of the new rupee will be immaterial."

Communist Stock-taking

Stalin's posthumous dethronement by his leading disciples in the Soviet Communist Party has led the non-Soviet Communist leaders to make a reappraisal of their relationships with the Soviet Communist Party and has thus provided the world public with the rare spectacle of the Soviet Communist leaders, who were once considered to be incapable of committing any wrong, being openly cavilled at by fellow-Communists. In the past all critics of Soviet party were either liquidated or ostracized. The new element in the present situation is that the critics now have implicit, in some instances even open, support of the non-Soviet Communist

world for their criticism. Such Communist stalwarts as Maurice Thorez of France and Palmiro Togliatti of Italy have openly proclaimed their renunciation, although only partial, of the monopoly of leadership so long claimed and practised by the Soviet Communist Party. But it would not be correct to read too much in such indignant outbursts, which might have been prompted by angry protests from the rank and file of the party, because the Soviet Communist Party itself had expressed similar sentiments during its twentieth congress.

The most profound attack on the present Soviet leaders yet made by a fellow Communist came from Signor Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, which was the biggest Communist Party in western Europe. He said that the prestige of the present Soviet leaders had suffered because they had not opposed the creation of the Stalin myth when Stalin was alive. Signor Togliatti expressed his disapproval of the manner in which the Soviet leaders were trying to absolve themselves of their share of the responsibility during the Stalin era and said: "At one time all that was good was due to the superhuman positive qualities of one man (Stalin), now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering defects of the same man."

Signor Togliatti rejected such an attitude as un-Marxist and said: "The real problems escape notice—such as the method by which and the reason why Soviet society could and did stray so far from the democratic path and from the legality which it had traced out for itself arriving as far as degeneration."

The political committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain in what described as a "profound Marxist analysis of the degeneration in the functioning of the Soviet democracy" which had made the rise of Stalin possible, expressed its full agreement "with the observations of Comrade Togliatti and the French Communist Party" in criticizing Khruschev and his colleagues for putting all the blame for past Soviet mistakes on Stalin.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, London correspondent of the *Hindu* says, "The statement of the British Communist chiefs also echoed the French Bureau's complaint that Mr. Khruschev's attack on Stalin had been published in Western newspapers before it was available to Communists outside Russia. The British Communist said the statement followed consideration of Mr. Khruschev's report to the private session of the Soviet Communist Party. They disclosed that at a private session of the British party's 24th National Congress on April 1, a resolution was passed and sent to Moscow 'regretting that a public statement on this question had not been made by the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union'."

Mr. Howard Fast, prominent American writer and Stalin Prize winner, wrote in an article published in the New York *Daily Worker* that in future he would remain a friend of Russia but would also be "a severe and implacable critic." The *Daily Worker* of New York, daily organ of the Communist Party of the USA., itself also editorially castigated the Soviet leaders' conduct in not having fought the creation of the Stalin myth and for not publishing Khruschev's secret report to the 20th Congress.

It should, however, be pointed out that all of the above-mentioned critics agreed on the merits of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in exposing the Stalin myth.

"Is Bulganin Finished?"

Boris I. Nicolaevsky in an article with the above caption in the New York *New Leader*, April 23, writes that a review of the proceedings of the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led one to the conclusion that the Congress, far from consolidating the victory of the Khruschev-Bulganin bloc which it was generally expected to achieve, had in fact, "uncovered a major rift in that bloc . . . we may well ask: Does the Khruschev-Bulganin bloc still exist—or are we now faced with a completely new alignment of forces in the Kremlin?"

The writer refers to the existence of a "personal conflict between Bulganin and Zhukov (the former had the latter exiled to obscure provincial posts right after the war)" symbolising the long-smouldering hostility between the police-political apparatus (represented by Bulganin) and military commanders (represented by Zhukov) the balance now being tilted in favour of the military as would appear from the new elections to the Party's central committee. "Not a single member of the political administration was elected either a member or a candidate of the central committee—an unprecedented event in the history of the Soviet Communist Party. On the other hand, Zhukov was not only elected a member of the C.C. but became first candidate member of the Presidium. This represented a complete victory for the military leaders over the political apparatus of the Army—again, the first such victory in Party history," writes Mr. Nicolaevsky, who concludes from such analysis that Bulganin "is becoming a mill-stone around the necks of the collective leadership."

Mr. Nicolaevsky in his article quotes some facts about the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which are quite interesting. He writes: "According to figures cited by G. P. Moroz in publications of the Munich Institute for study of the USSR, in the last months before the Congress 9,500 new secretaries were named for party cells in the Ukrain, comprising some 20 per cent of the total; in the Uzbek Republic, new secretaries were chosen for 36 per cent of the cells, etc. The higher the organization, the more new appointments; in a number of provinces, almost every regional committee secretary was dismissed."

How Truthful is the Soviet Press?

In the past instances were not wanting when the Soviet press indulged in distortions and calumnies to feed its readers according to the line set by the Communist Party. It appears that in spite of the many welcome changes—in internal and external policies—the Soviet press still continues to be interested more in catering Party line propaganda than publishing truthful and complete reports. This tendency was highlighted by the omission in the Soviet press of some significant comments about the internal situation of U.S.S.R. made by India's Vice-President during his recent visit to that country. Below we append *Reuter's* dispatch on the matter:

"Moscow, June 16.—India's Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan told Pressmen here today that he had noted big omissions in Soviet Press reports of speeches he made yesterday when he arrived and later at a reception at the Kremlin.

"Asked by reporters at the Indian Embassy reception given in his honour by the Indian Ambassador Mr. K. P. S. Menon, whether he planned any protest he replied: 'No. I note and I go on.'

"A passage omitted from his speech came after a reference about 'attempts to liberalize' the Soviet regime.

"It read: If these changes continue I am convinced many difficulties will be eliminated and that nightmare in which we lived before may become a thing of the past. We do not want to die for our doctrines. We hope to live for our ideals in the future.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan's speech at the Kremlin, which lasted nearly twenty minutes, including the translation, was summarized in six paragraphs in the *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

"Soviet Press reports did not also contain any reference to his remarks about 'strict control' inside Russia and 'suspicion' of what was outside or about the 'tendency for the relaxation of both these.' Nor his remarks about 'concentration camps' and the need for 'real democracy' or references to Sir Winston Churchill were published.

"The Vice-President said he had not raised the matter during his 'very useful' talks with Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev. He declined to give any details about their talks as they were 'confidential'.

"It was understood that Dr. Radhakrishnan conveyed to the two Soviet leaders the same sentiments that he expressed in his speeches yesterday and that they were well received.

"The Vice-President told reporters that he had tried to show in his speeches that there had been rasons for strictness in the Soviet regime at one time but there was no need for it now."

Development of the Sahara Desert

The Sahara Desert is five million square kilometres in area extending from the North African Tell to the banks of the river Niger and from the Atlantic coast into the very heart of Central Africa. About 7 to 8 lakh nomads live there with considerable difficulty. This vast area had been almost neglected until recent researches disclosed the existence of extraordinary mineral and power resources in that area.

M. Georges Marcey writes that methodical prospectings of the Sahara desert were being done for some years now and the results were highly optimistic. "In the East Sahara notably,

petroleum has just gushed forth. In the north-west area, towards Colomb-Bechar, important deposits of iron, copper, zinc, manganese, lead, tin and phosphates have been explored. The coal mines of Kenadsa and Abadla to the extreme south of the first section of the 'Mediterranean-Niger' railway line have already been successfully exploited. In High-Mauritania, towards the post of Fort-Gourand, as on the southern borders of Moroccan territory, toward Tindouf, there exist reserves of mineral-ore that are on a world scale, three milliard tons, it is estimated. In Low-Mauritania the Akjoujt mine is capable of producing a quarter of the annual French copper consumption. And in addition, the Sahara is going to be the chosen country for solar energy."

The development of the Sahara desert was not going to be smooth and besides the solution of technical, and economic problems would also require the resolution of involved political questions. The Sahara territory, at the moment, were divided between three large French administrative systems: Algeria, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa. The whole north part of the desert belonged to Algeria, the eastern region as far as the confines of Libya of the Sudanese Republic to French Equatorial Africa, the western and southern areas to French West Africa. A move was afoot in France to get the three areas merged into one "French Sahara Africa" and in the present circumstances such a move was bound to raise grave political controversies.

Women's Vote in U.S. Elections

Women's franchise, even in Western democracies, is of recent origin. For example, French women gained the right to vote only after the Second World War. Because of this fact there has still been a lively interest whether vote of women has made any difference in the domestic politics of those countries where they have been accorded the franchise.

Discussing the influence of women's vote in the United States elections, Dr. George Gallup writes: "It is often said that women vote as their husbands do. You could turn this statement around and with logic say that men vote as their wives do.

"There is a large measure of truth in both statements," Dr. Gallup writes. The reason was that most husbands and wives came from the same communities and the same type of background and thus possessed a common outlook on almost all questions of life. So it was no indictment on either husbands or wives that they viewed politics in the same light.

"But," Dr. Gallup adds, "while it must be put down as a political fact that most husbands and wives tend to vote alike, such differences as do exist are most revealing.

"In the United States, and in every country where polling organisations make comparison possible, the vote of women has been found to be more conservative than the vote of men." In European countries fewer women, proportionately, voted for Communist candidates than men. The position of women on the political dictum might be described as "slightly right of centre."

Women, who outnumbered men by two millions in the USA, had their first chance of voting in the national elections in 1920 after the adoption of the 19th amendment to the US Constitution. In that first election only 26 per cent of the women voters cast their votes while in the last Presidential elections, in 1952, 60 per cent of the eligible women voters exercised their franchise. If this trend continued more women might vote in this year's elections.

Referring to the question of the possibility of the election of a woman as President of the USA Dr. Gallup writes that in August, 1937, when the first Gallup Poll had been published the figures showed 33 per cent favouring the idea and 63 per cent opposing it with the remaining 4 per cent having "no opinion." The results of the last poll on this issue taken in March, 1955, disclosed that 52 per cent favoured the idea of having a woman President of the United States while 44 per cent opposed it. The "no opinion' remained constant at 4 per cent.

Dr. Gallup writes: "Women themselves are almost as prejudiced as men when it comes to the question of a woman President in the White House. Only a little more than half of the women (57 per cent in the latest poll) say they would vote for a woman President."

Rising Prices in the United Kingdom

A White Paper on The Economic Implications of Full Employment was recently published by the British Government focussing attention on the problem of continually rising prices which full employment had brought with it and suggesting measures for adoption by the British Government to achieve reasonable price stability in the future. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Harold Macmillan, this was the fourth in a series of documents dealing with full employment in U.K. and related subjects. The first was the Coalition Government's White Paper, 1944, the second was published in January, 1947 and the third was the white Paper on personal incomes, costs and prices of February, 1948.

The White Paper said that the application of the policies set out in 1944 to be pursued after the war to maintain a higher stable level of employment had been quite successful so that except for a few weeks in 1947 unemployment rate in the U.K. as a whole never exceeded 3 per cent since the war and was now about only one per cent. Since 1946 the national output of goods and services rose by 30 per cent while industrial production rose by 56 per cent. There was, however, no proportionate rise in the standard of living because much of the increase in production had to be utilised for national reconstruction and investment, and for boosting up exports in order to make up rising import prices and the loss of pre-war income from overseas investment. A substantial programme of rearmament also claimed part of the increased productions.

In spite of the exhortations of the previous white papers for keeping down the prices by all possible means the prices of the final output of goods and services of all kinds in U.K. increased by about 50 per cent between 1946 and 1955. Of this increase, about one-seventh was attributable to the net effect of changes in subsidies and indirect taxes. The rest was determined by movements in import prices and in U.K. costs of production. Although the rise in import prices had been greater than the rise in cost of production, it was the latter which had been responsible for by far the greater part of the increase of the final prices. The general level of prices rose with the increase in the import prices but it did not fall when import prices fell, because the gain from lower import prices had been more than offset by the rising trend of incomes and internal costs. Much of the rise in prices in U.K. were due to abnormal world conditions. "But even apart from these abnormal factors there has been in the United Kingdom—to a greater extent than in many other countries—a continuing tendency for prices to rise as incomes increase faster than output."

The White Paper showed that between 1938 and 1948 while prices of consumer's goods and services roughly doubled, wages and salaries had rather more than doubled, and dividends of nationalized companies had risen by about one-tenth. Over the period 1948-55 while consumer prices had risen by nearly one-third, both wages and salaries and dividends increased by nearly two-thirds, dividends in the last few years having had caught up with wages and salaries. "Taking the period 1938-1955 as a whole, wages and salaries have increased by very much more than dividends; and the real value of wages and salaries has increased by 40 per cent over the period, while that of dividends has decreased by 30 per cent."

The White Paper said that in order to maintain full employment without inflation, it was the job of the United Kingdom Government to make continual adjustments in fiscal, monetary and social policies as the pressure of demand rose and fell. In a full employment economy it was possible for the employers to concede large wage increases without any curtailment of their profit margin—the cost being passed on to the consumer. But then there would appear inflation. The maintenance of successful full-employment economy was therefore dependent upon the self-restraint observed in making wage-claims, fixing profit margins and prices, so that total money income rose no faster than the total output.

The Kashmir Issue

The following news was published on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at London:

"London, June 25—Mr. Mohammed Ali claimed here today Kashmir belonged 'by right' to Pakistan, in accordance with the very basis of partition, in accordance with every other criterion —geographical, strategic and economic.'

"'Nevertheless,' Mr. Ali told a luncheon meeting in his honour by the Foreign Press Association, 'we do not claim that Kashmir must come to Pakistan.'

"'All we say is this, let the people of Kashmir be given an opportunity to decide their own fate by means of a free vote. India is bound under an international agreement to allow this. Let that solemn undertaking be carried out.'

"The Pakistan Prime Minister asked why India was opposed to this plebiscite and then said: 'At various times various reasons have been advanced by the apologists for India. They have talked of the prosperity of that part of Kashmir which is under Indian occupation—an argument in the best colonial tradition. They have argued that since there has been no agreement on the prerequisites to a plebiscite during the last six or seven years and meanwhile other developments have taken place like military aid to Pakistan, no plebiscite can be held. This is an extraordinary plea.'

"He added: 'Both countries (India and Pakistan) can enjoy the fruits of freedom fully only when they have succeeded in raising the standard of living of their peoples conferring upon them the social and economic benefits which freedom brings.

"These objectives will remain largely unrealized if Pakistan and India continue to be at cross purposes living in fear of each other in a state of constant tension.

"Mr. Mohammed Ali when asked whether the Kashmir issue would be discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, said that one of the working rules of the conference was that only questions which were mutually agreed should be raised there. 'It is quite a good rule—and so I will say no more about it.'

"He described the Kashmir problem 'a very important question for the Commonwealth as a whole.' There was little doubt, he said, that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers would be interested in a peaceful and just solution of it. In the past they had taken 'an active interest in attempting to find a solution to this question.'

"Mr. Ali said that he had stated time and again that the Kashmir problem had to be settled by peaceful means and added, 'I repeat that.' There had never been any question of Pakistan using the assistance of the regional organizations to which she belonged in settling the Kashmir problem militarily, he said.

"Replying to another question, the Pakistan Prime Minister said that the Kashmir problem differed in two fundamental respects from the issue of India's claim on Goa. On Kashmir there was an agreement that the question should be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. Secondly, Kashmir was really a part of the problem of partition of the sub-continent and it was against that background that it should be looked at."

This statement, like hundreds of previous statements made by Pakistani spokesmen, including the threats of *jehad* by sabre-rattlers, indicate how miserably our own Government has failed in countering this kind of propaganda.

Is it not time that the full story of the Pakistani planned raid on Kashmir, with loot, rape, arson and murder let loose on the innocent people of Kashmir, Moslem and Hindu alike, was published in full?

It is clearly seen that Pakistan wishes to take advantage of the reticence of India. We think there can be no communal repurcussion now so let the truth be told.

Suez Canal Zone Freed

The following is the news report about the handing over of the Suez Canal Zone to Egypt:

"London, June 18.—Lieutenant-Colonel Nasser, Egyptian Prime Minister, hoisted the Egyptian flag over Navy House at Port Said today to mark the end of Britain's 74 years of occupation of the Suez Canal Zone.

"He smiled broadly as he performed the ceremony marking the beginning of four days of festivities to greet this new era for Egypt. Navy House was the last installation in the Canal Zone to be occupied by the British forces before their departure last Tuesday.

"Colonel Nasser proclaimed Egypt free and independent to the frenzied acclamation of the people there and the shrieking of sirens from ships of many nations in the port. Guns silenced since a British bombardment in 1882 boomed today as part of the ceremony.

"A new Palestine Arab Army led by commando units held a parade in Gaza today to mark the evacuation. The director of the Gaza Municipality, speaking 'on behalf of Palestine', proclaimed the Palestinians' support for Colonel Nasser as 'the leader of the struggle until Palestine and Algeria are rescued.' He told the troops: 'The day of your return to your homeland is approaching. Israel is only a fish which will be overwhelmed by the Arab ocean.'

"In Cairo hundreds of thousands of Egyptians from the provinces crowded the streets and squares. Two hundred Egyptian political prisoners were released today, including many described by the authorities as 'Communists.' This was in accordance with a promise by Colonel Nasser to free political detainees by evacuation day. Criminal prisoners who had served more than half their sentences were also released under a general amnesty."

Nuclear Research in Russia

The news report given below carries a strange but clear significance, in the race in nuclear research.

The U.S.S.R. seems to be confident now of holding her own in this work, or else there could not have been so much of an "open door" invitation to the visiting scientists from the U.S.A.

It also indicates a new orientation in the attitude towards atomic warfare, where the U.S.S.R. is concerned.

New York, June 21.—American scientists, who have returned from a tour of laboratories in the U.S.S.R. said that the Soviet Union would outstrip the rest of the world in pure nuclear research within the next decade.

The scientists, who went to the Soviet Union on an invitation to participate in a scientific conference in Moscow, based their conclusion on their first-hand knowledge of the research carried out in Soviet laboratories and their talks with Soviet scientists.

Whilst they were in Russia, they said, they mixed freely with about 1,000 leading Soviet physicists and were entertained in the homes of their Russian colleagues. They were also permitted to visit any laboratory they liked.

'They asked us to tell them what we wanted to see. We saw everything we wanted. They answered every question. We were permitted to bring our cameras right into their experimental laboratories and take pictures of everything we wanted.'

Professor Wiesskopf, of the Massachussetts Institute of Technology, who speaks fluent Russian, said that Soviet research was already benefiting from the return to the universities and institutes of scientists who had been held in labour camps.

The scientists also reported that the Soviet Union had its own version of the "Openheimer case" (Dr. Openheimer, the American atomic physicist, who played a prominent part in the development of the atom bomb but later opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb and was dismissed from his post of head of the research team of the Atomic Energy Commission on the ground of being a security risk.)

Russia had parallel cases, the scientists said. One of them said: "I learned of Russian scientists who were subjected to similar treatment—or worse—by the Soviet Government because they refused to engage in certain lines of weapons research which the Government demanded."

Humanity and "Fall-out"

There have been some press reports recently about the radiation contamination from atom-bomb test "fall-outs" at distant places like India. The news given below is interesting in that connection:

London, June 13.—A Medical Research Council committee of medical experts and atom scientists announced here last night that the danger to humanity was "neglible" from external radiation caused by hydrogen and atom bomb test explosions.

But the committee gave a warning about internal radiation, which was beginning to accumulate in human bones.

This comes from strontium-90, one of the constituents of a "fall-out," which retains radio-activity for long periods and is deposited on the ground. It may contaminate drinking water or agricultural crops.

"At the present level, no detectable increase in the incidence of ill-effects is to be expected," the committee's report said.

But the possibility could not be ignored that if the rate of firing increased and greater numbers of thermo-nuclear (hydrogen) weapons were used, ill-effects might eventually be produced in a small number of the population. Absorbed into human bones, it could cause cancer.

The committee, probing the whole field of radio-activity, made a discovery which poses a big new problem for medical science. This is that radiation from some types of X-ray examinations is more than 22 times as heavy as that from an H-bomb fall-out.

Perturbed by this finding, the team of experts is now urging a review of medical diagnosis by radiology.

Riots in Ceylon

The recent riots in Ceylon, which were brought under control subsequent to the news report given below, also have a racial complexion. The present government is friendly to India, so we refrain from any comments beyond hoping that amendments would be made in the Bill that caused the flare-up.

Colombo, June 15.—After a record all-night session the House of Representatives this morning passed by 65 votes to 28 the controversial Bill to make Sinhalese the single official language of Ceylon, as reports trickled in from the Tamil areas of Eastern Province of large-scale violence, arson, sabotage, and assaults.

Policemen returning from trouble spots in Eastern Province said that the Gal Oya Valley, colonized by Sinhalese and Tamil peasants, was like a "battlefield."

The President of the Federal Party, Mr. C. Vanniasingham, said he had received a cable from the M.P. for Batticaloa, main town in Eastern Province, that there was a reign of terror in Gal Oya. Thousands of panic-stricken peasants of both communities were fleeing from the valley, some taking refuge in the near-by jungles.

According to the M.P., a crowd broke into the large magazine in the valley and took away ammunition and sticks of dynamite. The police have arrested 23 Sinhalese and a Tamil in Batticaloa who were caught in the act of preparing bombs. The police have also averted attempts to dynamite important bridges in the valley.

Armoured cars and troops have been sent from Colombo to reinforce the troops and police in the valley. An unofficial curfew has been imposed in the area. Military doctors have also been sent to attend to the injured there.

Secret Treaties in Ceylon ?

The following news from Colombo throws a curious light on the workings of a ministry that was under the influence of the British:

"Colombo, June 13.—Mr. Bandarnaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, today accused the previous Government of Sir John Kotelawala of having destroyed important papers relating to internal public security service and, possibly, those relating to British bases in the country.

"'With the exception of some documents that were found fallen inside the crevices of the desk, which are somewhat interesting and intriguing, all other papers relating to internal public security service were destroyed by the previous administration,' he told his weekly Press conference here.

"Mr. Bandarnaike said: 'There was the defence agreement with the U.K., which made no reference whatsoever to the bases. It only said that the two countries would co-operate.'

"It was only a general phrase that by mutual agreement the two countries would assist each other. Under this, some arrangement has been made in regord to Katunayake and Trincomalee. If so, I do not have a scrap of paper on the subject.

"It may be that while the previous Government was assuring in Parliament that no bases were secretly granted, it had come to some understanding granting bases of which even documents are not available. I do not know whether this is the case or not, because no paper is available."

The S.E.A.D.O. Meeting

The following statement by the C.-in-C. of Britain in the Far East, is worthy of record, in view of the fast changing outlook of the political world of Asia:

"Singapore, June 11.—General Sir Charles Loewen, Commander-in-Chief of Britain's Far East Land Forces, told 80 military planners of the South-East Asia Defence Organization countries today that S.E.A.D.O. was 'a shield of freedom.'

"Opening the third S.E.A.D.O. military planning conference near here, he declared that the organization was not a 'threat to peace,' as some of its critics claimed. It was designed as a shield under which people could freely develop their own ways of life.

"The conference is a continuation of the military planning talks held at Pearl Harbour last November and at Melbourne earlier this year.

"After today's public opening, the 16-day session will continue behind closed doors at the Sembawang Royal Naval Air Station. Countries represented are Pakistan, Britain, the U.S.A., France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand.

"Lt-Col Dawson, chief of the New Zealand delegation, told the conference that New Zealand, being a small country, 'must rely on collective arrangements for her own ultimate defence.'

"Brigadier Haider of Pakistan said his country would do all it could to strengthen S.E.A.D.O., because peace 'can be guaranteed only through strength'.

"'Our aim is to sufeguard the peace and security of the treaty area and prevent aggression from any quarter,' he stated.

"The leader of the Philippines delegation, Brigadier-General Cruz, said, in his country 'there is an air of impatience and a growing feeling that nothing concrete is being done by our organization.'

"He said members of S.E.A.D.O. 'close to the potential area of aggression' wanted to turn the alliance into a 'vital and vigorous organization'.

"'Those of us who live close to these potential areas of aggression feel and see the threat against our way of life.'

"'This threat varies in techniques, but the objective remains the same.'

"In the afternoon there was a closed session." —Reuter.

Pakistan and Russia

The following news would be of interest to the S.E.A.D.O. countries:

"Karachi, June 27.—The Pakistani Government tonight announced the signing this afternoon in Karachi of a Pakistan-Russian trade agreement.

"The announcement said that 'among goods destined for export from Pakistan to the U.S.S.R. are jute and jute manufactures, cotton, wool, hides and skins and tanned leather, tea and other commodities.'

"Among goods included for export from the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan, the announcement added, 'are various kinds of industrial equipment, machines, tools, and instruments, tractors and agricultural machinery, ball and roller bearings, metals, chemicals, petroleum and petroleum products, timber and other commodities.'

"It did not mention the quantities involved nor the values of the items to be imported. It also did not mention the duration of the agreement but it is understood the agreement is for a year and subsequently renewable every year by mutual agreement.

"All payments will be made in Pakistani Rupees, the announcement said. It added: 'In order to facilitate trade under the agreement, the Government of the U.S.S.R. will shortly be setting up trade representation in Pakistan located in Karachi."

"The announcement said that 'the agreement provides for developing trade relations between the two countries on principles of equality and mutual benefit. Under the agreement the two countries will extend the most favoured nation treatment to each other in matters affecting imports and exports, etc'."

Flare-up in Argentina

The position in Argentina has again demonstrated its instability since the deposition of Peron the dictator by a military junta.

"Buenos Aires, June 11.—Fourteen military officers and men were executed by firing squads during yesterday's short-lived revolt in Argentina, the Presidential Press office announced today.

"Colonel Congorno, said to have been the rebel leader in La Plata, where the revolt broke out, was captured 'after attempting to escape' and was executed under the country's martial law decree a few hours later.

"Other executed leaders, it was stated, were Colonel Cortines and Colonel Ibazeta, who led the revolt in campo de Mayo.

"The Government early today also announced that it had clamped a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew on Buenos Aires Province, centre of the rebellion. Buenos Aires city itself was exempted.

"The revolt is believed to have had the aim of returning former President Peron to power."

Pineau on the Cold War

In view of the discussion in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference now going on in London, the following is of interest:

"Paris, June 12.—The French Foreign Minister, M. Pineau, said here today he believed the chief reasons for the 'new look' in Soviet foreign policy were economic.

"He said that the economic factors which made for a change in Soviet policy had existed before Stalin's death but Stalin's policy had prevented their being taken into account.

"After Stalin's death the new leaders of Russia realized that the country's internal resources were insufficient, that they could not live any longer cut off from the rest of the world and

that contacts with the West would enable them to raise Soviet living standards more rapidly.

"Russia had also gained a certain feeling of security through possession of the hydrogen bomb.

"In reply to the Soviet 'new look,' M. Pineau said, the West should finally end the cold war, try to reach agreement on disarmament, concentrate on economic problems, particularly aid to backward countries, and get rid of the idea that 'all countries that are not with us are against us.'

"'I think that all those that are not against us are with us.'

"M. Pineau said it would on the other hand be very dangerous to neglect collective security. The West must not appear weak. 'We must and we do strongly favour American presence in Europe.'"

Hindu Succession Bill

With the passing of the Bill, the numerous anomalies that surround the term "Hindu" will be eradicated to a great extent. In marriage and inheritance, there were so many different practices, between caste and caste and between national groups, that no general statement could be made about the basic laws. Now at least there would be some uniformity, as the news below indicates:

"New Delhi, June 18.—The Hindu Succession Bill which was passed by Parliament has received the assent of the President.

"The enactment of the Bill completes the most important part of the Hindu Code suggested by the Rau Committee in 1947. The first instalment was the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, dealing with the law relating to marriage and divorce among Hindus.

"The Hindu Succession Act is intended to evolve a fairly uniform system of law in the entire country with respect to intestate succession. The list of heirs has been rationalized and can be said to be based on the love and affection theory. There are several notable features of this Act which make it a landmark in the social history of India.

"The Act will apply to all Hindus—a term which is defined to include all persons not professing the Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jewish faith.

"The biggest change made by the Act is that women are now eligible to inherit and hold property in the same way as men. In the past even where women inherited some property they had only limited rights over it; they could not, for instance, sell it except in certain circumstances and they could use it only in their lifetime. The present Act has removed these disabilities.

"The Act has for the first time provided the daughter with a share in the father's property, both self-acquired and ancestral.

"Certain safeguards have been provided in the Act for preserving intact family dwelling houses."

The Next Elections

The following press release is published for record, in view of the coming elections. It would handicap splinter groups undoubtedly:

"New Delhi, June 9.—The Election Commission will in future take no official notice of local, regional or countrywide electoral alliances between political parties, whether they are recognized or not, and whether such alliances are reported to the Commission by the parties concerned or not, an official Press release said today.

"The release, which specified procedure to be followed by the Commission in future on certain matters, also announced that the Election Commission had restored the recognition of the Praja Party, Andhra, as a State party.

"The procedure was being announced, the release said, so as to avoid confusion of the kind that had arisen in the case of the Praja Party of Andhra, resulting in the withdrawal of recogniton from the party in February this year.

"The release said that the Commission had re-examined the case on a representation made by the party and had restored recognition to it as a State party. Accordingly, the symbol of the 'rising sun' allotted to it would no longer be a free symbol in Andhra State for future elections."

STANDARD OF LIVING IN INDIA

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

The economic status of any social group is determined by the amount of wealth and sources of income, social position, and the mode of living. This economic measure to a great extent determines the standard of living of any group or society. The mode of living in any country depends primarily on the fundamental factors of food, shelter and clothing, and an individual's power to get them. But in different countries this standard of living varies, due to the physiography of the various regions, racial characteristics of their people, and the differing values of money. Even in the same country the standard of living may vary from region to region and from one group to another due to occupational variation, social stratification and environmental life.

There are more forces than one which control and regulate the mode of living of any social group in a country. Since a society undergoes modification with every change in economic, social and political life, the standard of living of the people must necessarily change with each such modification. The concept of "standard of living" has, therefore, been elaborated by many economists and now its wider sense has become tinged with various social and psychological factors.

A "standard of living" is not the same as the actual manner of living of a class or a community. It is an attitude towards, or a way of regarding, a given mode of living. It is the "scale of preferences," the plan for material living, which directs our expenditure into certain channels, and satisfies our sense of propriety and decency as a mode of living.[1]

The factors that enter into the concept of standard of living consist of the following elements :

(a) There are those elements which are essential as possessing survival value for individual life, food, clothing, and medical service;

(b) The "conventional necessities" or "prestige values" which indicate the existence of social groups and have survival value for the group, like a clergyman's coat or the academic cap and the gown; they are symbols to designate social status and enable the individual to identify himself with the group ;

(c) There are those further elements which represent the group concept of welfare, including values which mark the particular bias or interest of the group, whether puritanic or commercial.[2]

The normal standard governed by an average income is one which conduces to healthy and symmetrical development, physical efficiency and mental and moral growth of a person. That measure of necessities and scale of comfort which a person has come to regard as indispensable to his happiness, and to secure which he will make any reasonable sacrifice, is the true standard of living. It must be noted that the rise in the standard of living implies, "an increase of intelligence, energy and self-respect, leading to more care and judgment in expenditure and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally."

Rural Vs. Urban Standard

The following points may be enumerated as the chief features of the rural and the urban standards of living :

1. The cash income and expenditure of farmers and peasants are low, because of the possibilities for direct appropriation from nature of many of the items in their living, such as food, fuel and house rent.

2. The single family dwellings, open air, healthy surroundings, and comparative safety for children, are things which may be bought in towns only by the expenditure of a large sum of money. The greater quantities of food consumed by farm families are difficult to evaluate.

3. As regards food consumption, rural classes need more food because they do more physical work and live outdoors. They consume more food in the course of a year, but it is of a poor quality. They eat coarse grains, pulses and occasionally vegetables, while urban classes consume more wheat, vegetables, meat and dairy products. Moreover, the direct consumption of food produced in the farms lead to a greater

1. Hazel Kyrk : *A Theory of Consumption*, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

use of coarse food without much variety, while the urban classes have a variety of refined foods available with a higher vitamin content and sufficient calories. The following table shows the proportion of food materials and calories in various working class diets in India :[3]

Distribution of Quantities of Food Materials and Calories in Working Class Diets in India

	Proteins in grammes	Fats in grammes	Carbohydrates in grammes	Total calories
U. P. Textile worker	90	45	530	2800
Miner in Bihar	75.88	22	551.75	2694
Bombay woman mill worker	57	38.0	413	2234
Bengali Jute worker	66	41	526	2752

Only a small amount of clothing is required in the country. Most of it is work-clothing which is standardized (a loin cloth) and is unaffected by changes in style and fashion. Rural people are satisfied with home-made things that do not involve much expense. Their clothing requirements are not only few but seasonal and periodical.

Thus we find that so far as the physiological needs are concerned the average standard of living of the rural population is lower than that of the urban. Moreover, the urban families have a certain percentage of a greater net spendable income available for saving and non-physiological purposes like social and religious purposes, recreation, education of children, etc. The living of the peasants and farmers is inseparable from the business of the farm, because their surplus spendable income is first distributed between business and living expenses before the individual items of living are given preference. But urban business life and home life are widely separated. Because of these combinations the rural class has less incentive for saving and investment for rainy days. The same conclusion may be drawn from a comparison of the property accumulated by the rural and urban groups. Although the agricultural class is to a certain extent proprietorial, nevertheless the average wealth and income of the peasant proprietors fall much below that of the city proprietorial classes, their income being more nearly equal to that of the urban labouring classes. Moreover, the religious, political and recreational activities enter as items into urban budgets in a greater degree than they do into rural budgets, because people in rural areas have neither a surplus spendable income nor facilities for such things. Therefore, we conclude that the proportion of budget expenses use for non-physiological purposes averages less in the country than in the city; hence, the proportion of the budget expended for items of current consumption other than so-called basic necessities is the best index of the level of living.

Growth of Family and the Lowering of the Standard of Living

India stands at the bottom of the ladder in respect of the standard of living of its masses, when compared with that of the Western countries. India has such a low standard of living that it touches the minimum of subsistence. Sir John Megaw aptly observes :

"It is useless to tell people to drink more milk, or to eat more fruit and vegetables, unless we can show them how these articles can be obtained in addition to and not instead of the part of the usual diet. Already many people cannot get enough rice and other bulky cheap foods to satisfy their hunger. To suggest expensive foods to these people would be just as reasonable as the remark attributed to Queen Marie Antoinette who, when told that the people of Paris were clamouring for bread, was said to have replied, 'If they have no bread, why don't they eat cake'?"[4].

In many parts of "Northern India, the industrial workers cannot afford anything more than parched gram and coarse sugar for the mid-day fare, the evening meal generally consisting of wheat flour, cakes and lent vegetables; oil, ghee and fruit enter but little into their dietaries. In the rice-eating areas, as Madras or Bengal, the position is not substantially different; a meal of cold rice with salt or breakfast, rice and lentils mid-day and repeated at night; with very few vegetables, practically no fruit, milk or ghee."[5]

Very large numbers are unable to provide for the education or medical treatment while healthy dwelling houses are rare, specially in the towns. A large number of artisans and labourers and even small cultivators possess insufficient clothing for cold weather, while in many parts of the country the food of the labourers is not sufficient to enable them to do a full day's work.[6]

The low standard of living in India is largely due to poverty, illiteracy, custom and fashion to which the masses are blindly wedded, and an unchecked population growth without a proportionate increase in the means of production, or facilities for migration and colonization. The restraining power of a high standard of living upon an increase of population has utterly failed in India, where social customs and traditions, rather than economic postulates, determine the growth of families. This point of view was strong also among the early immigrants to the U.S.A., but a decline in the birth rate of their second generation was easily noticeable with the correspondingly large increase in the income of the family.[7] A similar decrease in birth rate in the 18th centuary in England, France and Germany witnessed a parallel advance in the high standard of living. But the rapid increase of population in India is due to the economic condition, the low standard of living and the exceedingly harsh economic exploitation of the people, to the social subjection of women and the resultant lack of education and perhaps, most of all, to the religious doctrines which enjoin marriages.[8] In India the rapid growth of population is discernible in the lower strata of society for it is a well-known fact that the tendency of multiplication is greatest when men have no stake in existence, where they have no prospects of improving their condition, and where children if born would not be more miserable than their parents. Poverty accentuates the progress of multiplication; multiplication intensifies poverty. But when some chance of better condition is visible, when a better occupation, better education, some savings and some accumulation appear within reach, when it is seen that more mouths to feed mean a lessening possibility of utilising such an opportunity, then the propensity for multiplication is more and more held in check.[9]

A country has a higher standard of living when its people are prudent and restrain the inclination for family life until they may also gratify other reasonable wants. But a country will always have a low standard of living if the desires of its people are subordinated to the domestic instinct, *i.e.* when its people undertake the responsibility of a family before they are economically able to support it. Not only does a large family tend to diminish the volume of personal and social satisfaction which the parents enjoy, but an ever-increasing influx of rural population into urban areas pulls down the standard from the margin of existence to that of starvation. Moreover, an increasing army of proletariat render it difficult for the better class to improve their own standards, because "the standard or living of each man rises slowly, constantly sucked down by the lower standards of the masses."[10] The enormous increase in the ranks of immigrants, unspecified and landless competing wage-earners, who are to a great extent unemployed or under-employed, has greatly reduced the standard among the masses of the working people in this country, without giving promise to improve their own condition. The difference in the size of the family tends to reduce the amount of spendable income per adult unit in the rural family. The average number of children per family in India is 4.5 against 4.3 in rural areas and 4.2 in urban families; and the proportion of the total number of children surviving per mille born, is appreciably higher in rural areas. It should be noted that an increase in the number of non-working dependents, specially in lower-class rural families is a great drain on their family income. The ultimate result of this growth is that the proportion of the budget expended for the items of basic necessities like food, clothing and housing, is increased at the expense of non-physiological expenses like education, health and medical and recreation facilities. It should therefore be clear that a large-size family on the one hand, and the growth of non-working dependents on the other, without an increase, or proportionate increase, in the spendable income of rural classes, has considerably lowered their standard of living.

Family Budgets and Standard of Living

The family budget presents a picture of the economic standard of living of the family and also gives some index of those phases of living that may be called uneconomic in the sense that though they are not translatable into money, yet they serve to satisfy the desires of the family. It shows the sources from which income is

3. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class*, p. 271.
4. J. Megaw : *Social Service in India*, p. 210.
5. Shiva Rao: *Industrial Worker in India*, p. 67.
6. Moreland : *Introduction to Economics*,
7. R. Jones : *The American Standard of Living*, p. 6.
8. Lydia de Vilbiss: *Birth Control*, p. 83.
9. Taussig: *Principles of Economics*, Vol. II, p. 231.
10. J. R. Commons: *Races and Immigrants*, p. 112.

derived and the purpose and channels of expenditure. Economists generally divide the nature and sources of income into wages and salaries of labouring classes and employees, interests and profits of capitalists and rents of landlords. The income of the rural class, with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of almost all kinds of income. The net spendable income of the rural class is low, because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter into the budget. It is interesting to note that in Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of the rural families is in cash and the rest of the income is derived from natural products that are either given by them by their employers or are secured from their farms. Similarly, in America, Hawlchrone found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India the conditions are quite different. The agricultural serf gets only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labourer recieves cash wages but no allowance, while the cultivating labourer receives money income through appropriations from his farm.

The comparative figures of percentage of total expenditure used for different items throw ample light on the standard of living maintained by the working classes in rural areas. Below are given the family budgets of the agriculturists in South India :[11]

(*Table—See below*)

A striking feature about the above budget is the large proportion spent on food by all classes. As income rises, the proportion spent on food falls. The working classes spend all their income on the bare necessities of life. Similarly, an enquiry conducted by Sri Deshpande and Dr. Ghurye into the economic condition of 145 families in four villages of Kolaba District also reveals the same sad tale that the larger portion of the total expenditure is devoted to food only. The authors conclude that there are reasons to believe that 56 per cent of the families live below the minimum level of subsistence, and that comforts are so few that they may be said to be non-existent.[12] Dr. Bhagat's enquiry in the Bhiwandi Taluka (Thana District) in 1938-39 into the family budgets of 527 families out of 760 in 32 villages is found to yield similar results. The families were divided into three groups according as they were (a) families possessing or cultivating more than 10 acres of land, (b) families possessing or cultivating at least 5 acres of land or having some other income, and (c) families which were either landless and subsisted on labour or cultivated insignificant plots. An analysis of the budgets of these three groups reveals the following results :[13]

Vadamalaipuram

Items	Rent-receivers Rs.	as.	Per cent	Cultivating land-holders Rs.	as.	Per cent	Tenant-labourers Rs.	as.	Per cent
Food	639	15	59.1	302	0	63.6	125	15	78.8
Tobacco, drink	64	15	6.4	30	13	6.3	8	10	5.0
Fuel and lighting	36	2	3.2	11	0	3.1	3	2	2.0
Clothing, footwear	131	2	11.9	38	0	7.4	11	8	7.1
Household utensils	10	0	1.0	4	9	1.0	1	1	1.0
Other items	201	6	18.4	88	11	18.6	9	13	6.1

Expenditure Per Capita After Reducing Children and Families to Adult Equivalents

Items	A Amount			Per cent	B Amount			Per cent	C Amount			Per cent	All amount Amount			Per cent
Food	62	0	9	63.3	54	0	8	67.5	45	7	0	71.2	53	3	1	66.5
Clothing	10	15	0	11.2	8	6	0	10.4	5	8	7	8.6	8	2	10	10.2
Medicine	3	7	5	3.6	2	6	0	3.1	1	10	9	2.5	2	8	2	3.2
Religious	—			—	—			—	—			—	—			—
Ceremony	1	12	7	1.8	1	10	1	2.0	1	7	9	2.4	1	10	8	2.3
Tea, sugar	—			—	—			—	—			—	—			—
Tobacco	11	15	0	12.2	7	13	5	9.6	5	8	4	8.6	8	2	4	10.2
Miscellaneous	7	11	8	7.9	0	9	0	7.4	4	4	0	6.7	6	0	1	7.6

11. Thomas & Ramkrishnan : *Some South Indian Villages—A Re-Survey*, p. 395.
12. Quoted by Wadia & Merchant in *Our Economic Problem*, p. 237.
13. M. C. Bhagat : *Farmer—His Wealth and Welfare*, p. 178.

Dr. Lorenzo also gives us the results of the survey of family budgets of three typical groups of agricultural labourers in Oudh.[14] The obvious conclusion he arrived at is that the agricultural labourers spend more than 60 per cent of their income on food, alone, whereas this figure stands as 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for Holland,[15] which is an index of the low standard of living of our workers. In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Another important feature of these budgets is that in the majority of cases, the percentage of expenditure on physiological and basic requirements is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is almost negligible. Moreover, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in the case of agricultural workers in rural areas, which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of the agricultural labourers when compared with their confereres in their urban areas :

Per cent of expenditure	Physiological and Basic Requirements	Non-Physiological and Secondary Requirements
Average Agricultural Labourer (Rural)	88.9	11.1
Average Industrial Labourer (Urban)	73.8	26.2

According to the findings of the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, the annual income per agricultural labour family was Rs. 447 and the average annual expenditure Rs. 468 (including Rs. 7 incurred on ceremonies). There was thus a deficit of Rs. 14. An idea of the poor level of living can be had from the fact that out of Rs. 461 spent on recurring items of expenditure, as much as Rs. 393 or 85.3 per cent was spent on food and Rs. 29 or 6.3 per cent on clothing. The average annual expenditure on the rest of his necessities, viz., shelter, fuel, lighting and miscellaneous items like tobacco, liquor, washing soap and medicine, etc., came to only Rs. 39 or 8.4 per cent of the total expenditure. The following statement gives the actual and percentage expenditure on consumption groups for the different zones and for India as a whole :[16]

(*Table—See next page*)

Agricultural labour forms an integral part of the rural population and as such their economic condition is intimately linked up with that of other rural families. In the following table, a comparison has been made of the agricultural labour families with all rural families in respect of the level and content of their living :[17]

Annual per Capita Expenditure (%)

Consumption Group		Agricultural Labour (A.L.E. 1950-51)	Rural families N. S. S. (1949-50)
I	Food	85.3	71.4
	Food-grains	4.0	47.7
	Pulses	1.0	3.9
	Vegetables	2.3	2.5
	Edible Oil	0.7	4.1
	Milk and Milk Products	1.4	8.4
	Meat, Fish and Eggs	1.1	2.3
II	Fuel and Lighting	0.8	3.5
III	House-rent	6.3	0.6
IV	Clothing and Foot-wear	6.5	13.4
V	Services and Miscellaneous	6.5	11.1
	Tobacco	2.3	1.9
	Intoxicants	0.7	0.8
	Total Expenditure	100.0	100.0

Judged by the per capita expenditure of Rs. 107 of agricultural labour families as against Rs. 204 of all rural families, the level of living of agricultural labour families is deplorably low.

Standard of Living of Industrial Workers. Family Budgets

It would not be out of place if we just compare the standard of living of the agricultural workers with that of the industrial workers. It will be found that the industrial workers are much better off than the agricultural population. Below is given the analysis of some family budgets of industrial workers in India:[18] (1943-46).

14. A. M. Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour and Market Gardening in Oudh*, pp. 63-65.
15. Sorokin, Zimmerman & Galpin : *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 372.
16. Dr. B. Ramamurti : *Agricultural Labour—How They Work and Live* (D. L. 261), pp. 31, 45 and 64-65.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
18. R. K. Mukerjee : *Indian Working Class* (1951), p. 267.

Average Annual Expenditure Per Agricultural Labour Family

	Average annual income per family	Average annual expenditure on Food		Clothing and foot-wear		Fuel and lighting		House rent and repairs		Services and miscellaneous		Total	Average debt per family
	Rs.	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.	Rs.
Northern India	551	464	84.7	43	7.8	6	1.1	4	0.7	31	5.7	548	32
East India	506	464	87.9	26	4.9	6	1.1	5	1.0	27	5.1	528	76
South India	382	323	81.3	27	6.8	5	1.3	5	1.3	37	9.3	397	102
West India	391	327	83.4	34	8.7	7	1.8	2	0.5	22	5.6	392	108
Central India	417	374	87.4	26	6.1	4	0.9	1	0.2	23	5.4	428	103
N.-W. India	651	571	84.7	52	7.7	6	0.9	3	0.5	42	6.2	674	335
All India	447	393	85.3	29	6.3	5	1.1	4	0.8	30	6.5	461	105

This table also reveals that 44.5 per cent of the families (or 7.8 million) were in debt, the average debt being Rs. 105 per family. The main purpose for which the debts were incurred was consumption, which accounted for Rs. 78 out of the debt of Rs. 105. This shows the insufficiency of the income of the agricultural labour families to meet even their primary necessities.

Locality	No. of budgets	Average income Rs. a.p.	*Percentage of expenditure on* Food	Cloth	Rent	Fuel light	H. requisites	Miscellaneous
Calcutta	2707	70 8 4	65.66	7.74	6.71	7.28	0.06	12.55
Ahmedebad	1820	134 5 8	52.74	12.51	5.40	8.99	2.11	18.25
Bombay	2030	87 2 3	51.96	11.72	7.20	10.16	0.50	18.46
Sholapur	778	66 15 6	48.75	14.47	3.64	12.20	0.96	19.88
Jamshedpur	691	92 13 3	65.76	10.07	4.69	5.43	0.36	13.69
Jharia	999	52 0 0	77.70	6.56	0.00	0.47	0.63	14.64
Cuttack	168	43 8 0	67.15	6.88	2.97	8.86	1.64	12.60
Ajmer	375	62 12 8	63.74	7.90	2.97	8.17	0.50	16.72
Delhi	581	66 4 11	60.98	9.18	6.35	8.84	3.27	11.43
Kanpur	729	25 8 6	48.12	7.44	8.76	6.02	1.75	27.01

A comparative study of the percentage figures in the above table reveals that nearly two-fifths of the families in Bombay, three-fourths in Ahmedabad, are in receipt of income exceeding Rs. 100 a month. The corresponding figures for Jharia and Sholapur are 3 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. Only 1.72 per cent of the families in Ahmedabad, slightly less than one-third in Bombay, two-thirds in Sholapur and more than four-fifths in Jharia are receiving less than Rs. 70 per month.

All that this table tells us is that taking an average income of Rs. 73 per month about 60 per cent of the income is absorbed in food which works out an expenditure of Rs. 44 per month for the family. If we consider the first four items of expenditure in the table the average expenditure amounts to over 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing, bedding, and household requisites, the percentage will increase to 85 per cent. Thus the proportion spent on the necessaries of life is an evidence of the inadequacy of the wages and the narrow margin between subsistence and semi-starvation.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

The percentage of expenditure on the various groups among the workers in different industrial centres in India may be compared with that in respect of the working class family budgets in some foreign countries, a detailed analysis of which is given below :[19]

Analysis of Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Some Foreign Countries

Locality	Annual	Food	Cloth	Rent	Heating	Misc.
China—						
Peiping	$ 210	58.2	4.6	9.4	11.8	16.0
Shanghai	——	55.8	7.4	8.5	6.5	21.8
Japan—						
Land workers	Average	41.2	7.9	15.2	6.0	29.7
Industrial workers	"	38.5	11.3	13.6	4.9	31.7
U.S.A. Farm families	$1933	39.5	13.8	11.6	7.2	27.9
Lowest bare existing	$ 744	48.2	18.2	19.3	6.7	7.6
Great Britain—						
Agricultural	Wages not exceeding £ 250	48.4	9.1	8.3	8.6	25.6
Isdustrial	——	40.1	9.5	12.7	7.6	30.1
Germany	——	46.6	13.5	10.6	3.8	——
Belgium	——	59.6	15.8	6.4	5.0	——
Netherlands	——	40.1	9.0	15.8	5.7	——

It will be evident from the foregoing table that the percentage of expenditure on such necessaries as food and clothing in respect of the total family expenditure is far higher in India than in most industrial countries in the world. According to the well-known Law of Engels this is indicative of the lowest plane of living of the industrial workers associated with the greatest urgency of food requirements as compared with other needs of the family, *e.g.*, the percentage of expenditure on food and clothing is 60.72 in Bombay, 66.45 in Nagpur, 67.03 in Jamshedpur, 72.4 in Madras and 74.4 in Calcutta. Even in plantations and coal fields the living standard is far lower as shown by the overwhelmingly high percentages of expenditure on necessities, 80.3 and 79.7 respectively.

Wages and Living Standards

Almost all over the country the method of wage-payment differs from class to class and from region to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. Now the growing tendency is to substitute cash for grain wages. Besides receiving the wages in cash, the labourer sometimes also takes a plot of land either rent-free or at a nominal rental in lieu of wages. Since a large number of non-food articles enter into the family budget of a labourer, cash wages are supplanting other forms of payment even in remote rural areas. But the rates of wages prevalent in different parts of the country are so low that the majority of agricultural workers live in a state verging on starvation. The wages are not uniform. They differ with the nature of the job, such as ploughing, threshing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-grazing, irrigation, etc. Further the wages of the female labourers are lower but no such distinction is made when the payment is made in kind. It is very pathetic to see that everywhere the wage level is very low in agriculture as compared with industry, as will be clear from the table given below for some countries of the world before the war :

Wage Per Week in Pre-war Conditions

Country	Year	Unit	Industrial wages Males	Females	Agricultural wages Males	Females
Canada	1939	$	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
U. S. A.	1939	$	36.72	22.80	8.96	——
Britain	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	——
France	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Germany	1940	RM	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52
Italy	1935	Lire	84.48		54.72	34.64
Japan	1936	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51	2.54
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42	——
New Zealand	1939	Sh.	93.30		65.00	——
U.S.S.R.	1935	Rub.	45.30		37.22	——
India	1939	As.	88.46		27.50	——

There is also a wide disparity between the wages of industrial and agricultural workers in India and in foreign countries, but also there is a great disparity in India itself, *e.g.*, the average earnings of the cotton weavers in 1937 were between 25 and 30 rupees and those of the spinnrs ranged between 14 and 20 rupees. The jute spinners on an average earn Rs. 17|4|- and the weavers Rs. 31 per month. The average monthly earnings for men for all engineering occupations excluding unskilled workers range from Rs. 22 to 41-8.[20] Coal-cutters get between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 per month, while unskilled men sometimes get only Rs. 10.[21] The average rate of wages for unskilled industrial workers is Rs. 16 in Nagpur, and Rs. 18 in Kanpur and if we add the amount earned by women the representative family income comes to Rs. 24 and Rs. 22 respectively.[22] In the villages the level of money income is still lower. The unskilled agricultural labourers in Oudh earn from Rs. 6 to Rs. 9 per month and even after adding the earnings of women and children the average family income does not exceed Rs. 12 per month. In Western Punjab a day-labourer may expect only Rs. 5 per month, with a blanket and a pair of shoes at the end of the year, while in the canal colonies he may earn form Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per month. In Bengal the wages of the unskilled agricultural workers range between Rs. 8 and Rs. 18 per month; in East and North Bengal the rates are generally higher than that in West Bengal.[23] In Eastern U.P. the wages range from Rs. 3-12 to Rs. 7-8 per month while in Western U.P. they range from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4-5 per month;[24] Rs. 10 in the Central. The wages of plantation workers in India are the lowest. According to Rege Committee the average monthly cash earnings of settled labourers on the books were in 1944 Rs. 9-10-3; Rs. 7-13-1 and Rs. 5-14-0 per man, woman and child respectively in the Assam

20. *Industrial Wage Census*, 1937.
21. *Report of Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 166.
22. R. B. Gupta : *Labour and Housing in India*, pp. 76-78.
23. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, pp. 221-222.
24. Shridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 44.

Valley. These wages were supplemented by concessions in the shape of land for cultivation, free housing, medical attendance, fuel and grazing facilities, chief foodstuffs and clothing. In South Indian plantations benefits are very meagre."

Comparative Wage Rates in Agriculture, Factory & Plantations

States	Agriculture (1950-51)	Plantations (1950-51)	Factory Industries (1950)
1	2	3	4
Assam	29.8	18.5-20.5	60.8
Bihar	20.2	——	68.8
Bombay	17.6	——	67.2
Madras	15.5	19.5-21.8	33.6
Travancore-Cochin	21.4	20.0	——
M.P.	12.6	——	52.8
Orissa	11.5	——	38.4
Punjab	28.6	——	44.8
U.P.	18.8	——	52.8
West Bengal	27.0	19.5-21.5	45.6
All India	17.5		54.4

It is evident from these figures that the general standard of living is very low in the towns. In the villages, the level of money income is still lower. It is true that the needs of the agricultural workers are but few and simple and their diet of necessity is very cheap but after making allowance for all these, there is no doubt of general poverty among the agricultural workers. The remuneration of the industrial worker is on a higher level than that of the agricultural worker almost everywhere in the world. But in a country like India, where there is always a vast surplus of rural labour ready to press into the factories for any wage which will enable them to live, the disparity between industrial and agricultural wages cannot be stretched beyond a certain point.

"Industrial wages and with them the living standards of industrial workers cannot anywhere exceed rural levels by more than a certain ratio; and the rural levels are decreased by population increase to a point where they afford only the barest subsistence."[27]

27. *Report on Enquiry into Labour* (1946), pp. 259-61.

Report on Rural Labour Conditions in Northern India, p. 22.

It is therefore futile to suppose that the standard of industrial workers can be improved without raising the rural levels by increasing their purchasing power.

FOOD BUDGETS AND FOOD CONSUMPTION

The quantity of food consumption does not offer a true index to the standard of living of any class or group of people. The quantitative variations are due largely to regional and physiological conditions. The true index, therefore, can only be set by the quality and variety of food consumed by the rural and urban labouring classes. Since the rural classes almost constantly supplement their diet with fruits and vegetables of the season, it is difficult to estimate the exact nature of their food budget, which is possible in the case of urban families where all things are purchased from the market. Throughout India it is only the high-class and well-to-do cultivators who consume good-quality food and draw nutrition from a variety of sources. But in the case of poor labourers, who constitute the bulk of the rural population, the diet is monotonous and limited to coarse cereal, flour, pulses, vegetable oil and occasional dishes of vegetables. However bulky, their diet falls short of the optimum standard required to maintain vigorous health and efficiency.

The effective consumption of basic food, such as rice or atta, and dal or vegetables; and energizing food, such as fruits, vegetables, milk and milk-products, oil or ghee, gur and condiments in reasonable combinations result in rational feeding and determines a high standard of living. It is not the volume of basic food, but the derivation of nutrients from a number of foods to form balanced rations for a greater effective absorption of certain basic chemical elements which determines a high standard of food consumption. The following table gives the proportion of basic food to energizing food consumed by the well-to-do cultivators and the landless workers in some provinces:

Food Budget of Well-to-do Cultivators

Province	Total amount of food consumed (ozs)	Basic food (ozs)	%	Energizing food (ozs)	
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27	46.6
U.P.	42	20	47.6	22	52.4
Bengal	36	12	52.8	17	47.2

Food budget of landless agricultural labourers.

Punjab	49	40	81.6	9	18.4
U.P.	33	29	87.9	4	12.1
Bengal	28	22	78.6	6	21.4

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the amount of energizing food consumed by well-to do tenants comes up to the standard, and we can safely conclude that this class is well-fed and efficient, and maintains a high level of living, because the consumption of energizing food is greater, yielding a higher chemical value and excess of protein. On the other hand, the effective consumption of energizing food in the case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per cent of the total amount of food consumed.

The Health Survey and Development Committee reports that the diet of the workers in factories, mines and plantations is generally of a low standard and lack the essential nutritive elements. The staple diet of the workers in Madras and Bengal is particularly of a low quality. Milk consumption is unsatisfactory in all parts of the country. The average level of wages in Bombay and Ahmedabad being higher, a more nutritious diet is available for workers in these two cities than in other parts of India.[28] The Sample Survey reports "a definite fall in the intake of food-grains among working families in urban areas."[29]

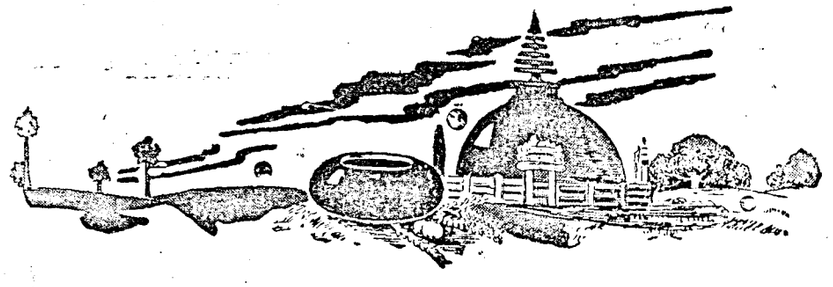
Thus it will be observed that our countrymen are doomed to a low standard of living not only because of their poverty but also due to their ignorance. They do not have the capacity to marshal their expenditure wisely, thus failing to derive even that satisfaction which they can possibly get.

28. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. I, p. 81.

29. *General Report* No. 1 (1952), p. 30.

The inadequacy and injudiciousness of consumption of the people of India result in various evils. People who hardly get the bare necessaries are bound to develop a weak constitution. They remain inefficient in their occupation and earn low wages. What more, they fall an easy victim to the various minor and major diseases, which either prove fatal or render them weaker still. Children and such physically bankrupt people are apt to be very weak and inefficient. Many of them swell the figures of infantile mortality, while the survivors are made worthless by the want of proper nourishment and sufficient clothes, of proper education and necessary training. When they grow to manhood they join the rank of unskilled labourers. Their poverty leads to inefficiency, and their inefficiency to poverty. This is the vicious circle in which the masses of the country have been enveloped, and from which an escape must be made.

The standard of living of the masses can be raised only if we remove the basic causes of the low standard which have been pointed out above. The removal of poverty is, in fact, the most difficult problem to solve. Our economic machinery will have to be entirely overhauled and in many cases replaced, for only a bold step can break the vicious circle of poverty leading ultimately to greater poverty. Efforts should be made to remove the ignorance of the masses. Let the schoolmaster be abroad, primary education be made compulsory, adult education be developed and arrangements be made for vocational training. Public health campaigns should also be carried on with a view to impress on the people the necessity of sanitation and cleanliness. The masses should be made to realise the value of a materially rich and full life and their hearts should be inspired to herald the Sun of Happiness.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(IX) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

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I

As stated in our preceding article,[1] we propose to deal in this article with the comparative merits and defects of the American expression "without due process of law"[2] and the expression in Article 21 of our Constitution "except according to procedure established by law."

II

"The due process clauses of the United States Constitution—the one in the Fifth Amendment (1791), a limitation upon the federal government, and the one in the Fourteenth Amendment (1868), a limitation upon State governments[3]—are," observes Professor Willis,[4] "the most important clauses in the United States Constitution. They have been involved in more litigated cases than have all the other clauses of the United States Constitution combined, and the end is not yet. What their future history is going to be, no one can prophesy, but it is safe to say that they are going to have a great deal more history. The guarantee of due process of law is so all-inclusive that all other constitutional guarantees could be abolished and there still would be sufficient protection of personal liberty. The due process limitation has already been extended to include many of the other constitutional guarantees, and there is no rational reason against its being extended to include all of them; the tendency is in this direction. Due process of law applies to personal liberty, to social control, to procedure, to jurisdiction, and to substantive law. It applies to the police power, to eminent domain, and to taxation. It applies to the three great branches of government : the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. It applies to State governments in the same way that it does to the federal government. It applies in favour of all individuals. It applies to every interest which an individual may assert whether a right, power, privilege, or immunity, whether civil or political. Due process of law, better than any of the other constitutional guaranties, gives the Supreme Court the opportunity to draw the line which ought to be drawn between personal liberty and social control . . . The due process clauses permit of this rationalization. Whenever there is a proper exercise of the police power, or the power of taxation, or the power of eminent domain, it is due process of law. But whenever there is not such an exercise of one of these powers, but government nevertheless takes some action, such action is depriving a person of his liberty without due process of law. No better scheme could have been evolved to permit the Supreme Court to strike the proper balance between personal liberty and social control. Legislatures may have reasons for the enactment of laws, but the United States Supreme Court measures the legislatures' reasons by its own intellectual yardstick."

"The most important use," Professor Willis has further remarked,[5] "to which the United States Supreme Court has put the due process clause is to enable it to declare unconstitutional any acts of legislation which it thinks unreasonable . . . England, without a due process clause which applies to matters of substance, does through equity jurisdiction just about the same thing as the Supreme Court of the United States does under due process of law as a matter of substance . . . In the United States the judges not only declare statutes invalid if in violation of prohibitions in the written Constitution, but if in violation of doctrines read into the Constitution by the United States Supreme Court. Therefore, in the United States the role of the written Constitution is insignificant, and the role of the due process clause and the Supreme Court is very significant."

1. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, p. 284.
2. "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."
   Again,
   "No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."
   See Amendments V and XIV (Section 1) to the Constitution of the United States of America.
3. See foot-note 2 above.
4. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 642-43.
   For a detailed history of the development of the Doctrine of Due Process of Law in the United States, see Willis, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXII; also Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Chapter XCI; Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, Chapter IV; also *The Constitution of the United States of America : Analysis and Interpretation*, 1953, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 846-64 and pp. 971-81.
5. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 657 and pp. 645-46.

This view of the importance of the due process clauses in the United States Constitution has in essence also been held by Professor Willoughby[6] and others.[7] It may be noted here that the phrase "due process of law" in the Fifth Amendment to the said Constitution appears to have virtually the same meaning as it has in the Fourteenth Amendment thereto.[8] Further, corporations as well as natural persons "are protected against deprivation of life, or property without due process of law."[9] And "as to the natural persons protected by the due process clause, these include," says an official American publication,[10] "all human beings regardless of race, colour, or citizenship." Thus, aliens as well as citizens are entitled in the United States "to the constitutional protection against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law."[11] But it should also be pointed out here that "the due process clause protects only against governmental action" (State or federal), and that "it does not protect against the action of individuals, whether natural or artificial persons."[12]

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the question of due process of law is that "there are two kinds of due process—*procedural* and *substantive*."

"Procedural due process," observe Professors Corwin and Peltason,[13] "refers to the methods by which the law is enforced. It requires, to paraphrase Daniel Webster's famous definition, a procedure which 'hears before it condemns, proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after (a) trial, in which the essentials of justice have been preserved."

Thus procedural due process "signifies a right to be heard," and when "the Constitution requires a hearing it requires a fair one, held before a tribunal which at least meets currently prevailing standards of impartiality. An opportunity must be given not only to present evidence, but also to know the claims of the opposing party and to meet them."[14] Further, a law "itself may violate procedural due process if it fails to establish a definite (and ascertainable) standard of guilt or provide for fair procedures."[15] According to Professor Harold Zink,[16] procedural due process requires that (1) "a fair trial must be given"; (2) that "the court or agency which takes jurisdiction in the case must be duly authorized by law to exercise such prerogative"; (3) that "the defendant must be allowed an oportunity to present his side of the case"; and that (4) a "certain assistance, including counsel and subpoening of witnesses, must be extended."

"In every case, whether criminal or civil," Professor Zink further observes :[17] 'The interested parties must be given an opportunity to present their evidence. Moreover, 'procedural due process,' he adds,[18] 'demands that reasonable amount of public assistance be given to litigants in those cases where for reasons of impecuniousness or lack of knowledge adequate defence has not been made. The right to counsel is specifically set down in the Constitution, but due process would go further and lay down the rule that such counsel must be reasonably competent. Likewise, the services of the public authorities are provided for the subpoening of witnesses, but due process would again go further to inquire whether an honest attempt was made by the public authorities to locate the desired witnesses."

As a jurist, Professor Willis essentially agrees with these views. According to him,[19] too, the requirements of due process as a matter of procedure are (1) a notice, (2) an opportunity to be heard, (3) an impartial tribunal, and (4) an orderly course of procedure. These pro-

6. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1681.
7. For instance, Corwin and Peltason (*Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97); also Ogg and Ray (*Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 170).
8. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1682; also Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 653.
9. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1682-83.
10. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 981.
11. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1683.
12. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 644.
13. Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, 1952, p. 97.
14. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 847-49.
    "In all cases, that kind of procedure is due process of law which is suitable and proper to the nature of the case, and sanctioned by the established customs and usages of the Courts (Ex parte Wal, 107 U. S. 265, (1883).—*Ibid.*, pp. 846-47.
    We also find in the judgment of the United States Supreme Court (1934) in *Snyder* vs. *Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (291 U. S. 97) :
    "Procedural due process has to do with the manner of the trial; dictates that in the conduct of judicial inquiry certain fundamental rules of fairness be observed; forbids the disregard of these rules, and is not satisfied, though the result is just, if the hearing was unfair."—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 688.
15. Corwin and Peltacon, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
16. Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 102.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
19. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 661-75.

cedural formalities have always to be followed "in the case of a judicial tribunal performing judicial functions."[20] And the usual rule is that due process, as a matter of procedure, also "applies to executive and administrative action, whether the governmental power exercised is a tax power or the power of eminent domain, or the police power."[21]

Going into details, Professor Willis observes,[22] in the first place, that "when notice is required by due process of law, in order to be sufficient it must notify a person of the time and place, including the tribunal before whom a claim is to be made; apprise him of the nature of the cause against him; come to a person of reasonable intelligence; and afford him sufficient opportunity to prepare and make his answer." Secondly, he says[23] that "when a person is entitled to legal procedure by due process of law, another thing to which he is entitled is an opportunity to be heard"; that this "is a requirement which is concurrent with notice"; and that "to condemn without a hearing is repugnant to the due process clause." In the third place, Professor Willis has observed[24] that "wherever a person is entitled to legal procedure because of the due process clause he is entitled to an impartial tribunal." But "an impartial tribunal," he has added, "does not necessarily mean a judicial tribunal . . . . A judicial tribunal is not required so far as facts are concerned either in a tax case, or in an eminent domain case, or in a police power case." Finally, so far as the fourth requirement of due process, namely, an orderly course of procedure, is concerned, it requires a court, according to him[25] "to examine the entire record, to ascertain the issues, to discover whether there are facts not reported, and to see whether or not the law has been correctly applied to the facts." Further,[26] it requires, among certain other things,[27] "the presence of witnesses when the opportunity to defend oneself is involved" as well as "a public trial," and "it is due process of law to compel the attendance of witnesses."[28] An orderly course of procedure "also includes the right to counsel and proper opportunity for counsel to prepare a case."[29]

We shall now say a few words about what is known as *substantive* due process. While procedural due process is concerned[30] with "the *manner* in which governmental power may be exercised," acts as a safeguard "against arbitrary and unfair judicial procedure,"[31] and demands that the actual conduct of a trial should be "in conformity with objective standards of justice,"[32] substantive due process is concerned with "the substantive content of legislation," and requires that "the Court be convinced that the law—not merely the procedures by which the law would be enforced, but its very purpose—is *fair, reasonable,* and *just.*"[33] Further, it requires that the law "must operate equally and without discrimination," and that it should be clear and accurate enough to guide the conduct and conscience of those who are to be subject to it.[34] Thus, the principle of substantive due process may be "invoked as a norm or test for determining the validity" of a law.[35] And all this occasions judicial review.

It may be noted in this connexion incidentally that "originally, 'due process of law' meant," as Professor Corwin has stated,[36] "simply the modes of *procedure* which were *due* at the common law, especially in connection with the accusation and trial of supposed offenders," and that "today 'due process of law' means 'reasonable' law or 'reasonable' procedure, that is to say, what a majority of the Supreme Court find it to be *reasonable* in some or other sense of that extremely elastic term. In other words, it means, in effect, *the approval of the Supreme Court.*" This development in the implications of the term "due process of law"

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 662-64.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 664.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 664-65.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 665-67.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 668.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 672-73.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 673-75.
27. See *ibid.*, pp. 672-74.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 674.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
31. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
32. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
33. Corwin and Peltason, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
34. Zink, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.
35. Ogg and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
According to Professor Willis, "the protection of due process as a matter of substance applies to all three branches of the federal and state governments."—See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 706-707.
36. See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 170.

occurred, according to Professor Willis,[37] "about the eighties" of the last century, when "due process of law was extended to matters of substance," that is, to "the substantive content of legislation." And, says the official American publication[38] referred to before, "it is because of this extension of the term 'due process of law' beyond the procedural field that the Court has been asked to pass upon literally hundreds of State enactments since about 1890 on the representation that they invaded the 'liberty' or property of certain persons 'unreasonably.' In short, this development of the meaning of 'due process of law' came in time to furnish one of the principal bases of judicial review, and indeed it still[39] remains such so far as State legislation is concerned."

We shall now pass on to an important point in connexion with the question we are discussing. What *exactly* is meant by the doctrine of due process of law which constitutes such an important feature of American constitutional jurisprudence as we have seen above? Is Professor Munro right when he says[40] that "few legal phrases in the whole history of jurisprudence have proved so elusive" as due process of law?

There is no doubt that there are certain inherent difficulties in the doctrine of due process of law. The Constitution of the United States has not defined the expression "due process of law." Nor has any "court of higher jurisdiction" in the United States ever clearly defined the expression. Justice Frankfurter has observed in the course of his judgment in *Solesbee* vs. *Balkcom*[41]:

"Due process is that which comports with the deepest notions of what is fair and right and just. The more fundamental the beliefs are the less likely they are to be explicitly stated. But respect for them is the very essence of the Due Process Clause. In enforcing them this (Supreme) Court does not translate personal views into constitutional limitations."

There is certainly some amount of indefiniteness in what Justice Frankfurter has stated. As Professor Swisher has rightly observed:[42]

"The Justice (Frankfurter) commits the (Supreme) Court to the task of interpreting 'the deepest notions of what is fair and just and right.' In spite of his disclaimer it is hard to see how in that process it can altogether avoid translating 'personal views into constitutional limitations'."

We may also note here what the Supreme Court of the United States itself has stated in regard to the meaning of the due process clauses in the American Constitution. In *Holden* vs. *Hardy* it declared[43] in 1898:

"Recognizing the difficulty in defining, with exactness, the phrase 'due process of law,' it is certain that these words imply a conformity with natural and inherent principles of justice, and forbid that one man's property, or right to property, shall be taken for the benefit of another, or for the benefit of the State, without compensation; and that no one shall be condemned in his person or property without an opportunity of being heard in his own defence."

The expression "natural and inherent principles of justice" in this extract is certainly not free from a certain amount of vagueness.

Again, we find that in *Twining* vs. *New Jersey* the Supreme Court observed[44] in 1908, with reference to the expression "due process of law":

"Few phrases of the law are so elusive of exact apprehension as this . . . This Court has always declined to give a comprehensive definition of it, and has preferred that its full meaning should be gradually ascertained by the process of inclusion and exclusion in the course of the decision of cases as they arise."

Thus, the highest American tribunal has, as Professor Munro has remarked,[45] "refrained from committing itself to any hard and fast definition of the term" due process of law.

We may also note in this connexion what Walter Dodd has stated[46]:

37. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 705; also Swisher, *The Theory and Practice of American National Government*, 1951, pp. 458-59.
38. *The Constitution of the United States of America*, etc., Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 816.
39. Professor Swisher, however, is of opinion that "beginning in the early 1930's . . . the (Supreme) Court gradually receded from this interpretation, so that business now gets little protection from due process clauses except the procedural protection which constituted most of the original meaning. Today it is only in the field of civil liberties that due process gives much more than procedural protection."—Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 459.
Also see in this connexion Pritchett, *Civil Liberties and the Vinson Court*, 1954, p. 3.
40. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Ed., p. 520.
41. 339 U.S. 9 (1950). See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
42. See Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
43. *Holden* vs. *Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898)—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 824-25.
44. *Twining* vs. *New Jersey*, 211 U.S.78 (1908).—See Fenn, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
45. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 520.
46. See Walter F. Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 79-80.

"What is due process of law? We get little help from the courts as to the meaning of this term as it is now applied to limit legislative power . . . Speaking for the (Supreme) Court in 1921 (four of the nine judges dissenting), in holding invalid an Arizona law . . ., Mr. Chief Justice Taft said that 'the legislative power of a State can only be exerted in subordination to the fundamental principles of right and justice which the guaranty of due process in the Fourteenth Amendment is intended to preserve' . . . In the types of decisions just referred to, the Court in applying 'due process of law' is guided by nothing more definite than 'the fundamental principles of right and justice,' and has no standard other than the views of a majority of the judges by which to separate 'permissible from improper legislation.' One judge, because of his training and experience, may have one view as to what are such fundamental principles and how they apply in a particular case, and an equally competent judge may have precisely opposite views. The same individual may have different views at different periods of his life as to what is 'permissible' and what is 'improper' . . . In passing upon the validity of statutes, the judicial theory was, and still is, in the language of the courts, that of applying to legislation a precise constitutional standard, and of resolving all doubts in favour of constitutionality. In theory every statute not directly and clearly in conflict with constitutional language is valid. . . . Under this theory, if a statute is held unconstitutional, it is through no fault or responsibility of the judges. They merely apply standards given them by the people, who are responsible for the terms of the constitution. If the people are dissatisfied with the yardstick, it is said that they should change it, and not blame the judges whose duty it is to apply the yardstick as long as it remains unchanged. This theory has merit if the yardstick is precise and unchanging, and if the judicial result comes from a mere mechanical application of the measuring rod. But if the length of the yardstick may change from case to case according to the discretion of the judges who apply it, then the result is not mechanical . . . . . For example, the supreme court of Illinois in 1895 declared it improper to regulate the labour or hours of women differently from that of men, and in 1910 arrived at precisely the opposite view, without any change whatever in the State constitution . . . . . This is but an illustration of what State courts have done over and over again in order to readjust their views to the changing needs of the community. Had a definite and precise meaning been given to 'due process of law,' such changes of judicial attitude would be more difficult."

It is evident from what has been stated above that "in the last analysis due process is," as Professor Zink has put it,[47] "what the courts, particularly the Supreme Court (of the United States), say it is." Professor Willis agrees with this view. He says[48]:

"The Supreme Court still refuses to define the phrase 'due process of law,' yet whatever it means at the present time is what the Supreme Court says it means. It is true that the phrase 'due process of law' has very ancient origin, but its meaning at the present time is not at all what it was at first; and its meaning in the future may be very different from what it is at the present time. . . . . In the development of the doctrine (of due process of law) the Supreme Court has not always been consistent. Sometimes it has favoured personal liberty and sometimes social control. . . . . Frequently, the reason for this has seemed to be the personnel of the bench, but occasionally overpowering social needs seem to have been the reason. . . . The justices have not hesitated to disagree among themselves."

Notwithstanding this limitation of the doctrine of due process of law, the due process clauses in the Constitution of the United States have in effect become "a palladium of individual and corporate rights as against all governmental authority in the country."[49] Justice Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court has gone so far as to eulogize[50] the doctrine of due process as "perhaps the most majestic concept in our whole constitutional system." And what he has further said in connexion with the doctrine is also worthy of note here.

"The requirement of 'due process'," he has observed,[51] "is not a fair-weather or timid assurance. It must be respected in periods of calm and in times of trouble; it protects aliens as well as citizens. But 'due process,' unlike some legal rules, is not a technical conception with a fixed content unrelated to time, place and circumstances. Expressing as it does in its ultimate analysis respect enforced by law for that feeling of just treatment which has been evolved through centuries of Anglo-American constitutional history and civilization, 'due process' cannot be imprisoned within the treacherous limits of any formula. Representing a profound attitude of fairness between man and man, and more particularly between the individual and government, 'due process' is compounded of history, reason, the past course of decisions, and stout confidence in the strength of the democratic faith which we profess. Due process is not a mechanical instrument. It is not a yardstick. It is a process. It is a delicate process of adjustment inescapably involving the exercise of judgment by those whom the Constitution entrusted with the unfolding of the process."

47. Zink, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 657-59.
49. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 169; also Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 520.
50. In connexion with his judgment in *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* vs. *McGrath*, 341 U.S.123 (1951)—See Pritchett, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 236 and 287.
51. See *ibid.*, p. 236.

III

We have discussed above the merits of the doctrine of due process of law in American constitutional jurisprudence. In the light of this discussion we should now like to consider the merits of the expression "except according to procedure established by law" in Article 21 of our Constitution. Before, however, we do this, we should like to refer to a historical matter as it might help the reader to understand the Indian position.

As we have stated before,[52] in Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India* corresponding to Article 21 of our present Constitution, the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India had substituted the expression "except according to procedure established by law" for the words "without due process of law" (as originally suggested by the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 24th January, 1947, and adopted by the Constituent Assembly during its session held in April-May, 1947), since the former expression was "more specific." But when the matter came before the Constituent Assembly, there was a very strong opposition[53] from several members of the Assembly to the suggestion made by the Drafting Committee, and an amendment was, in essence, moved that "for the words 'except according to procedure established by law' the words 'without due process of law' be substituted." Reference was made in this connexion to the merits of the American doctrine of due process of law. And it was argued that the acceptance of the suggestion made by the Drafting Committee would "open a sad chapter in the history of constitutional law" in India; that under it if a court of law were satisfied that the procedure established by law had been complied with, it could not "interfere with any law which might have been capricious, unjust or iniquitous"; that the court of law should be placed in a position of going "into the question of the substantive law as well as procedural law"; that when a law was enacted, the court should "have the right to go into the question" whether it was just or not, whether it was good or not, and whether, as a matter of fact, it would protect the liberties of the people or not, and that if the court came to the conclusion that the law was unconstitutional, unreasonable or unjust, then it should have the power of declaring it so, and the law should not "have any further effect." Thus, it was held that our judiciary should have power to review legislation, as in the United States, both in respect of procedure and in respect of its substantive content. Against this view a member[54] referred to the limitation of the doctrine of due process of law as it had developed in the United States and, particularly, to the conflicting nature of the judicial decisions there, based on the interpretation of the due process clauses in its Constitution. Strangely enough, the Chairman[55] of the Drafting Committee adopted a non-committal attitude towards this controversial question, and left the decision thereon to the discretion of the Constituent Assembly. Referring to the amendment we have mentioned before he said[56]:

"I must confess that I am somewhat in a difficult position with regard to Article 15 (in the Draft Constitution) and the amendment moved . . . . for the deletion of the words 'procedure according to law' and the substitution of the words 'due process.'

"It is quite clear to any one who has listened to the debate that has taken place . . . . that there are two sharp points of view. One point of view says that 'due process of law' must be there in this article[57]; otherwise the article is a nugatory one. The other point of view is that the existing phraseology is quite sufficient for the purpose. Let me explain what exactly 'due process' involves.

"The question of 'due process' raises, in my judgment, the question of the relationship between the legislature and the judiciary. In a federal constitution, it is always open to the judiciary to decide whether any particular law passed by the legislature is

52. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, pp 279-80.
53. See *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, 6th and 13th December, 1948, pp. 842-57 and pp. 999-1001.
54. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.
55. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
56. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 13th December, 1948, pp. 999-1001.
57. *I.e.*, Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India*.

ultra vires or *intra vires* in reference to the powers of legislation which are granted by the Constitution to the particular legislature. If the law made by a particular legislature exceeds the authority of the power given to it by the Constitution, such law would be *ultra vires* and invalid. That is the normal thing that happens in all federal constitutions. Every law in a federal constitution, whether made by the Parliament at the Centre or made by the legislature of a State, is always subject to examination by the judiciary[58] from the point of view of the authority of the legislature making the law. The 'due process' clause, in my judgment, would give the judiciary the power to question the law made by the legislature on another ground. That ground would be whether that law is in keeping with the certain fundamental principles relating to the rights of the individual. In other words, the judiciary would be endowed with the authority to question the law not merely on the ground whether it was in excess of the authority of the legislature, but also on the ground whether the law was good law, apart from the question of the powers of the legislature making the law. The law may be perfectly good and valid so far as the authority of the legislature is concerned. But, it may not be a good law, that is to say, it violates certain fundamental principles; and the judiciary would have that additional power of declaring the law invalid. The question which arises in considering this matter is this: We have no doubt given the judiciary the power to examine the law made by different legislative bodies on the ground whether that law is in accordance with the powers given to it (*sic*). The question now raised by the introduction of the phrase 'due process' is whether the judiciary should be given the additional power to question the laws made by the State on the ground that they violate certain fundamental principles.

"There are two views on this point. One view is this: that the legislature may be trusted not to make any law which would abrogate the fundamental rights of man, so to say, the fundamental rights which apply to every individual, and consequently, there is no danger arising from the introduction of the phrase 'due process.' Another view is this: That it is not possible to trust the legislature; the legislature is likely to err, is likely to be led away by passion, by party prejudice, by party considerations, and the legislature may make a law which may abrogate what may be regarded as the fundamental principles which safeguard the individual rights of a citizen. We are, therefore, placed in two difficult positions. One is to give the judiciary the authority to sit in judgment over the will of the legislature and to question the law made by the legislature on the ground that it is not good law, in consonance with fundamental principles. Is that a desirable principle? The second position is that the legislature ought to be trusted not to make bad laws. It is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion. There are dangers on both sides. For myself I cannot altogether omit the possibility of a Legislature packed by party men making laws which may abrogate or violate what we regard as certain fundamental principles affecting the life and liberty of an individual. At the same time, I do not see how five or six gentlemen sitting in the Federal or Supreme Court examining laws made by the Legislature and by dint of their own individual conscience or their bias or their prejudices be trusted to determine which law is good and which law is bad. It is rather a case where a man has to sail between Charybdis and Scylla and I therefore would not say anything. I would leave it to the House to decide in any way it likes."

The Constituent Assembly rejected the amendment to which we have referred before, and adopted Article 15 of *Draft Constitution of India* as it had been placed before the Assembly by the Drafting Committee. As a consequence, Article 21 of our Constitution which corresponds to Article 15 of the Draft Constitution, appears in the shape in which it does without the "due process" provision.

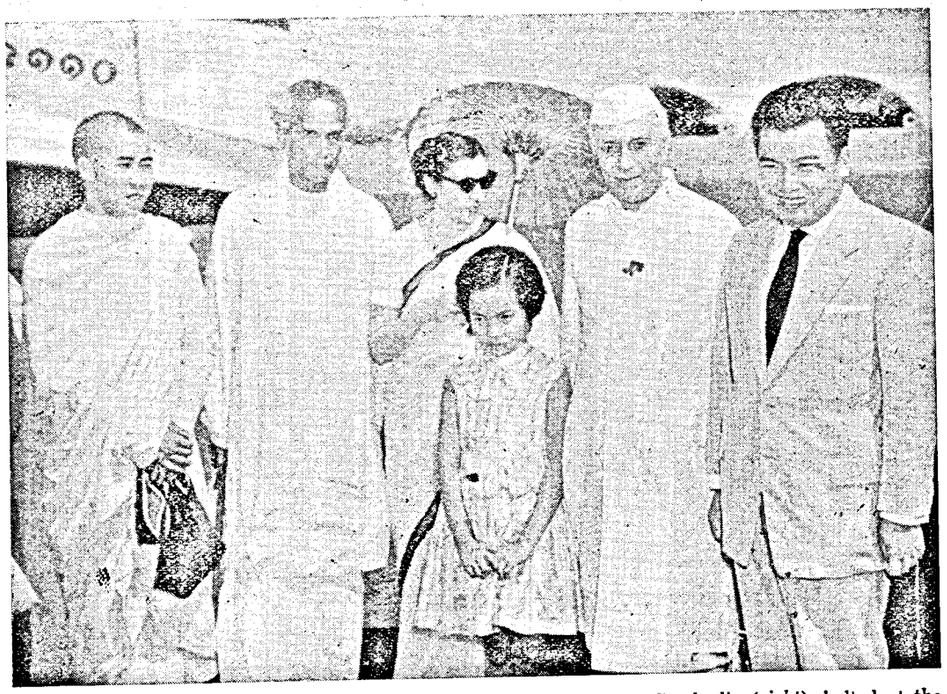
In conclusion, we should like to say that, having regard to what we have shown in our preceding article[59] in connexion with Article 21 of our Constitution and also having regard to what we have shown above, we feel that, on the whole, the American doctrine of due process of law is, notwithstanding its limitation, a better safeguard against an arbitrary Governmental action, so far as the life and liberty of the individual are concerned, than what has been provided for in Article 21 of our Constitution. As Kania C. J. has observed,[60] the expression "procedure established by law" in Article 21 "must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State," and "by adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law'" our Constitution has given "the legislature the final word to determine the law." And "it cannot be disputed," as Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated,[61] "that a competent legislature is entitled to alter the procedure in criminal trials in such

58. This is *normally* the case in a federal Union. The position is somewhat different in Switzerland.

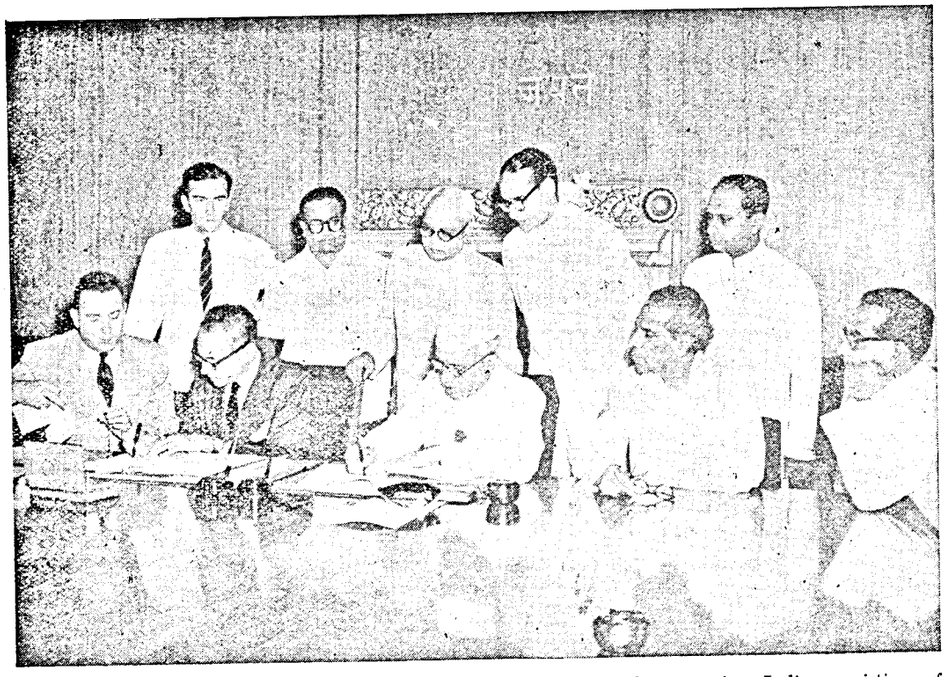
59. See *The Modern Review* for April, 1956, pp. 279-86.

60. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

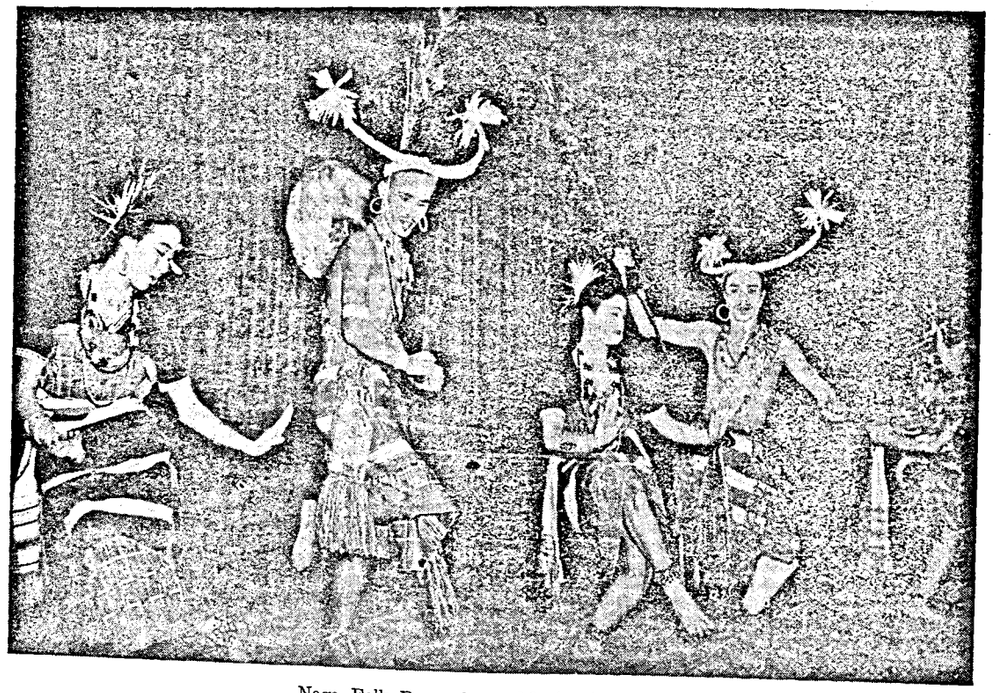
61. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, p. 322.



Prince Norodom Sihanouk Varman, ex-King and ex-Prime Minister of Combodia (*right*), halted at the Safdarjang Airport, New Delhi, on his way to Europe. Prime Minister Nehru along with Sm. Indira Gandhi and Sri V. K. Krishna Menon received him at the Airport



The Treaty of Cession of the Territory of the French Establishments in India consisting of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam was signed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in



Naga Folk Dance by a Manipuri troupe

The spinning wheel

way as it considers proper," of course, consistently with the requirements of our Constitution. The court of law in India cannot interfere with this.

"A procedure laid down by the legislature may," observes[62] Justice Das of the Supreme Court, "offend against the Court's sense of justice and fair play and a sentence provided by the legislature may outrage the Court's notions of penology, but that is a wholly irrelevant consideration. . . . . The Constitution is supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself. . . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law even as regards procedure.[63] I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

The implication of this statement of Mr. Justice Das is very clear so far as the life and liberty of the individual in India are concerned, as contrasted with the corresponding position in the United States of America..

62. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, pp. 220-23.

63. That is to say, not to speak of the substantive content of a legislation as in the case of *substantive* due process in the United States of America.

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GIFTS OF BUDDHISM

By Dr. (Mrs.) SURAMA DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
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It was two thousand and five hundred years ago that Lord Buddha, or Prince Siddhartha, as he was known at the time, was born. He lived up to the age of eighty, and passed away into *nirvana*, the highest spiritual attainment he strove for. Eighty years look such a short span of time compared to two thousand and five hundred years, and how short is the latter in comparison to eternity. Again, an infinite range of time has no meaning if it is not filled up or lived through with depth of emotion, penetrative thought and creative activity. Mere passage of time has no significance. But when this ceaseless flow of time becomes impregnated with human thought ond experience, only then it can have the fullness of meaning and value. It is not thus the mere ancient character of a certain point of time, or the far-away distance, of Buddha's life from us that can have any value. It is the rich and varied harvest of spiritual experience of Buddha himself, and of those who followed him, that has invested his memory with a special sanctity, and given a unique significance to the system of thought that he founded and which lived and grew enormously during these two thousand and five hundred years.

Message of Freedom

The personality of Buddha as a Prince, who gave up his kingdom and all usual sources of human pleasure and happiness for the quest of the great unknown, for unravelling the mystery of a Beyond, that rises above this life of ours and calls us on, stands before us with a rare charm and sacredness of its own. His later career, in which the young Prince becomes a Buddha, the Enlightened, and delivers his message of Freedom, freedom from all bondage of desire and ignorance and consequent sorrow, will never cease to be a source of inspiration, awe, and reverence to mankind. Still, it is not the person of Buddha that alone occupies our mind today; it is the fullness of his spiritual teachings which have unfolded themselves through hundreds of years, step by step, petal by petal, as it were, until they blossomed into the richness of beauty and grace of the entire range of Buddhistic schools of thought, their varied contributions, intellectual, moral and

aesthetic, that command our deepest respect. We pay our homage to Buddha and the long series of holy men and saints who carried on his message, silently, continuously, and in all earnestness of spirit, and have left behind them a special heritage of Buddhistic thought. This has been possible because of a very unique tradition that has been preserved as regards the development of philosophy in India. No system of thought takes its stand on one thinker or preacher. One person might have started it, given the basic idea, but the great momentum of such an idea never ceases to exist with the thinker, but goes on forward and spins out in course of time a complex net-work of thought through the contribution of other thinkers around it. That is how we have schools of philosophy, and not one philosophy, that have been kept alive by fresh springs of thought flowing from individual minds through the ages.

The story of Buddha's renunciation is so well-known that it hardly needs to be retold or revived. The strength of his resolve to find a solution of the miseries of life, the wonderful arguments with which he met the objections of the prime-minister who was sent out to persuade him to come back to his home and kingdom are also well-known and remembered. What strikes us as unique, besides his great renunciation, is the boldness of his challenge to find out the truth, independent of all traditional preachings. His was the first message of free thought, liberation from scriptural instructions of the time, and he burnt with zeal and enthusiasm to solve the mystery of life, by his own efforts, by rational analysis, and had an indomitable will to conquer all obstructions of spiritual life; and the success that he achieved, paved the way to enlightenment for hundreds of others who followed him.

Origin of Misery

His first analysis of the origin of misery led to the enunciation of the twelve-fold links of a cycle known as *bhavachakra*. He started thinking what being there what happens, and came to the conclusion that *avidya*, or ignorance, and *tanha* or greed, are the roots of all evils in life. This method of argument is known as *pratityasamutpada* and is sound from a scientific point of view. We can never know what exactly the cause of a thing or an action is. All that we can say is that this being there that exists. With this is associated the idea that nothing exists permanently. Everything in this world comes into existence, produces something as effect, and dies out. Since the same thing cannot be produced a second time, the cause is also not the same. Effects are different, so are the causes. A cause is a complex moment, and so is the effect. There is a flowing series of complex, conscious units of experience, but no continuity of one and the same subject or object. It is the similarity of different states that create the illusion of identity. Memory is possible because the later moments being dependent on the previous moments, seem to inherit, as it were, the renewed tendencies similar to those of the past. Thus there is no self, but a series of discrete moments of conscious experience. This series is possible because of the greed, or desire, that creates the later moments of activity. If there is no desire, no false perspective, there will be no series of actions and experiences, the momentum of the flow will thus be destroyed, and existence will cease to continue. This final extinction of all experiences is *nirvana* after which there is no further striving or misery. The nature of this *nirvana* is inexpressible, unspeakable, but it is the going out of the world and the worldly, and is the highest good (*prapanchopasamam Sivam*).

Experiment with Truth

In our country no intellectual speculations were ever empty and barren jugglery of intellect. If it was accepted as true that nothing was steady or permanent, and if it were true that the greed and false perspective were the cause of all misery, then it became binding that we should all live up to those findings. The whole life became a life of great experiment with truth, with the believers of Buddhism or other philosophical systems. Philosophy never was a theoretical speculation, it was a rationalisation of experience and a matter of active faith. Philosophy thus became dynamic in the life of thinkers and saints. It was a great heroism on their part to follow up the conclusion of rational analysis with a glowing faith. This faith has been beautifully compared to the loving mother who sustains and nourishes the spiritual life of people and leads them to the ultimate good

(Vyasabhasya on Yogasutras: *Sa hi kalyani jananiva yoginam pati*). The great, fearless and sporting spirit with which the Buddhistic monk experimented on their life and experience, its trial of passions and sorrows, speaks loudly from every page of the Buddhistic texts.

From the point of metaphysical speculation, we have the four great schools of Buddhism: the Vaibhasika, Sautrantika, Yogachara and the Sunyavada. From another view-point, that is, whether individual liberation or that of all beings is the highest good, we have the Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. We have said before that besides the fundamental assumptions of momentariness and dependent origination, there is another important point on which all schools of Buddhism agree, and that is that moral purity is essential for all wisdom and enlightenment. There cannot be a wise man who is not saintly, no seer of Truth who is not holy, and there can be no efficiency without the purity of spirit. Our knowing must depend on our becoming purer in heart, on our unclouded emotions and thought. Along with subtle dialectical speculations of Buddhism, there is this greatest emphasis on moral life and values. After the Dhammapada in Pali, we have many other texts in Sanskrit of the Mahayana school which are full of deep and wise sayings which come out of the concrete experience of saints, as to how we can educate and improve ourselves.

We have interesting discussion in the *Visuddhimagga* as to how we can control our anger and be forgiving to others. An intellectual analysis of a situation helps us to understand the action of a wicked man. We realise how man is merely one of the several factors in an event, and this understanding helps to ease the tension to a great extent. This text has encouraged a rational attitude towards understanding our enemies and forgiving them fully, laying the entire emphasis on our subjective outlook. If we are angry with our enemies, then we are doing the same wrong action as he has done; if we let our minds be troubled and vitiated, then we are fulfilling the object of the enemy and spoiling our own, namely, our equanimity. Everything being momentary, the wrong-doer and his wrongs are gone, so is our self, with whom can we be angry and who will be angry? This principle, of course, is intended for the inner education of man; for any social duty, or otherwise, we have to fall back on the theory of series on which rests the moral responsibility of an action.

Moral Problems

We do not have adequate time to deal with the moral problems as envisaged in Buddhistic texts involving subtle psychological issues. There is a long and elaborate discussion on the effects of conscious and sub-conscious experience of a man on his own life and that of others in the *Abahidharmakosha* of Vasubandhu. It has been discussed how can an action, mental, vocal, or physical, leave its trace on one's own mind, creating or inducing a particular type of subjective disposition, and also affecting others. All our experiences create a history. We the individuals weave out a subjective history within, by our thoughts and actions and speech, as also create a history outside in the objective world, its situation and other minds. The conscious experience and its impressions are known as *vijnapti* and the unconscious or sub-conscious impressions in the minds of a person, as also the changes in the environment unknown to himself are known as *avijnapti*. By conscious experience and action, a man thus modifies his own mind and the atmosphere (involving others) around him. This togetherness of the agent of an action, with others who are affected by it, is a very significant contribution of the Buddhistic psychology. *Avijnapti* has also been regarded by some as intermediary between an action and its consequence. As regards the possibility of different levels of consciousness, there is a huge mass of materials available from Buddhistic sources. But there is a marked difference in these from modern psychological approach. In our modern experiments, we take note of varied experience and reactions of adults and children more from the point of view of facts as they happen, and sometimes with a view to cure mental diseases. In Buddhism, there was investigation into the nature of certain types of mental facts, but the emphasis was on experimenting on these with a definite moral and spiritual objective, that is, of transforming one's whole personality in the light of the highest good as they conceived it. For instance, how to arrest the fluctuating mental states and passions; how to stop the

flow of one state into another; how to pass through different planes of consciousness, were of the highest interest. Enormous amount of details can be had from the different texts which had an important bearing on improving human character and moral elegance.

In the field of logic, contributions of Buddhism are very marked. Their theory about inference, elaborate forms of hypothetical-categorical syllogism (in the *Kathavatthu,* about the 3rd century B.C.), theory of universals and negation, theory of causation, have occupied a very important place in Indian thought and have, in many cases, anticipated the investigations of modern logic.

It is interesting to note that an argument adduced by Vachaspati in describing Buddhist idealistic position, and also by Buddhist logicians, was repeated centuries later by G. E. Moore in the nineteenth century. The illustration given was that since the blue colour and its awareness were inseparable, they were identical (*abhedo nila-tad-dhiyoh*). In refuting idealism, Moore hit upon the same illustration. Buddhist theory of concept and intuition found its echo, hundreds of years later, in the Italian philosopher Croce. I may refer here to the International Congress, held at Naples, in 1924, where the late Professor S. N. Dasgupta read a paper on Croce and Buddhism, and showed that some fundamentals of the former's philosophical position had been anticipated by Buddhism centuries ago. Croce himself was in the Chair. At the end of the meeting, he remarked very gracefully that he had nothing to say but this: that he felt proud and happy that his line of thinking had coincided with such a great school of thought as Buddhism.

As we turn to the theory of art-creation, offered by Buddhism, we find in *Atthasalini*, the commentary of Buddhaghosa on the Dhammasangani, a very nice and elaborate discussion on the aesthetic state of the mind which creates the beautiful. It is the inner representation and mental creation of the artist that have been emphasised more than its translation in lines and forms in external form. Here again we find the position that intuitive perception of the beautiful and its creation are identical, which has been taken up by Croce in his work on Aesthetics.

Such is the varied nature of the gifts of Buddhism, in metaphysics, psychology, logic, ethics and aesthetics. The greatest of all these gifts is the gift of a nobler outlook and values in life as brought out by the Bodhisattvas and repeatedly emphasised by King Asoka in his rock edicts. The Bodhisattvas strove all their lives for highest wisdom, but when the time came for the attainment of *nirvana*, they postponed it for the sake of leading others to the path of the good. The greatest message of Buddhism is love for humanity, freedom from all base passions and consequent misery. It is the love for all beings and their spiritual uplift that is the aim and ideal of the Bodhisattva. Thus we remember the prayer of saints, as given in the *Sikshasamuchchaya*, "Let all beings be happy, let them be without evil and enmity." "If there is anybody who speaks ill of me, who injures me, let him attain highest wisdom. Let me be of service to all, in whichever form may it be needed. Let me give light to the ignorant, shelter to the distressed, help to those who want it, and let me be a humble servant of all living beings."

NATIONALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

By Prof. B. N. GIGRAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is now generally conceded that a valid case for nationalisation arises not only in those sectors of a country's economy where the interests of a community are apparently paramount, *e.g.*, defence and public utilities, but also where private enterprise is unenterprising or it has proved to be a misenterprise. The private misenterprise or unenterprise obviously includes cases where the private enterprise has failed to provide and maintain a minimum civilised standard of living to the workers or opportunities for their growing urge to share control and management of the concerns in which they work and derive their livelihood from and thus has failed to take proper care of the community's human capital. The State has a right to control the private enterprise, and in case of incorrigibility, to take it over to maintain and improve upon its material and human resources. The record of private enterprise, even in U.S.A. and U.K. which have achieved phenomenal economic progress is a growing chasm between Labour and Capital, and exploitation of the former at the hands of the latter, till Labour has organised itself into powerful unions and has forced Capital to come to terms with it. The employers have invariably opposed and resisted the development of trade unionism among workers and the growth of labour legislation. The control and regulation of the private enterprise by the State has failed to bring about equality of income to the extent achieved by socialist countries like the U.S.S.R. Thus the case for nationalisation from Labour's point of view arises on two grounds. In the first place, under private enterprise the workers suffer economic exploitation. "They are housed, fed and clothed worse than they need be if the society were differently organised." Secondly, the workers have to act according to the whims of their master. They resent the industrial despotism characteristic of the private enterprise. Under it they are reduced to the position of wage-slaves. Measures of co-operation between workers and employers like Works Committees and Joint Councils at different levels and profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes depend for their successful working upon the employers' goodwill and their co-operation. They are at best palliatives. True industrial democracy is possible only under nationalisation.

A worker in a public undertaking stands on different footing from a worker in a private undertaking. In the former he is both a master and a servant, master as a citizen of the country and servant as an employee of the undertaking.[1] As such the antagonism between Labour and Capital—the owners and the employees—is likely to be narrowed down, if not disappear altogether. It will at least lose its sting. No longer shall Labour be working for the private gain of somebody, but for the community's benefit. This in itself will have healthy effect on industrial relations and labour productivity. Labour shall be a partner and a co-trustee in the nationalised industries. The State would look after Labour's welfare and provide for adequate wages and healthy working conditions. The human capital will as much be the subject of its care as the material capital. Labour-management co-operation machinery will be perfected at various stages so that an ordinary worker would have a voice in the running of his concern. "Industrial democracy" will thus become a reality. Nationalisation is, therefore, the ultimate objective of all progressive trade unions in the country.[2]

Nationalisation, however, brings its own problems that affect industrial relations vitally. In the first place, the public judges the success of nationalised industries from the point of view, among other factors, of peaceful industrial relations. A public enterprise, unlike a private one, has to live in the fierce light of publicity. Since it is the property of the nation, every one, the consumer, the tax-payer, the citizen, the Government, the Parliament—all regard it as worthy of notice and are anxious to know about its working and its results.[3] Secondly, nationalisation tends towards monopolistic organisations, and as such industrial disputes in industrialised industries cause more serious consequences than in private enterprise. Thirdly, trade unions expect better working conditions and treatment under nationalised industries than they receive under private enterprise. Not merely that, everyone insists upon the Government being a model employer. In other words, the social costs which a public enterprise has to bear are often much higher than those likely

1. *The First Five-Year Plan*: *Planning Commission*, the Government of India, p. 580.

2. Vide Clause 1(ii) in the Constitution of the Indian National Trade Union Congress—"To place industry under national ownership and control in suitable form . . . in the quickest time." Also object No. VI in the Constitution of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha—"To organise for and promote the establishment of a democratic Socialist Society in India."

3. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 83.

to be imposed on a corresponding private concern.[4] Fourthly, it is through a change of attitude among labour that nationalisation expects to enhance the efficiency of the enterprise. Workers have to be induced to work harder than they do under private enterprise. But habits and attitudes die hard and take a long time to change.

> "Only a strong moral motive based on a clear and dynamic conception of man's duties as well as his rights, to God, his fellow men, can replace the usual motives of greed and fear under private enterprise."[5]

Fifthly, nationalisation results in the centralisation of authority, one of whose consequences is the remoteness of those who decide policy from those who carry out the decision. Departmental managers, even when authorised to do so, are chary to use their power in redressing the grievances, and meeting the claims of workers. This results in considerable industrial discontent. Lastly, Labour is tempted to make in a public enterprise extravagant demands and the management is inclined to meet them partly because the loss is less personal, and partly because of the serious consequences of strike following refusal in a large monopoly.

> "Accordingly, a tendency may well develop for Labour and Capital management combined, to put up costs and hence, prices, as against the consumer."[6]

Let us see how nationalisation has affected industrial relations in the United Kingdom. From 1945, when the Labour Party came into power till 1951 when it lost elections in favour of the Conservatives, five major industries were nationalised, *viz.*, coal, transport, gas, electricity, iron and steel and civil aviation.[7] Their administration has been entrusted to independent corporations. In each of the Nationalisation Acts there is a section placing certain duties on the Board to establish machinery for negotiation and consultation in matters concerning constitutions of employment, etc. Nationalisation in Great Britain has not come up to the expectations of the ideologists of socialism. It has not reduced inequality of income, and has left unaffected the difference between the incomes of the manual worker and the high executive.[8]

The socialists' hopes of greater production and larger profits have not been realised. Nationalisation has not noticeably ennobled motives; the worker remains no less responsive to the size of the pay-pocket.[9] On the contrary, Labour has become turbulent in the nationalised industries. Nationalisation led to diminished production in coal-mining and a complete breakdown of power in 1946. B.O.A.C. lost £12 million in the first year.

> "One of the headaches of the British Government has been to keep labour, conscious of its new found power, from abusing it, to find a new incentive to replace the old incentives of competition and fear."

It is, however, the considered opinion of Professor Cole that the coal industry has improved not only in technical efficiency, but also in its relations with the work-people; much remains to be done but the National Coal Board has unquestionably made important headway in giving the miner a new deal.[10] But Professor Cole has admitted that the change in the status of labour and behaviour of management in coal mines is a consequence not so much of nationalisation as such, but of full employment and of nationalisation under a Labour Government. According to him, the new spirit of industrial relations is not deeply rooted.[11] As many as 6,000 unofficial strikes occurred in the coal industry between the Vesting Day and December, 1950. But this in itself proves nothing. Two things have to be borne in mind while explaining such a heavy record of industrial unrest in the coal-mining industry. First, strikes might have been, who knows, larger and severer under the old regime. Secondly, "we must also remember that industrial change, as any industrial psychologist would tell us, is not only the opportunity for consultations and for co-operation in solving new problems, but also productive of unrest, of maladjustments and of the other spiritual disorders which are supposed to be behind strikes."[12] Strikes in the coal mines may be due to the speed with which the Board is going ahead with its schemes of reorganisation. It may, therefore, be concluded in the words of Mr. Edward Goodman :

> "It is only reasonable caution to add that while the failure of nationalisation to work immediate miracles is no proof of ultimate incapacity, that capacity itself remains to be proved."[13]

India has not made much headway in the matter of nationalisation of the industrial sector of the country's economy. State enterprise predominantly confined to sectors where public welfare or security is dominant. It is only recently that the State has stepped

4. *Report on the Efficient Conduct of State Enterprise* by A. D. Gorwala, p. 8.
5. *Problems of Nationalised Industry*: W. A. Robson. General Conclusions by the Editor. A conservative critic opposing nationalisation points out, "It is folly to base an economy and social policy on a change in human nature for which no warrant exists and for which the people have not been educated."
6. Gorwala's *Report*, p. 26.
7. The Conservative Government has since denationalised transport and iron and steel industries.
8. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership* by Edward Goodman, p. 86.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Vide his article in the *Problems of Nationalised Industry*. edited by W. A. Robson, p. 129.
11. *Ibid*, p. 129.
12. *Industrial Democracy and Nationalisation* by Clegg, p. 99.
13. *Forms of Public Control and Ownership*, p. 87.

into the industrial sector as owner and controller of business undertakings . Railways and the Post and Telegraph are the older public enterprises, in which the primary motive behind State ownership and operation is public security and welfare. Air Transport and Life Insurance are the established industries which have been nationalised because of 'misenterprise' (and also to some extent of 'unenterprise') on the part of private capitalists. As a matter of fact, we are industrially so backward and our progress in this respect so slow that we want as much of the public enterprise as of the private enterprise. It is only in a State of well-developed industrial economy and political institutions that the State thinks of superseding private enterprise. In an under-developed economy like ours the State should content itself by effectively controlling the private enterprise rather than replacing it in the general industrial sector of a country. Great Britain, where such well-organised industries as coal mining and iron and steel have been nationalised, can claim to have a long history of running over 150 years of industrial development, political democracy and trade union movement. In India, the State has started to extend the public sector by establishing new enterprises especially the key and the basic industries. How has nationalisation affected industrial relations in the public undertakings in India? In this connexion it has to be noted that all the public undertakings except railways and railway collieries and Posts and Telegraphs have been started or taken over under State ownership and control very recently. Industrial relation in them have not assumed any shape for any comments to make. It may, however, be observed that the first effect of nationalisation has been that Labour conscious of being owner of an industry and of the likelihood that the State will meet their demands readily, is encouraged to put forward high demands and fight for them. A tendency towards voluntary settlement of industrial disputes by collective bargaining is also discernible. For instance, in 1951-52 out of a total of 893 labour disputes in the State establishments, 808 were settled mutually and only 9 were referred for adjudication. The progressive growth of unity among the workers' organisations in the State undertakings is typified by the amalgamation of the Indian Railwaymen's Federation and the Indian National Railway Workers' Federation, since the State took over the railway systems under its control and management. Thus, nationalisation encourages workers to form big unions to deal with big managements.

> The fundamental labour problem of the nationalised industry, as the experience of Great Britain, as also our own, clearly demonstrates, "consists partly of inculcating all who work in the organisations with a spirit of public service, partly of permeating the lower ranks of the industry with the radical change of outlook which has taken place at the top, partly of integrating and personifying the entire authority of the Corporation at the lower levels of management."[14]

Nationalisation will yield the benefits claimed for it by the Socialists when the whole spirit and the attitude of labour undergoes a change. The difficulty in the way is the manner in, and the conditions under which, trade unionism has developed. The trade unions under the capitalistic order of society have historically developed as organs for defending and improving the workers' standard of living. This has vitiated their entire outlook and strategy. For better industrial relations in nationalised industries, the workers "need to abandon their defensive, negative, demanding attitude and to display qualities of constructive leadership, understanding and co-operation with the management."

14. *Problems of National Industry*, p. 341.

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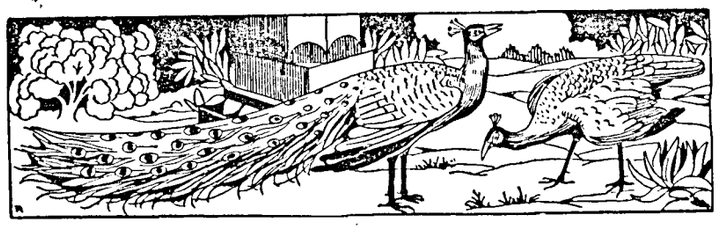

THE POET AND THE PUBLIC MIND

By G. S. FRASER*

A month or two ago, Mr. W. H. Auden after a briskly contested election, became Professor of Poetry at Oxford, in succession to another notable poet who began to make a name in the 1930s, Mr. Cecil Day Lewis. The particular interest of this contest lay in the vigour with which he was supported and opposed. In university circles there are still many people who dislike Mr. Auden for three reasons. In the 1930s, he was a leading "radical" poet outspoken both in his opposition to Fascism and in his criticism of British domestic and foreign politics. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War he went to the United States, where he remained during that war; and he is now an American citizen. (He is no longer a "political" poet, but writes now from what might be called a broadly Christian standpoint). There are those who disapprove of his politics in the 1930s; and those (not necessarily the same persons) who disapprove of his absence in the United States during Great Britain's "finest hour," and of his decision to renounce his British subjecthood. There are finally those who, recognising his talent, deplore the use he has made of it. It is a tribute to Mr. Auden's great gifts that he triumphed, in his election, over these three layers of opposition. There is, perhaps, a fourth layer. There are critics—of the school of Dr. Leavis, of Cambridge—who, not deploring his "modernism," and recognising his gifts, feel that a sort of undergraduate cleverness has prevented Mr. Auden from ever "maturing" properly.

Mr. Auden's latest book, *The Shield of Achilles*, is a volume essentially of occasional poems—many of the best of them being exercises in light verse—without any pronounced unity of theme. There is perhaps no single poem in *The Shield of Achilles* as beautiful as the best poem, *In Praise of Limestone*, in *Nones*, and there are some poems that have rather a perfunctory air. Yet it is impossible to read *The Shield of Achilles* without becoming aware both of the extraordinary flexibility of Mr. Auden's technique and the range of his mind. Mr. Auden is both an oddly impersonal and an oddly unsensuous poet. His own feelings do not often inspire him to poetry, nor do the visual aspects of the outward world. He is a poet of thought and of moral intuition, whose most profound concern is with what might be called "the human condition" in general. He uses contemporary ideas poetically; in the 1930s, he drew a great deal on Freud and Marx; in the 1950s, he draws on modern theologians like Niebuhr. But man in history, man's tragic predicament, and noble responsibility, in history, remains his central subject. The kind of human concern that moves him finds an excellent expression in the strong title poem of his new volume:

Out of the air a voice without a face
Proved by statistics that some cause was just
In tones as dry and level as the place:
No one was cheered and nothing was discussed;
Column by column in a cloud of dust
They marched away enduring a belief
Whose logic brought them, somewhere else, to grief.

It is in this moral realism, as it might be called, that his verse is strongest. The set of poems, *Horae Canonicae*, at the end of this new volume, which are more definitely religious in intention, are also more uncertain in tone. The lighter poems sometimes decline from wit or gaiety to mere facetiousness. Yet this remains a much more impressive volume than most people can write nowadays. Mr. Auden's appointment at Oxford is, from an English point of view, to be welcomed. Both his technical mastery and his deep moral seriousness are likely to give young English poets a "lead" which at the moment they have real need of; he may gather again round him, as in the 1930s, a band of his disciples. And it is possible that, if he gains strength by touching his home ground again, his own poetry may benefit by acquiring a warmth, a sense of a particular time, place, and setting, which it very vividly had in the 1930s, but which recently it has tended to lose.

* Mr. Fraser is the author of *The Modern Writer and His World* and two volumes of poetry. He is a regular broadcaster and contributor to London literary journals.

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The Statue of Lenin by the River Neva near the Leningrad Station

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By NARENDRA DEV

I

The Indian delegates to the World Peace Assembly, held at Helsinki, Finland, were all cordially invited to visit the United States of Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

During the three weeks of our extensive tour in the Soviet land, from all that we observed there, as also from what we gathered from our intimate contact with things around, we were not only very much surprised, but felt a little ashamed at having believed so long in all that the propagandists of the Anti-Soviet Camp tried to instil in us. They scattered all over India such tendentious news as would lead people to believe that the men and women of U.S.S.R. were groaning under a system of mechanical regimentation, that they had no individual freedom, that outsiders were not allowed to see what they would like to see, but that they had to be satisfied with a strictly conducted official tour, that it was a cursed land where the people were living in perpetual darkness behind an Iron Curtain.

They disseminated such strange stories as the following: In Russia religion was a taboo. Marriage was no longer a solemn and sacred thing; it had degenerated into a sort of companionship for an uncertain period, for it could be broken off at the sweet will of either party, if he or she felt tired of living together. The issue of any of this temporary companionship were taken charge of by the State, as orphans. The people there, had no home of their own, neither any opportunity of enjoying the happiness of a family life.

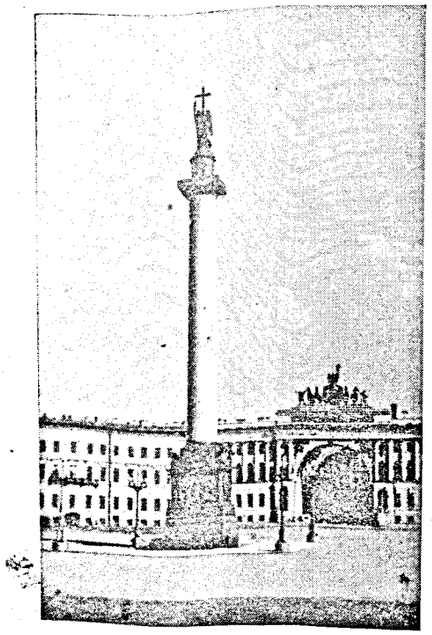
The propagandists asserted: There was no freedom of the Press, newspapers and journals were not allowed to criticise any action likely to be detrimental to the interest of the public. Even the writers of the Soviet Union were subservient to the State and they had no liberty to write or publish any book until and unless it was approved by the State authorities. There were no distinction between the intelligentsia and labour. The people were all unhappy and deserted their country whenever they got an opportunity. The police and the military were a terror to the general public of the U.S.S.R. The concentration camps were nightmares to them. The factories and workshops were no better than gaols, where labourers were treated as if undergoing a term of rigorous imprisonment. It is needless to make the list longer.

At the very outset I would like to declare that the "Iron Curtain" is a myth. No such rigid system prevails anywhere here to shut out anything from the onlookers. We found the people of the U.S.S.R. very happy and contented. They have got no complaint against the Union Government, which they themselves set up through their own elected representatives to the City Soviets and through the City Soviets to the Supreme Soviets, who administer the Union Government.

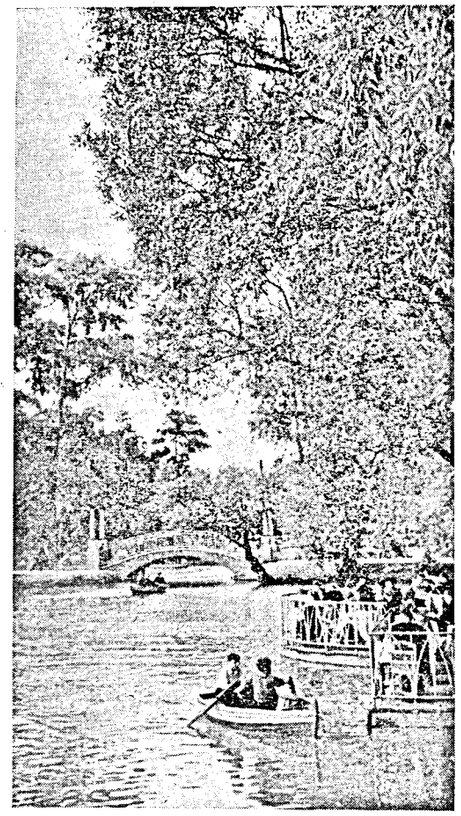
All the workers in the industrial concerns of Soviet Russia are directly under their own Trade Unions. The State officers of the Supreme Council, the ministry, the police and the military authorities are all composed of the elected members of the people. Under the circumstances, no anti-Government group at all exists there.

Men and women of the USSR are free to profess any religion. People may eat and drink and dress as they like. They are allowed to read any book on any subject that interests them. We have not come across any such person who is deprived of his individual freedom. As to the question regarding conducted tour, we got our first surprise when our hosts asked us to give them a list of places and things we would like to visit. They left us free to draw up our own tour programme.

At Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and Kiev, the principal town of Ukraine, there were some places and things of common interest to all, such as the Kremlin Palace, the Redfort in the Red-Square, where within a beautifully erected mausoleum the bodies of Lenin and Stalin are carefully preserved, the great Lenin Library of Moscow, the Metro underground Electric Railway, the Gorky Park, the "Smolney" House at Leningrad, from where Lenin first directed the Revolution, the



The Gateway and the Victory Monument of Leningrad

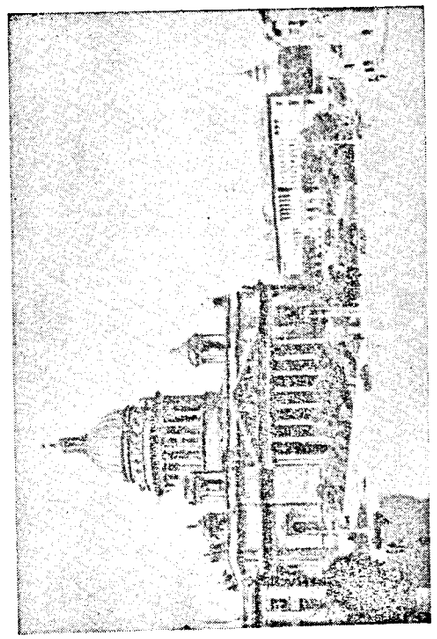


Gorky Cultural Park, Moscow

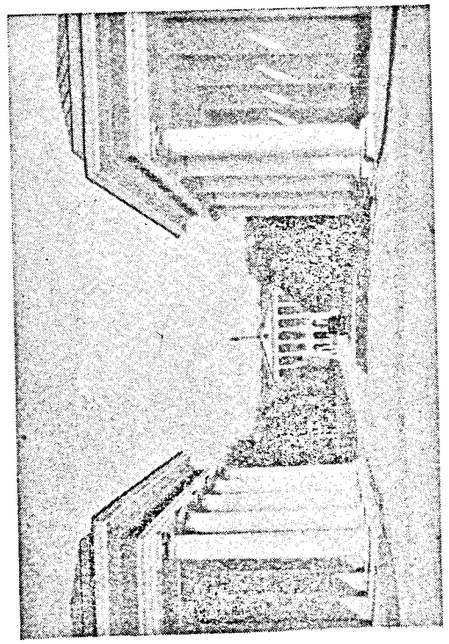
The Indian delegates were composed of people from all walks of life, and naturally their interests were diverse. The doctors expressed their desire to visit the big hospitals; the lawyers, the Courts of Justice, the engineers, the public works. The representatives for the Gandhi Sevashram asked to see the Gowshalas in the villages. Men from Vinobaji's Bhoodan-movement organisation wanted to see the agricultural enterprises of the collective farms and their land settlements. The business magnets stood for factories, workshops and heavy industries, the educationists for schools and Universities, the litterateurs wished to meet the writers and visit the libraries. The scientists desired to have a look at the Nuclear Energy Institute, which was so long a top-secret of the Soviet Government. To our great astonishment our hosts readily agreed to comply with all our requests, gladly took us to all the places and showed everything to our entire satisfaction.

Battleship *Aurora* that first started bombarding the Royal Palace from the river Neva, the Summer Palace and Winter Palace of the Czars, the museums, art galleries, cultural parks, the Moscow Art Theatre, Bolsoi Theatre, Lenin Theatre and other places of amusements, such as the Puppet Dance, Opera, Ballet and Concerts, where all the delegates went together and enjoyed immensely.

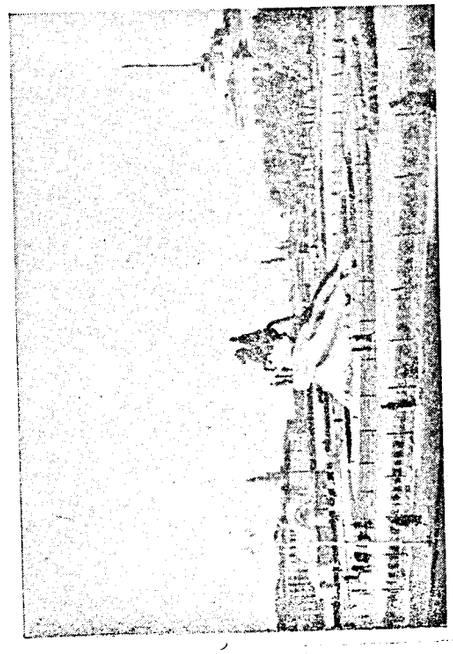
Next we visited the Great Agricultural Exhibition of Moscow. It had been running for over a year and a half. The Exhibition ground covers several square miles in area, with beautifully laid roads, gardens, flower-beds, fountains, artistic statues and decorated light-posts. All



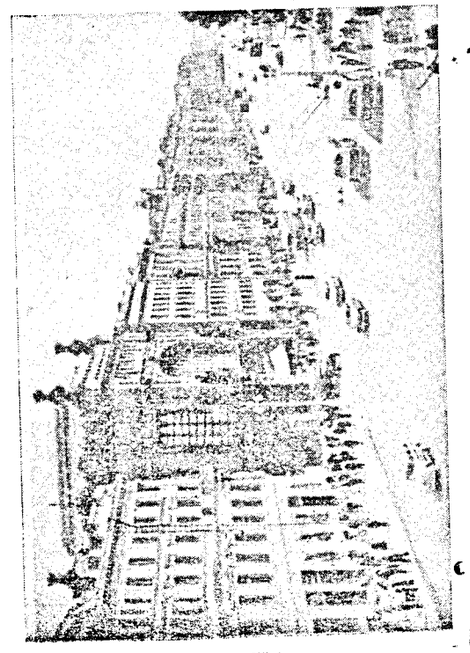
A Church in Leningrad



The first rendezvous of the Russian Revolutionaries—"Smolney"

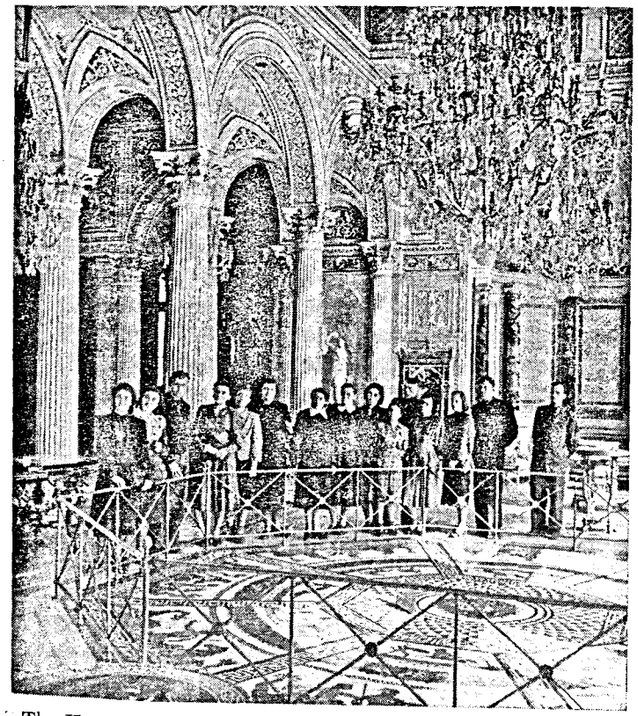


The Statue of Peter the Great in the Leningrad Square



A Street in Leningrad

the sixteen Soviet Republics have joined in a competitive spirit in this Exhibition, vying with one another in putting up their best show. We could only manage to go through six of the sixteen pavilions erected there by each of the Republics, which can not only be described as manifestation of their wonderful architectural concepts but also all their artistic faculties; these six pavilions contained industrial products from Georgia,



The Hall in the interior of the Palace 'Hermitage' in Leningrad (now Museum)

Kajakistan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Azar Baizan and Tajakistan. This exhibition interested us so much that we felt a strong desire of visiting the above places, and as soon as it was conveyed to our hosts, all arrangements were made forthwith. Soviet planes took us to Kazakistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajakistan, one after another, and we got every facility to move about and see everything we wanted to see in all these places.

People who inhabit these places are mostly Moslems. They were almost illiterate and very backward people, who had been for centuries deprived of the light of modern civilisation. Women were confined within the Zenana under a strict Purdah system. But, we were taken aback to find that, through the influence of the Soviet regime, their life and society have undergone a complete and wonderful change, which can be well described as a magical transformation.

The old villages have all been turned into beautiful cities with high metalled roads ingeniously planned, on both sides of which there are many well-built palatial houses, shady trees and ornamented electric light posts. Tram cars, buses, and motor cars are plying on every street. There are cinemas, opera houses, theatres, and artistically laid-out public parks with flower beds, trees with green foliages, and fancy fountains. There are public libraries, museums as well as collective farms, industrial factories, hydro-electric stations, railways, telephones, posts and telegraphs, Radio broadcasting stations, nursery schools, Kindergartens, Children's Homes, high schools and colleges, etc. All kinds of amenities of modern town-life are available there. We found men and women of these Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union steadily marching forward to an advanced stage of culture and civilisation.

We flew back to Moscow again and after passing a couple of days more there, visiting some other important places, we went to the Ukraine, the granary of Russia. But, before I write anything about the Ukraine, I would like to say something more about what we saw in Leningrad and Moscow.

When we went to visit a yarn-factory at Leningrad, one of the members of our Indian delegation indiscreetly asked the manager as to the pay he gets for his job. This question was put to the Manager when he was gladly and with commendable patience answering many of our relevant and irrelevant questions. From our enquiries it transpired that a skilled labourer can earn two to three thousand roubles per month and an unskilled hand about five hundred to one thousand roubles. The Manager draws four thousand a month. Besides their pay the workers get more than one bonus during the year according to extra output in their production. They also get one month's leave on full pay. If a worker desires to spend his holidays at a rest-house or health-resort, the Trade Union will arrange it for him without any obligation. He and his family get free medical aid and the children get free education for a seven-year course. The workers get cheap lunch at the factory canteen and standard cloth from the stores.

As to marriages, we found these were being solemnised either in the Church or at the Marriage Registrar's office. Young folks prefer the Registrar's office to a Church.

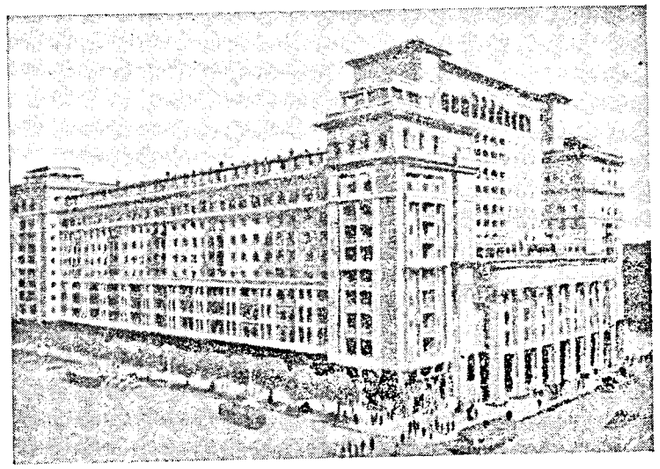
We met a very few police and military officers during our tour in the Soviet land and we came to know that cases of abuse of power are entirely absent there.

Children are taken care of by the parents at home as well as at schools, as every school has a Parents Committee who often visit them.

In case of workers where both father and mother go to the factory, they leave their children to the care of the Nursery or Kindergarten school every morning and take them back in the evening on their way home. The workers have all been provided with good quarters at a minimum rent. None of them are afraid of hard work for long hours. They are very sincere in discharging their duties to their country and nation.

Soviet Russia has entirely solved their unemployment problem. Small joint families with brothers and sisters, and old mother or father still exist there. The various amenities provided for the workers of the Soviet Union are worth immitating by those who are eager to increase their production. We cannot but applaud the success of the Soviet Union in raising the dignity of labour. There is no inferiority or superiority complex in their society. Money is not at all the criterion for judging one's position in society. It is the qualification of a person that only counts.

The intellectuals of the Soviet land appeared to be a privileged class whose income reaches fifteen to twenty thousand roubles per month. They have motor-cars and wear best dresses. But still they are not proud



The Moscow Hotel

of their high position. We found them dining on the same table with their chauffeurs. They even help their valets light cigarettes. Men and women are regarded as equals in every respect. They enjoy an equal status in all affairs, State or industrial. We found here many girls doing heavy and hard work generally entrusted to young men of nerve in other countries. The women workers of Soviet Russia execute their duties in a wonderfully perfect way.

(To be continued)

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ESSENTIAL OILS—A NATIONAL ASSET

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, I.O.S.

Introduction

"Sell by smell" is a well-known slogan in the commercial world. Is it by accident that this slogan was coined? N . It is based on the role that the odour plays in mental dynamics. The nerves carrying the message of smell are directly connected with the brain. Hence, the sense of smell has a definite advantage over other senses. It is a well-known fact that memory associations connected with odour are deep-seated. The odour of perfume can influence that part of the brain which is not under conscious control, which is linked up with our emotions and moods. The sensations pertaining to smell are subjective.

Definition

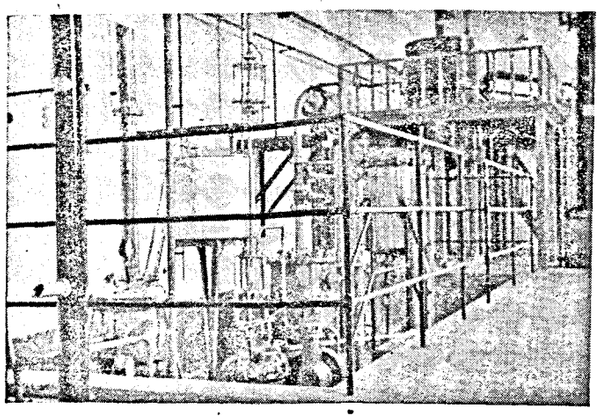
It is because of this factor probably that nature abounds in aromatic articles. Various kinds of flowers and sandal-wood are conspicuous by their abundance in India. But surprisingly enough in addition to those from which a gentle breeze carry a pleasing odour to our romance and delight, there are many more which have a prime content which carries that pleasing odour. It is this 'prime content' which gives the peculiar odour a particular article has. This prime content is hidden in each article in the shape of an oil; as this oil forms the 'essence' of all odours and perfumes, the oil is technically known as Essential Oil.

Genesis

Human beings are associated with the odour sensation from the very dawn of life on our mother earth. And it is no wonder that we are in love with it. As all articles in nature are seasonal and as these could not be controlled to give us pleasure at our will and command ingenious human brain started to devise ways and means to extract the 'essential oils'

to be used, independent of nature itself, at times and occasions at our will.

Although it is presumed that the use of perfumes originated with religious observances where fragrant incense was burnt by man from ancient times at the altar of gods, yet in the opinion of many no page in human history antidates the use of perfumes and cosmetics. Although aromatic articles play an important part in thanks-offerings for annointing and embalming, and for rendering the air in places of worship pleasant-smelling, yet the application of essential oils and aromatic chemicals extends to many more branches of human activities. In addition to perfumes and cosmetics the essential oils are required for the preparation of insecticides and have become today indispensable in many other industries—rubber, plastics, textiles, paper, ink, paint, boot polish, glue, soap, writing pads, and so many others. It is impossible to stand near a tannery for the offensive smell, but addition of the essential oils and aromatic chemicals masks this bad odour to make these usuable. If you open an ink-bottle of a reputable firm it will give you a pleasing smell. On the other hand, if it happens to be one of X or Y make then in many cases you will like to throw away the bottle the moment you open the cork for use. Well, it actually happened to me. I regretted buying the unknown make.



Sectional view of the essential oils processing laboratory, C.F.P. Branch, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun

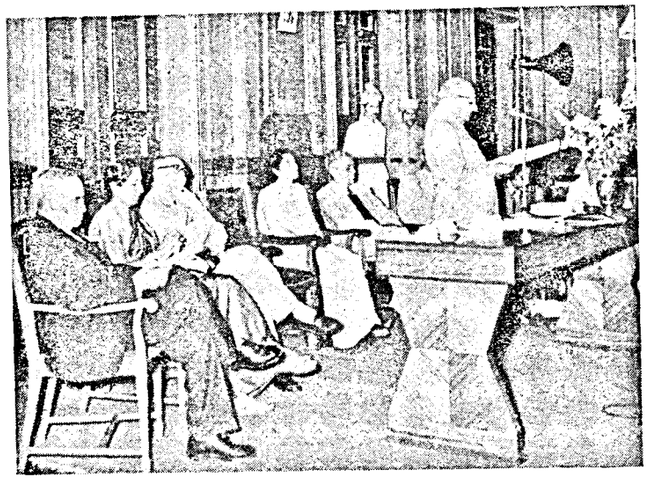
Application and Economics

The application of essential oils is so varied and extensive that it is sufficient to state that there are very few branches of industry which do not derive benefit out of the essential oils and aromatic chemicals in one way or the other. It will, therefore, be clear that the essential oils and aromatic chemicals are very important from our national point of view. There are signs that the people are becoming conscious about this importance. But like many others this particular branch cannot thrive unless it is tackled by the scientists and the industrial world jointly. Guided by this urge a symposium was organised at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, in early October, 1955. In this symposium some one hundred representatives took active part covering both private and public sectors. Certain foreign countries also took great interest in the symposium and sent their products and representatives. An Exhibition was organised in this connection showing the different types of essential oils and aromatic chemicals and the various uses to which these are put. It was quite illuminating and I wondered how the general public was out of touch with an item of national concern. Dr. Sadgopal, the officer in charge of the Chemical Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, and one of the figures behind the symposium in general and the exhibition in particular was explaining with great care the various implications of this branch of knowledge and its economy. While seeing the exhibition I came across a few pairs of cups and saucers. As expected these were from Bengal Potteries Ltd. Dr. Sadgopal showed me two different cups with golden border lines and asked me, "Do you find any difference between these two?" I could not notice any.

> "For this purpose," he explained, "some solvent oil is required which has been an imported item. After trial we have found that an indigenous product is not inferior in any way. This will save a lot of money going out of the country's border—detrimental to the benefits of our own countrymen."

Reversing the cups I could see the cards indicating in one the use of the imported oil, and in the other the indigenous oil. As essential oils form the basis of perfumes and products thereof, it has opened tremendous possibilities in Indian economy. Hundreds of tons of raw materials go out of the country every year and come back in the shape of finished products draining our country's purse several times. But strangely enough the branch of perfumery in Indian industry had been a thriving concern in the past, and has dwindled, as usual, almost to nothing through our own fault. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, in his inaugural address of the aforesaid symposium, remarks:

> "There is considerable evidence to show that the production and use of perfumes and aromatics had developed to a considerable degree in our country from long time past. Famous travellers of those days like Fahien have described this country as the land of aromatic flowers, fruits, woods, roots, resins, and grasses. Of these, perhaps the best known had been sandal-wood and its oil, as they have been favourites from time immemorial in the world of perfumes. In fact, there would appear to have been a regular barter trade in sandal-wood from ancient days when caravans carried the precious wood from India even to Egypt, Greece, and Rome. India came to be known for her high-class perfumes; and centres like Kanauj, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Lucknow, Poona, and Bhandarpur also acquired reputation in the past for their perfumery products."



Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, delivering his inaugural address

In spite of the above how is it that we have relegated such an important matter to the importer of perfumery products? Of the many factors, a lack of desire to know other persons' taste and to improve matters is mainly responsible for this downfall. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh further states in his address:

> "Like many of our old habits in most respects our sense of smell has also undergone a change which gradually discarded the *Otto-Dilbahar* and took to Coty's Chypre. Our manufacturers, however, like the mere conservative sections of our society never imagined that our noses would refuse to smell the strong rose and *khus khus* and go in for the comparatively soft-smelling Persian perfumes. The natural result followed and many of these lost their trade."

The following tables of export and import of raw materials will indicate the economic importance the essential oils and aromatic chemicals have on Indian economy. Because, what we sell as raw materials come back in the shape of finished products costing us several times more than what we sold for.

Approximate figures of the Import during three years—1951-54

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54
Quantity (lbs.)	1,009,762	831,037	1,231,113
Value (Rs.)	12,905,855	7,736,970	8,920,238

Approximate figures of the Export during the four years—1951-55

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Qty. (lbs.)	1,288,751	1,153,409	1,602,119	1,935,680
Value (Rs.)	21,069,022	11,247,054	12,671,267	23,412,631

Thinking about our past achievements and possibilities of the future, our task is then not merely to arrest decay of our old activities, but to harness the country's potentials for an all-round expansion. This cannot be achieved by mere thinking about our golden past which has crippled us in many respects. What is really needed is the concerted action of the public and the private sector.

Survey—Research

The essential oils and their important aromatic chemicals are mostly obtained from plants, grass, and roots thereof. It is, therefore, of prime importance that a thorough survey of what are available should be made so that we know where we stand. In many instances certain vital plants may not be available at

Dr. Sadgopal explaining to Dr. P. S. Deshmukh the latest specimens of packing materials employed in essential oils and perfumery industry

all, or what is available may not yield as much as the imported variety. For instance, Patchouli (Pogostemon cablin) yields an oil of high perfumery value imported from Malaya and Indonesia. The imported varieties yield more not only in quantity but in quality also than the not-very good indigenous variety. Essential Oil Research Committee of the C.S.I.R. thinks that yields from the imported variety can be stepped up by improving the cultural method. Once the survey

Union Minister for Agriculture, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, cutting the tape at opening of the Essential Oils Exhibition

is complete the next step would be to chalk out a progressive planning for execution. Because, although many of the plants and grasses grow in our forests and meadows naturally, yet there are many which require to be cultivated intensively. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh's remarks are worth mentioning :

> "It is recognised that incidence of plants yielding essential oils is very scattered in the country and the efforts to cultivate them intensively have up-to-date been on but a limited scale. There is much scope for improvement not only by adopting regular methods of conservation and collection but also by raising plantations or by improving the stocking of the desired species in the natural crops."

In addition, there are many other sources from which raw materials can be obtained, *viz.*, peels of oranges, certain saw dusts. These saw dusts after extraction of the oil can easily be put to other uses to which these are now put without any loss in its use value from the consumers' point of view. The orange-peels produce essential oils of high grade, but think of the great waste that we make every year. Ways and means must be found out to conserve these and encourage its employment for manufacture of essential oils as a profitable deal, because certain factories carrying out work in this respect are complaining of the uneconomic character of the manufacture carried in the present line.

Apart from survey and intensive cultivation, it is of prime importance that research work is conducted of the products, not only for maintenance of the standard but to enhance their quality and quantity in all directions. Research organisations are therefore as much valuable as the natural products themselves. It is strange to note that although the forests of India have been the main source of supply of many plants yielding essential oils, yet the Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun could not afford to give it sufficient importance for more than one reason and has been dealing with it only as a 'Minor Forest Product.' But, it is gratifying to note that with the increasing activities in all directions this 'Minor' has not escaped notice. Research facilities have, therefore, been remodelled and new plants installed. In addition to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, there are other research organisations to whose credit goes much good work, namely, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, C. S. I. R., its Essential Oil Research Committee and other Institutions and Laboratories. Private firms such as, Calcutta Chemicals Co. of Calcutta; Gupta & Co. of Delhi, Standard Essential Distillery of Kanpur, and Tata Oil Mills Co., have shown commendable enterprise in developing the commercial production and utilisation of the essential oils. It is constantly reported that these concerns are not prosperous. Such complaints are mainly due to inferior products and to foreign competition both of which are in the ultimate analysis interdependent. That is to say, if good things are available out of indigenous source at competitive price, there is no reason why imports cannot be minimised if not stopped altogether.

Public Confidence—Creation of Standards

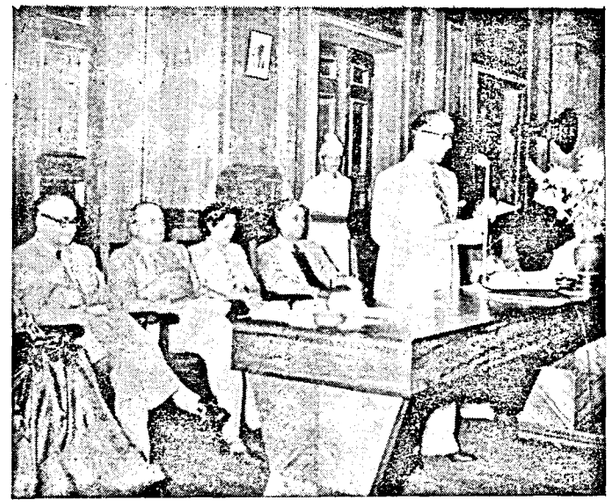
Like everything else in the commercial world, the creation of public confidence is of prime importance. In other words, reliable and dependable standards should be formulated for the essential oils and aromatic chemicals so that in the private as well as in the public sector there is no room for doubt regarding the quality of the end product. With this end in

view the Indian Standard Institute, a semi-Government organisation, has been assigned this task in addition to other spheres of work of the I.S.I. After showing the exhibition in great detail Dr. Sadgopal took me to his library, which is quite an impressive one. With smile in his face he pulled out a binder of the I.S.I. showing me the standards that have already been drawn and others that are in hand. I looked at his face, and he was quite proud of the part he played in formulating the standards. It was made clear to me that they are yet to go a long way not only in drawing fresh standards but keeping simultaneous contact with the modern trend of development for revising those already drawn. Its importance will be best understood when we remember about our past achievements and decay for the lack of our scientific inquisitiveness both in following a standard and bringing it up-to-date with the march of science and taste. That is why Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh remarks :

> "(Formulation of standards) will ensure that in future this industry will not suffer in the unfortunate manner in which it received a setback due primarily to poor standards of output, adulteration and inadequate methods and processes in the past."

Publicity

Due importance should also be given to publicity. Although Indian philosophy of life does not encourage self-advertisement, it should be understood clearly that self-tomtoming and publicity are not one and the same thing. If the setting up of standards is important from the point of view of creating public confidence, then proper publicity to keep the public informed about achievements made is no less important. It not only creates confidence in the consumer-*cum*-producer world, it also attracts talents without whom it is not possible to achieve anything. Till today only a few talented persons have been persuing this path in spite of neglect and other handicaps. Dr. Sadgopal mentioned to me the various obstructions and cold attitude he had to face when he chose this branch of Chemistry for his research work some three decades ago. This attitude, coupled with the economic condition in the country are good enough to keep away many from this line. Reverse will be the case if and when we have impressed upon the public the economic importance and potentialities ensuring a future career for those who may choose this branch as their life's pursuit.



Sri K. L. Agarwal, I.F.S., President, Forest Research Institute and Colleges, Dehra Dun, delivering his welcome address

The exhibition was one of the finest of its kind, yet attendance was poor. This is sufficient to justify the need for an all-round publicity. Dr. Sadgopal took a pad of perforated strips of paper which were being dipped into each bottle containing the essential oils, although he chose only a few out of the varieties shown, when he finished, both of my hands were full with those strips. I brought these home and have kept them in my almirah; four months have passed yet whenever I open the doors a sweet smell always greets me. After the burning summer days when the rains drop on the hills and dales, mother earth gives out a perfume which I am sure many will not like at all. But that smell has also been condensed in the bottle in liquid form and are being put to use in so many ways.

Samples ranging from about five rupees a pound to twenty thousand rupees a pound were exhibited. This fact in price variations alone should convince one about the economic future of the essential oils and their products.

Efforts made by the foreign firms are quite noticeable. Beautiful representations of common arts and crafts, quite appealing to the aesthetic sense, were shown under the heading "Thus They Advertise"—just the type to draw attention. Graphic statistics of progress and an well-drawn map of India within the folds of 'B' indicating the possible sources of Vetivre Roots (*khus khus*) would attract anybody.

Conclusion

Dr. Sadgopal tried to impress me about the

urgency of installing distillation plants in the various research centres without which nothing much could be done in spite of best wishes of all concerned.

This was the first symposium of its kind although a representative one in every respect. The delegates took active interest and discussed various aspects of the problem. Hopes have been raised high and there is no reason why we shall not be able to tide over the present dark days to see a bright sunny future if we are sincere enough to strive and toil.

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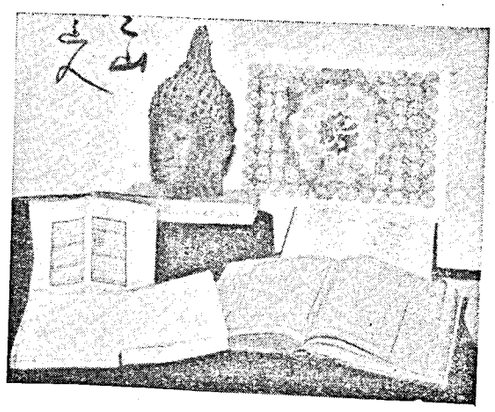
TO BROADEN ASIAN-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

In San Francisco, a notable American institution is establishing itself as a Western center of Asian culture under the direction of a Briton who has steeped himself in East Asian, Indic and Arab philosophies since he was a schoolboy at Kings School, Canterbury, England.

He is Alan W. Watts, now an American citizen, with an American wife and five children. He is Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies, a graduate school of the College of the Pacific which has its undergraduate facilities and three other graduate schools at nearby Stockton.

Claude Dalenberg, an American student and Gi-Ming Shien, Professor of Chinese Studies at the Academy, listen while Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Dean of Sanskrit and Pali Studies at the University of Ceylon, expounds a point in Buddhist philosophy



A display at the Academy symbolic of the culture of Asian and Near-Eastern countries. A Pali book with Buddhist scripture and a Koran of the 17th century are seen in the fore-ground

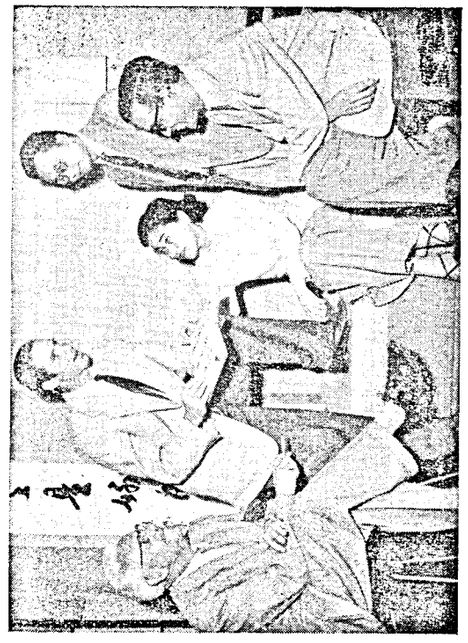
Dean Watts, now 41, was only 15 when he first became interested in Asian philosophies, and he wrote a book on Buddhism when he was 20. He has since written ten books on philosophical and religious subjects.

Dean Watts came to the United States in 1938. He wrote and lectured in New York, spent several years as a clergyman and was a religious counsellor at one of the large midwestern universities before he joined the faculty of the new academy, which was founded in 1951. He became Dean in 1953, a year before the academy joined the College of the Pacific. This spring, the college awarded Masters' degrees to seven Academy graduates.

The school was founded through the generosity of a San Francisco businessman, Louis Gainsborough, who is now chairman of the Academy board of governors. It now operates almost as a self-sustaining institution, and Dean Watts hopes that in the near future it may be able to support itself entirely.

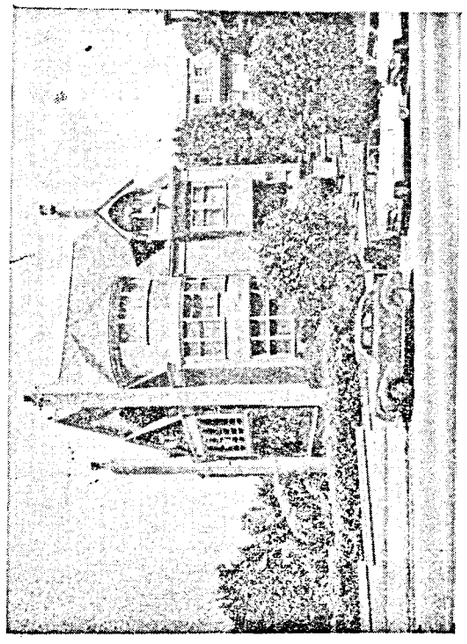
"We could operate on the basis of fees alone if it were not that we like to be able to finance a promising scholar from time to time, and we would like to pay our faculty adequately," he said. "The faculty members make great personal sacrifices to work here, because they believe so much in what we are doing."

He admits that for a man who has devoted most of his life to the most profound explorations into

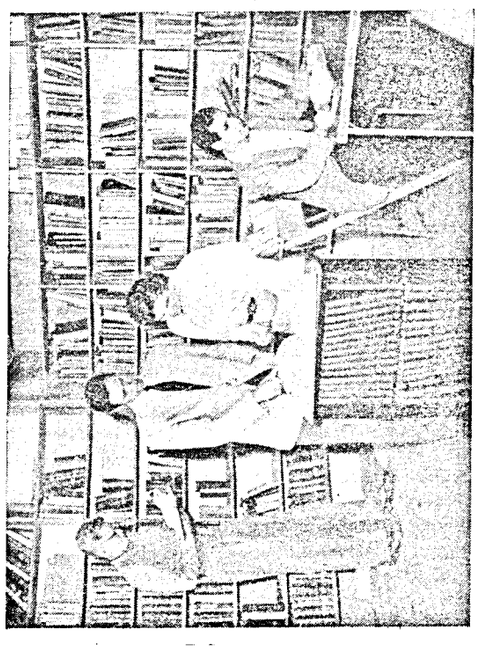


A group of the Academy faculty members at an informal meeting with Dean Watts

Rom Landau (*left*), Professor of Islamic Studies; George Dimitroff, a student; and Urmila Agarwal, instructor in Hindi, look over the magazine *Indonesia*



An exterior view of the American Academy of Asian Studies



A busy corner of the Academy library

philosophy and psychology, administrative tasks and managerial responsibilities in directing the school came hard for him. But at the end of the school year in June, he was able to report that the school had 38 candidates for degrees—twice as many as the year before—had increased the faculty, had acquired ownership of the four-story mansion which houses the Academy, had doubled its library facilities, and had begun to publish its own series of monographs.

Alan W. Watts, Dean of the American Academy of Asian Studies

The academy has two main purposes: to create a deeper knowledge among Americans of the cultural, political, and economic life of the East, and to enrich Western culture with the great works of Eastern philosophy and learning.

Dean Watts says, "We especially want young Asians to know that we study their cultures with respect, and want to learn from them."

In the annual bulletin of the Academy, a statement of its history and objectives presents this broad aim: "Its function is not only to prepare students for professions and careers directly related to Asia, but also to enrich higher education in the United States with the vast cultural contribution of the Asian world."—*USIS.*

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THE QUEEN WHO WANTED TO BE AN EMPRESS

By K. R. N. SWAMY

The marriage between the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria and Princess Marie, the daughter of the Czar of Russia, was one of the most spectacular events of 1874. The wedding took place in St. Petersburg on 23rd January, 1874 and among the galaxy of guests were the Emperors of Prussia and France.

The week following the Royal couple's return to England was marked by State Banquets and Receptions and the young Duchess of Edinburgh won the approbation of all by her charms and grace.

As such, it was a great surprise to the general public, when in March 1874, the Court Circulars revealed that the Duchess of Edinburgh would in future abstain from attending Court ceremonies and receptions.

Many reasons were suggested for this decision. The *London Times* accounted for this, by stating that as Her Highness was expecting to become a mother, she deemed her retirement from society necessary.

But according to the rumours current in the Windsor Palace, her absence was not due to her state of health, but due to a quarrel with her mother-in-law, Queen Victoria, over a matter of her precedence at Court functions.

Subsequently as events proved themselves, this reason was the correct one.

As the daughter of the Czar, the Duchess of Edinburgh not unnaturally thought, that she had a right to take precedence over the Princess of Wales—the wife of Edward, the hereditary Prince of Wales and elder brother to the Duke of Edinburgh.

The children of the Czar are Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses in their own right and are addressed as 'Imperial Highnesses'. But Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, was only the daughter of a king and was only addressed as 'Her Royal Highness'.

As such, the Dutchess of Edinburgh represented to Queen Victoria, that an Imperial Highness must take precedence over a Royal Highness and that she must be given the honour accorded to the Princess of Wales at State receptions.

Queen Victoria was considerably embarrassed by this request and tried to impress upon the Duchess of Edinburgh the unnaturalness of her plea.

Even the implication, that the English monarchy is inferior to any Imperial House of Europe, would be intolerable to the English people—the Queen explained, and gently reprimanded the Duchess of Edinburgh that the Sovereigns of England had never admitted that any of the Continental Emperors had a title to take precedence over them.

This reply did not satisfy the Duchess of Edinburgh and she informed the Queen of her decision to abstain from Court functions till a mutually satisfactory alternative was found.

Naturally the news reached the Russian capital also and England heard with interest that the Czar of Russia was about to come to England, not merely to visit his daughter, but also, if possible, to settle with the Queen the question of precedence that had disturbed her family.

Queen Victoria on her part was understood to be willing to assent to any solution, which did not confer on the wife of her second son, the right to take precedence over the consort of the heir-apparent and so the matters stood, when the Czar arrived in England on 13th May, 1874. He was received with the utmost cordiality by the Queen in Windsor.

The nature of the parley between the Czar and the Queen is not known, but the first effect of this visit was to replace the Duchess of Edinburgh in Court circulars, next of course to the Princess of Wales, but to cause her to be described as 'Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh and Grand Duchess of Russia.'

The Czar returned to Russia after a month's sojourn, but the cause of his visit and its implications long rankled in the mind of Queen Victoria.

In the Court circulars, except the Duchess of Edinburgh no one, not even the Queen was described as 'Imperial Highness' and the Queen decided to take the title of Empress, so that none of her children would be embarrassed at State reception in Continental Europe for as the scions of the Empress, all of them would be entitled to the prefix 'Imperial' to their name.

The Queen well knew that to be known as the Empress of Great Britain would provoke the animosity of the English people against the Throne and to call herself as the Empress of Australia or Canada will invite ridicule, as these colonies were then little better than wildernesses.

As such she decided on the title of the Empress of India. This she felt to be a suitable choice as Emperors were not alien to Indian tradition and scarcely twenty years had passed since the last of the Mogul Emperors had been deposed.

But when she broached the matter to the British Prime Minister, Disraeli, he was not at all enthusiastic. There had been some question of this in 1858, at a time when India had been brought under the Crown after the Sepoy Mutiny and Disraeli had supported it in principle.

But in 1876, the moment was unfavourable. Disraeli knew that this rather un-English idea would be attributed to the Prime Minister's love for Oriental tinsel and further he had to get the approval of the Parliament to have the Royal title changed.

As such he requested the Queen to wait for a few more years, till the atmosphere could be made more congenial for such a Bill to be brought in the Parliament. But the Queen was firm in her insistence and Disraeli had to accede to her wishes.

The Prince of Wales had made a tour of India in 1875 and the Queen decided to use the 'tumultuous' welcome he had received at the hands of the Indian Princes an excuse for her assumption of this title.

As such, while opening the session of the Parliament in January 1876, she declared that among the various Bills that were to be passed by the Parliament in that session, one would be that for her assumption of a title derived from India. She judiciously did not mention as to what the title was to be.

The Royal Titles Bill was moved by the Prime Minister in the Parliament on 7th February, 1876. He had some idea, that it would be against the prerogative of the Crown if he stated as to what the new title was to be.

But most of the members objected to this contention and during the second reading of the Bill it became apparent to Disraeli that the Bill would not be passed unless the new title was disclosed.

As such, he reluctantly made it public that the Queen would be assuming the Title of the Empress of India. The Parliament was surprised to hear this news and the public outcry was great.

The English do not like changes. The Queen had always been the Queen; why should she not continue so? "The title of the Empress," said the Puritans, "evokes the images of conquest, of persecution and even of debauchery."

Pamphlets were published, "How little Ben, the innkeeper, changed the sign of Queen's Inn to the Empress Hotel Ltd., and what was the result?" or "Dizzi-Ben-Dizzi, the Orphan of Bagdad."

The foreign embassies found it a comical story. "It is the freak of an artist and kingmaker in Dizzy (Disraeli)," wrote the French Charge d'Affairs. "In the Queen the freak of an upstart; she imagines that her standing will be raised and that her children will find a better place for themselves in life with this Imperial title."

"It is my impression that it is a grave mistake thus to raise the veil which ought to cover the origin of Crowns, these things ought not be played with. One is born an Emperor and a King: but it is very dangerous to become one."

The Queen was much grieved by the opposition shown to her wish and especially by the personal attacks, which her plans had loosed against the Prime Minister.

The Peers of the House of Lords were as

reluctant as the House of Commons to sanction the adoption of any exotic titles by the Crown and the Crown on its part did not scruple to bring in personal pressure. Lord Shaftesbury, the most influential of the Peers, was summoned to the Court after an interval of 20 years.

"I dread the interview", wrote the aged noble in his private diary, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old and dislike being far away from assistance, should I fall ill at night. The Queen sent for me in 1848 to consult me on an important matter. Can it be so now?"

But the Queen did not even as much as allude to the topic during the interview, but as Lord Shaftesbury shuffled away from the hall, a Lord-in-waiting approached him and requested him to convey the Queen's views regarding the matter to his compeers in the House of Lords.

But Lord Shaftesbury decided to act according to his conscience and on 3rd April 1876, he moved an Address to the Queen in the House of Lords, humbly beseeching her 'not to take the title of Empress.'

"As Empress, the title had a feminine softness," he appealed, but "in future as Emperor it will have an air, military, despotic, offensive and intolerable."

It fell to Disraeli's lot to reassure everybody. As regards the evil associations with the name of the Emperor, he pointed out that the golden age of humanity had been the era of Antonines.

As for the title of the Queen, it would be maintained in England and in all documents relating to Europe. Only in Acts concerning India and in the commissions of officers (who might be called upon to serve in India) the title of the Empress of India would follow that of 'Defender of the Faith'.

Finally, the House of Commons reluctantly accepted all these assurances, but strangely enough the House of Lords was more adamant. The Government got 137 votes in favour of the title and against the Bill were 91 votes including that of Lord Shaftesbury and eight Dukes.

Symbolic of the public opinion was the comment expressed by the *Saturday Review*, which termed the title as 'vulgar and impolitic appelation.'

But the Queen was overjoyed to know the result. When at last she had her title, she wrote to the Prime Minister Disraeli, a letter of thanks, signing it 'Victoria Regina et Imperatrix' with a childlike delight.

Then the New Empress gave a dinner, at which she appeared contrary to all her customs, covered with the oriental jewels presented to her by the Indian Princes.

At the end of the repast, Disraeli rose, in conscious violation of etiquette and proposed the health of the Empress of India in a short speech as crowded with imagery as a Persian poem. The Queen far from being scandalised, responded with a smiling bow that was almost a courtesy.

In India, the proclamation of the Queen as the Empress of India (Kaiser-i-Hind) was made at Delhi in the presence of the Viceroy and the great feudatories of the Empire on 1st January, 1877.

A banner and a medal were given to the princes to commemorate the event and five of the most important rulers, the Holkar, the Scindia, the Maharajah of Kashmir, the Maharajah of Travancore and the Maharana of Udaipur were granted the right of having 21 salvoes fired in their honour during ceremonies, just like the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Viceregal dignity was raised to 31 salvoes.

The latter step caused some disappointment among the princes, as the Holkar and the Scindia, whose claim was to hold higher status than the Viceroy in their own dominions and equal rank with him elsewhere, found themselves deprived of this right.

This scenic display was a little tawdry and theatrical and the grizzled English officials, who had been accustomed to see austere statesmen and stern soldiers on the Viceregal Throne, were perplexed to find the Empress of India represented by a Viceroy, who appeared to enjoy keenly the orientalism of the function and saw no absurdity in representing the majesty of the Empire on the back of an elephant, which had been painted white for the occasion.

Yet the ceremony was not without deep meaning. It represented the final triumph of the new system, by which, instead of ruling India by a paternal bureaucracy (whose aim was to sweep away all potentates who stood between it and the people), the hereditary rights of the princes were recognised and they themselves made the corner-stones in the fabric of the Empire, of which the Kaiser-i-Hind was proclaimed as the apex or the Crown.

It was therefore not without significance, that the only class unrepresented at the Proclamation was the Indian People. Yet, one occasionally heard of the Indian People.

A quarter million of them had been drowned in a cyclone in Bengal, when the debate on the Imperial title was going on in London. Eight million of them were in agonies of famine in central India, when that title was proclaimed in Delhi.

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THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR-GENERAL UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By V. K. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.,
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The recent discussion in Parliament in regard to the arrangements for auditing proposed by the Government of India for the Life Insurance Corporation have brought to the fore the importance of a correct appreciation of the position of the Comptroller and Auditor-General under the Constitution. The Government of India are of the view that it is not necessary for the Comptroller and Auditor-General to be entrusted with the audit of the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation. The Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit is stated to be 'conventional' and 'mechanical' and such audit will be entirely unsuitable to the accounts of the Corporation. They, therefore, seem to think that his audit will be undesirable. The Government of India have objected even to a proposal that the appointment of private auditors should be made on the recommendation of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that he should have the power to conduct a test audit of the accounts in addition to the audit by the private auditors who are proposed to be appointed by the Corporation with the approval of the Central Government.

Is the position taken up by the Government of India justified? What is the kind of audit that the Comptroller and Auditor-General now conducts in regard to the transactions of the Union and the State Governments? Is the nature of the audit conducted by him in regard to these transactions and the results thrown up by his audit from year to year embodied in Audit Reports and considered by the Public Accounts Committee of such a character as to warrant the views held by the Government of India? Anyone who is acquainted with the growth of the Indian Audit Department from its origin and its present organisation and methods of work will readily appreciate that the position taken up by the Government of India is not justified. Cases of serious disregard of the financial interests of Government, misuse of public money, defalcations, serious errors in accounting, manipulations in accounts, etc., etc., reported in the Annual Audit Reports on the accounts of the Central and State Governments, the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee thereon and the orders of Governments disposing the Audit Reports, present an impressive picture of solid achievement. Certainly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's audit has not been merely 'mechanical' and 'conventional.' No doubt there is a mechanical and conventional side to his audit. But this cannot be omitted even by private auditors; the Government of India will themselves not agree to such an audit being dispensed with. The audit conducted by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, however, does not comprise merely the mechanical and conventional checks. His officers rise above these checks and conduct what is known as Higher Audit or audit against propriety which is explained in paragraph 84-85 of the Audit Code reproduced below:

"84. It is an essential function of Audit to bring to light not only cases of clear irregularity but also every matter which in its judgment appears to involve improper expenditure or waste of public money or stores, even though the accounts themselves may be in order and no obvious irregularity has occurred. It is thus not sufficient to see that sundry rules or orders of competent authority have been observed. It is of equal importance to see that the broad principles of orthodox finance are borne in mind not only by disbursing officers but also by sanctioning authorities.

"85. No precise rules can be laid down for regulating the course of audit against propriety. Its object is to support a reasonably high standard of public financial morality, of sound financial administration, and devotion to the financial interests of Government. . . . The proper discharge of duties by an Audit Officer in this field is a very delicate matter and requires much discretion and tact."

From the above it will be seen that it is an essential and important part of the Auditor-General's audit to see that the audit is conducted in such a manner as not to lose sight of financial propriety and the larger interest of the taxpayer. This he does to the extent he can as an 'external' auditor on the basis of the record made available to him. No private auditors can do more than this; in practice, however, they generally conduct only the routine checks and scarcely raise any questions of propriety or financial wisdom.

It may also be pointed out in this connection that the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not new to Life Insurance audit; he has been conducting the audit of the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance ever since it was started and it cannot be argued that the accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation will be far different from the accounts of the Postal Life Insurance transactions.

Apart from the Auditor-General's competence and suitability to take up the audit of the accounts of the

Life Insurance Corporation we have to consider what his position under the Constitution is and whether the attitude of the Government of India is in consonance with the position accorded to the Comptroller and Auditor-General in the Constitution. Under Article 148 of the Constitution there shall be a Comptroller and Auditor-General of India who shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal and shall only be removed from office in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of the Supreme Court. Under Article 149 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General shall perform such duties and exercise such powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the States and of any other authority or body as may be prescribed by or under any law made by Parliament. Under Article 150 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General is given the power to prescribe, subject to the President's consent, the form in which the accounts of the Union should be kept and in Article 151 *ibid*, the Comptroller and Auditor-General's Reports should be presented by the President, or by the Governor or Rajpramukh, before Parliament or the Legislature of the State as the case may be. The fact that the founding fathers of the Constitution have considered it necessary to make the above provisions in our Constitution clearly shows the importance to be accorded to the office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his indispensability. He is to be the supreme authority in regard to matters of audit of the transactions of the Union and State Governments. Although the actual content of his functions is left to be prescribed by Parliament as a matter of detail, there is no doubt that the Constitution clearly envisages the Governments in India to look up to the Comptroller and Auditor-General as their pundit in regard to accounts and audit. His independence of the Government of India and of the State Governments whose accounts he audits is fully secured by the provision in the Constitution that he cannot be removed by the Executive. He can be removed only by both Houses of Parliament on a resolution supported by a two-thirds majority in each House on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. His Audit Reports cannot be withheld by the Executive but should be placed before Parliament or the State Legislatures as the case may be. He is an officer of Parliament entrusted with the duty of audit on its behalf and enjoined to bring to its notice all irregularities which he cannot settle with the Executive Government. These provisions make for his complete independence and he is thus in a position to discharge his duties without fear or favour or affection or illwill according to the terms of the oath of his office. An officer who is thus given under the Constitution the highest conceivable status in matters of audit and accounts and who is in a position to discharge the duties laid upon him without fear or favour or affection or illwill cannot certainly be found unsuitable for conducting the audit of the Life Insurance Corporation. To say so will be slighting the Constitution. The private auditors who may be appointed, with the approval of the Central Government, to conduct the audit of the Corporation can scarcely claim independence for their position as they are the creatures of the Corporation and the Government and they cannot afford to do anything which will displease them; their reappointment as auditors may depend upon their being good boys. This is the weakest position in the proposal of the Government of India to appoint private auditors for the *final* audit of the Corporation accounts. This, together with the point already mentioned that private auditors cannot claim more competency then the Comptroller and Auditor-General for conducting the audit, completely demolishes the case for ousting the Comptroller and Auditor-General from the field.

It now remains for me to consider the British parallel. In England, the Parliament is supreme and theoretically it can do away with the Auditor-General although in practice it will not do so. But the Government of India *cannot* do so. Governed as we are by a written Constitution we are bound to have a Comptroller and Auditor-General of a sufficiently big stature to say the last word in Audit and to say it to Parliament direct. So long as we have an officer of that status and power, we should not do anything which detracts from his position. The solution proposed of appointing a Parliamentary Committee to review the working of the Life Insurance Corporation on the model of what is being done in England, cannot be a substitute for the Auditor-General's Audit. The reason is that a Committee can do little in the matter of accounts without the help of an expert audit which covers the entire ground in advance in detail. This position will be evident from the work of the Public Accounts Committee which is based largely on the Auditor-General's audit; ninety per cent of the matter on which that Committee works is furnished by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. It is universally accepted in England that the success of the Public Accounts Committee is mainly due to the Auditor-General's audit which precedes the Committee's work.

THE CEYLON CITIZENSHIP QUESTION AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

By AJOY KUMAR GUPTA, M.A.

At a time when we in India are striving for a balance between linguistic claims and the unity of the nation in the intricacies of State Reorganisation, one can fully appreciate the demographic problem that besets our Southern neighbour, Ceylon, a racial and linguistic problem which has taken on a political slant in the attitude of the Ceylon Government towards those of Indian extraction. Starting with a pioneering batch of ten thousand in 1827, Tamils and other Indians have been going in increasing numbers to Ceylon for over a hundred years, primarily to work as estate labourers in the plantations of Ceylon. These Indian Tamils were once taken as coolies on the basis of a sacred understanding between the Government of the island and the Government of British India, promising equal rights and honourable treatment. That "gentleman's agreement" has been violated in Ceylon, as it has been, to far more spectacular proportions, in South Africa. The reason behind this step-motherly treatment is that multinational Ceylon takes the problem of preserving her sovereign identity a bit too seriously. Fear is one of the sternest of taskmistresses, and Ceylon is afraid . . . . afraid that the powerful Indian section of her highly heterogeneous population, especially because of their powerful stake in the economic and professional life of the country, would tilt the balance decisively not only in the see-saw of domestic politics, but, what is more sinister, also pull Ceylon into the ignoble position of a satellite revolving in the political and economic orbit of her powerful neighbour in the North, the Indian Union (to which it was probably connected geographically in some by-gone era). The Indians in Ceylon are nearly as much suspected and envied as are the Chinese in South-East Asia. And it is this Indian labour which has been responsible for transforming Ceylon into the "smiling tea-garden" or the "Paradise of the East." The British not only found them cheap and plentiful, but very much a sound investment as compared to the lazy, easy-going Sinhalese who absolutely refused to work! But, between the "Kangani" and the "Tundu" systems and the blood-sucking grip of the Chettiar moneylenders, recruiting, working and living conditions in Ceylon have been for the Indian labourer very much akin to slavery. Apart from their economic misery, most people of Indian origin do not even enjoy the consolation of the franchise. For the Sinhalese are afraid to give citizenship rights to Indian Tamils, lest their mounting numbers might unite with the eight hundred thousand Ceylon Tamils in dominating Ceylon. So the Indian has invariably been the scapegoat for most of the politicians and leaders of Ceylon. Ever since the first Indo-Ceylon Conference in 1940, Ceylonese leaders have insisted on the total withdrawal of the Indian population from Ceylon. Only a few years back, the Ceylon Employers' Federation was asked by the Government not to give jobs to non-Ceylonese. The inevitable reaction to such discriminatory treatment has been that the Indian labourers and organisations have been increasingly looking to the Leftists in Ceylon for sympathy and support.

It is with this background that we should discuss Ceylon's Citizenship Laws, so that we may see them in their true perspectives. The General Elections were held in 1947 under the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections Order-in-Council of 1946. This provided that every British subject resident in Ceylon for six months, and otherwise qualified, would be entitled to the vote and to political office. The Citizenship Act, No. 18 of 1948 created for the first time in the history of Ceylon the status of a "Citizen of Ceylon," which was acquirable either by "Birth" (*Descent*) or by *Registration*: For "Citizenship by Descent," an arbitrary date, 21st. September, 1948, was fixed: Those born before this deadline, and on the soil of Ceylon, would be citizens of Ceylon, either if their father was born in Ceylon, or if they could satisfactorily show that their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father were born in Ceylon. If born before this date but outside Ceylon, either their father and paternal grand-father or their paternal grand-father and great-grand-father must have been born in Ceylon. If born after 21st. September, 1948, and on the soil of Ceylon, the father must be a citizen of Ceylon when the child is born. And if born outside Ceylon, registration will be necessary. Furthermore, applications for registration must satisfy the universal condition of being of full age and of sound mind, as well as satisfy any one of the following three optional conditions: First, the mother is or was or would have been if alive, a citizen of Ceylon, and the applicant must have resided in Ceylon for ten years (if unmarried) or seven years (if married). Or secondly, the applicant must be the spouse of a citizen of Ceylon, and must have stayed in Ceylon for only a year. Or thirdly, it might be a case of *animus revertendi*, that is, if an original Ceylon citizen renounces his acquired foreign citizenship and intends to continue residing in Ceylon. Besides, twenty-five important persons are given Ceylon Citizenship for distinguished services, especially in public life, to the State and people of Ceylon, or for

such register was prepared! The basic controversy between India and Ceylon respectively was whether these people were "stateless" persons or automatically Indian nationals. Since such a divergence was irreconciliable, the most practical course was to expedite the two processes of registration either as Ceylon or as Indian citizens, postponing the consideration of the residuum till later. Unfortunately Ceylon had failed to implement this agreement both in letter and in spirit. The most glaring omission was the negligence to prepare the register of all adults of Indian origin not on the electoral rolls. In spite of this, the Ceylon Government had amended their Immigrants and Emigrants Act, ignoring Indian requests for postponement. Ceylon's recent stand that if an Indian were judged an illegal immigrant by a local court, India should accept him as a citizen, was rejected by India as inconsistent with her sovereign rights under Article 8 of her Constitution. Even if the courts were within their rights, India insisted that she could not be forced to accept these people as Indian citizens. Ceylon had also suggested that applications to the Indian High Commissioner for Indian citizenship should be distributed by the Ceylon authorities, but, considering the threats made by responsible persons in Ceylon against Indian settlers, India demurred!

If the principal aim of the 1954 Agreement was to expedite the enrolment of Ceylon citizens, the record of the Ceylon Government was disgraceful. The Indian Government ultimately arrived at the philosophical conclusion that if Ceylon's real object was to limit the number of Indians acceptable as Ceylon citizens to a small pre-determined figure like 40,000 there was no point in arguing about the terms of the Agreement. Events should take their normal course! The Ceylon authorities promptly denied these charges that they wished to restrict the number of Indians accepted for Ceylon Citizenship to a target figure. But, all the same, much impatience was voiced in the last Ceylon Parliament against the continuance of the Indo-Ceylon Pact. Yet it was gratifying to note that an underlying spirit of caution moderated such criticisms, for, as the then Ceylon Prime Minister aptly remarked, it is not possible to throw the Indians into the deep blue sea! Yet, in December 1955, the Ceylon Prime Minister wrote to Pandit Nehru that there was no purpose in pursuing the Indo-Ceylon Pact of 1954 relating to the future status of nearly a million persons of Indian origin there. Pandit Nehru replied to this letter in early February 1956. He made no suggestion that the Indo-Ceylon Pacts were unworkable or that they might be scrapped. He denied that India had gone back on her assurance to Ceylon in December 1947 that if all the Indians in Ceylon wished to retain their Indian nationality, they were welcome to do so. On the contrary, he reminded Ceylon that the latter had not given the Pacts a fair trial. So far,

Indians who wished to register themselves as Indian citizens as proposed in the Pact of 1954. Pandit Nehru stoutly affirmed that India had consistently honoured her obligatons. It was heartening to note that the tone of his reply was amicable and seemed to leave the door open for better understanding between the two neighbours on the main problem that disturbed their otherwise fraternal relations. Besides, Pandit Nehru had suggested to the Ceylon Prime Minister that the Government of India was willing to refer the controversial Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1954 to an eminent authority, acceptable to both, for arbitration, by whose interpretation India would abide. The authority could be a judicial officer or a foreigner. Though receipt of this letter was acknowledged, no reply was given by the Ceylon Government, as they did not wish to commit themselves just before the general elections in Ceylon, which was impending in April 1956.

The general elections in April 1956 resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the ruling United National Party and the rise to power of the Mahajano Eksath Peramuna party under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike. Indian hopes rose when the new Prime Minister declared that his views on foreign policy were identical with those of his friend, Pandit Nehru. Mr. Bandaranaike advocated Ceylon's adherence to the Principles of the "Panch Shila," and proposed negotiating non-aggression pacts with India and other Asian countries after the withdrawal of British forces from the bases in Ceylon. Thus would be enlarged the "areas of peace" so eloquently advocated by neutralists like our Prime Minister. But at the same time one must remember that one of the major reasons for the victory of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna over the United National Party was the former's pledge to make Sinhalese alone the national language of Ceylon, a decision decisively affecting the status of Tamils in Ceylon. Mr. Bandaranaike has revealed himself as a doctrinaire in some of his recent decisions, and doctrinaires can often be the most difficult people to tackle and bring around to a compromise. So Indians should not be too optimistic about the chances of a speedy solution of the citizenship problems in Ceylon. Yet some of Mr. Bandaranaike's assurances are definitely encouraging. He has promised to take every step possible to effectively complete the disposal of claims for citizenship from persons of Indian origin within a year, because he wishes to have a clear picture of the number that would qualify for citizenship before he gets down to dealing with the Indo-Ceylon problem. The Indo-Ceylon agreement provided for the election of some members to the Ceylon House of Representatives for representing the registered citizens of Indian origin from a separate electorate. The Ceylon authorities hoped to hold these elections when the citizenship registration roll reached about 50,000, but no such elections have been held so far while the registration has been both dilatory and restrictive. Another hopeful feature of the present situation is that Mr. Bandaranaike is agreeable to reopening negotiations with Pandit Nehru for the settlement of the problem. Recently the Thondaman wing of the Ceylon Democratic Congress urged the Ceylon Government to withdraw administrative restrictions which disqualified a large number of people from acquiring citizenship, and to review the cases of unjust and arbitrary rejections of citizenship applications, as well as not to take a hasty decision on the State language issue. Meanwhile, Mr. Bandaranaike announced he was thinking of more effective steps to check illicit immigration into Ceylon from India! The Government of India too has become more conscious of its responsibilities in checking illicit emigration into Ceylon. It has doubled the police staff patrolling the coast in Tanjore, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts to prevent illicit emigration. The results have been highly encouraging, for the number deported by the Ceylon Government's immigration control organisation dropped sharply from 87 in March to a paltry 8 in April.

Pandit Nehru has frequently reiterated in the Lok Sabha his intention to settle the Indo-Ceylon issue in a friendly way, although he admitted that the peoples of Indian descent and Indian nationals in Ceylon were being unduly discriminated against. But, after all, every cloud has its silver lining. For, unlike India's tempestuous relations (or rather, lack of relations) with South Africa, the Indo-Ceylon differences have not succeeded in ruffling the smooth surface of Indo-Ceylon relations, nor diminished the mutual sympathy and fraternal feelings of these sister nations, bonds which are further strengthened by their common membership in the Commonwealth, their partnership as Colombo Powers, and their united championship of Asian regeneration and determined fight against all forms of colonialism and insistence on better living standards and a fairer deal for the downtrodden peoples of Asia. And with the emergence of the Bandaranaike regime India and Ceylon will have in common a neutralist foreign policy and the domestic ideal of a democratic socialist State.

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and all that." Even one hot, wet laboratory with many research assistants will be apart of public ignorance.

The spread and growth of psychological work was undertaken by the University of Calcutta which has maintained a well-equipped laboratory. The achievements would, after a long effort, open an applied section with view to encourage field research. Under the auspices of this Applied Section, happy testing proposals were undertaken. From other parts of the country, Bombay and Andhra Psychology found an place in examination both in the field of teaching and research. Investigations have also started there very often by educational organizations (such Govt. and Model Factories) and other institutions. The gradual interest in the different aspects of this science is rapidly increasing. Different procedures in many places were developed with methods in their preparation, tests and questionnaires. Though they amounts to tasks in of their origin, the problems that investigators have dealt with are varied in nature. A study sponsored by the Indian Council of Medical Research on "A Psychological Study of Accidents in a Factory" undertook to devise a battery of tests to select industrial workers who are free from accidents. In another accidents study, the investigator aims at his to be selected and with which conditions (such "proving the machine tools . . . the top for we have accidents susceptibility . . . ." An enquiry under the observations in Calcutta showed that some leaders in war and safety measures in education, leaders in factory had fewer accidents caused. Skilled workers showed accidents more frequently than unskilled." In an investigation some 100 girl students between class developments were found from "select, were normally and abnormal cases of the best and poor [illegible] on "dull" children behind [illegible] Test.

In the field of vocational selection, industries on psychological principles are getting attentions day by day. Bombay has really pioneered that.

"Bombay's amateur point for a vocal engineer, number of setting up a comparative examination for Bombay's training, whether the quality of such vocational tests through the understanding social conditions in which he is involved and vocational [illegible] point in the selection and training of [illegible] etc.

Hence the need for child guidance services is felt acutely. The interest in child study and child guidance can only be effectively grown by educating the public. This, of course, can be done by devoting to lectures and addresses usually under the aegis of some academic institutions, such as the one we have in Indian Psychological Association. It augurs well indeed that many books and pamphlets on child study and child management have been published recently in our Indian languages specially meant for the education of the parents.

In the field of child guidance we must know at the beginning the fundamental behaviour of a normal child and the subsequent abnormal, social or emotional developments requiring specialised treatment. Studies in this line by various investigators lead to say that the period two to five years is one of what may be termed as 'natural' instability.[24] Sanders[25] reports that "mental maturity in terms of physical, intellectual and emotional development is positively related to mental security and perhaps to impulse to adventure." Apparently then the work with developments has to be sought in schools and the author along with others is of opinion that the nursery schools should become a part of our University Psychology Laboratory so that it can play a regular role in psychological training.

The amount of research on topics bearing on practical problems in education, industry, etc., exceeds that on pure theoretical problems. A number of papers have been published on the assessment of teaching ability. Freeman[26] in course of an investigation into attitude towards teaching as a profession of four training colleges and one university training department found interesting results. Some lines of investigation in other aspects may be mentioned, e.g., "the incidence of nail-biting among school children,"[27] "handicapped children,"[28] "mental abilities of deaf children,"[29] "emotional responses of adolescent groups to certain films,"[30] etc. Though the number of such investigations is comparatively small in our country, yet workers have shown interest in this line as will be evident from the proceedings of the Indian Science Congress. But we must admit that time has come to promote further extensive research facilities with specialised research centres to cope with these problems, since much of the drawbacks both inside and outside the classroom can be traced and remedial measures suggested. It is gratifying to note that a Central Bureau of Educa-

24. Sidwell, E. L., Brit. Journ. of Ed. Psychology, Vol. 22, 1952, p. 32.

tion at the Capital has come into being while some provincial ones have also started functioning, at Calcutta. We doubt not they will prove to be of immense service to the well-being of our future generation. We wish them all prosperity and conclude with the hope that more and many more of such institutions will spread throughout the length and breadth of our country.

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A REVIEW OF INDIA'S TEA INDUSTRY

By ASIT CHAKRAVARTI,
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The importance of tea industry in our national economy hardly needs any emphasis. In India today, tea is one of the three principal contributors to our foreign exchange earnings. In point of fact, tea robbed jute of its enviable position as the biggest earner of foreign exchange in the year 1954. Its importance may also be realised from the fact that this industry alone provides employment for about a million of people in our country. Besides, revenue-receipts in the shape of export duty, Sales tax, Agricultural tax, entry, etc., should also be taken into consideration in ascertaining the importance of the industry in question. Before proceeding further, a peep into the not-too-distant past may not be quite out of place.

Post-Partitional Dislocation

The partition which split India into two new political units, Indian Union and Pakistan, disturbed the pre-existing equilibrium in our national economy. Like many other industries, India's tea industry was also affected to a considerable extent. In fact, the industry had been more affected than others. As a result of the partition, Assam and North Bengal, the leading producers of tea, were virtually cut off from the rest of India in general and from the Calcutta port, in particular. Prof. O. H. K. Spate in his brief but brilliant analysis of the impact of partition on India's tea industry observes :

"About 225,000 tons of coal are annually used in Indian tea factories and in 1947-48, supplies in the Assam Duars were so short that some defore-station took place."[1]

Thanks to "the uncommon energy and skill displayed by our railway men, the line was completed and opened to goods traffic on December 9, 1949, and to passenger traffic on January 26, 1950."[2]

There is no denying the fact that the problem of transport was thus efficiently tackled, but as Prof. Spate says, "even with this new railway, transport costs are high."[3] Prof. Spate suggests that

"The situation may be eased if recently discovered coal in the Garo Hills can be exploited."[4]

Slump of 1952

Despite the aforesaid difficulties resulting from the partition of the country, India continued to maintain her enviable position as the biggest producer-seller of tea in the world. In 1951-52, tea occupied the second place in the list of our exports contributing Rs. 93.36 crores to our foreign exchange earning. Tea accounted for 13.3 per cent of our total exports.

In April, 1951, Britain ended the war-time and post-war 'bulk-purchase' system and the London Auction, suspended since the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, was again resumed. During the inter-war years taking advantage of the seller's market the producers were rather indifferent to the qualitative aspect of their product. But in the post-war period with the return of normal conditions, the seller's market was converted into a buyer's market much to the discomfiture of the producers since the days of 'easy money' came to a close. Besides, India had to face formidable competition especially from two countries—Ceylon and Indonesia. Yet another embarrassing factor was the emphasis on quality and the quality of Indian tea was considered to be relatively inferior to that of Ceylon and Indonesia. On the top of all these unfavourable trends a slight excess of supply further aggravated the problem and landed the Indian tea industry in great uncertainties. In 1950, and also in 1951, world production exceeded world consumption, the average over-production of each of these years being 3.5 per cent. Even this slight excess resulted in the bad slump of 1952.[5]

1. *India and Pakistan* by O. H. K. Spate, Methuen & co., Ltd., London.
2. Budget Speech for 1950-51, Minister for Railways.
3. *India and Pakistan* by Spate.
4. *Ibid*, p. 294.
5. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.

Tea Tops the List in 1954

The slump of 1952 naturally exercised a dispiriting influence on the producers. Discouraged by the adversities experienced in 1952, the producers evidently proceeded with caution and circumspection with the resultant shortfall of world production by 97 m. lbs. and 13 m. lbs. in 1952 and 1953. This shortfall probably resulted in the spectacular prosperity in 1954. In 1954, export amounted to 449 m. lbs. valued at Rs. 131 crores.[6]

Tea in Trouble Again

In 1955, India produced 663 m. lbs. and in view of this record crop Government of India raised the export ceiling to 480 m. lbs., leaving 183 m. lbs. for internal consumption. But demand in foreign countries declined by about 86,860,000 lbs. India exported 363,091,000 lbs. of tea in 1955 as against 449,951,000 lbs. in 1954.

Tea market during 1955 showed no signs of stability. In London, for example, prices rose in November and December, 1954, and this trend continued till February, 1955. Thereafter the table was turned and prices started declining. The average price of North Indian tea dropped to 42d. per lb. in May and June from the November-December average of 80d. per lb. Prices, however, moved upward again and the average price realised for North India tea in 1955 was 63.59d. per lb. as against 64.03d. per lb. in 1954.[7]

From the foregoing analysis it would thus be evident that the outlook for tea in 1955 was rather disappointing. Increased production and price recession were the two notable factors which cast a gloom over the tea market. Production was high not only in absolute terms but in relative terms as well inasmuch as there had been a fall in offtake of tea by some leading consuming countries. U.K., the biggest consumer of Indian tea, for example, lifted 249,266,000 lbs. in 1955 as against 326,489,000 lbs. in 1954. This fall in imports by countries, such as, Britain and Australia, was due to 'anti-inflationary measures initiated in these countries to curb inflationary pressures there.[8] India's Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry stated in the House of the People that the recession of tea prices was due *inter alia* to the following reasons : (*a*) Slight over-production in 1955-56, (*b*) the credit squeeze in the U.K. as a necessary deflationary measure, and (c) the change effected in the system of auctions of North Indian teas.[9]

Thus despite increased production or rather because of it, foreign exchange earned by tea resulted in a short fall of earning from Rs. 131 crores in 1954 to Rs. 111 crores in 1955. Evidently, the yield of export duty was less by Rs. 11 crores from the Budget estimates.

Outlook for 1956

Price recession and a fall in offtake were the two dispiriting features in the world of tea in 1955. Of late, encouraging reports are reaching which brighten the outlook for tea in 1956. In March this year 'total shipment from Northern India amounted to 40.67 m. lbs. as against only 8.79 m. lbs. during the corresponding month of 1955 with U.K. increasing its offtake from 5.89 m. lbs. in March, 1955 to 31 m. lbs. last month.'[10] In London, 'Quality Teas' were higher by 2d. per lb. at the auction held on April 18, 1956. Yet another encouraging factor is increased *internal consumption*. It is estimated that domestic consumption will amount to 220 m. lbs. Competition from Ceylon is not expected to be very keen this year due to smaller production in that country. A message from Colombo received on April 26, says that the production shows marked decline in first three months ending March 31. Compared with the corresponding period of 1955 production figures officially released on April 26, 1956, are :

March, 1956 : 32.4 m. lbs.
„ 1955 : 43 m. lbs.

Production during the first three months this year totalled 84.4 m. lbs. compared with 103.5 m. lbs. during the same period in 1955. This decline is attributed to the adverse weather condition especially drought in mid-country and frost in up-country areas. Indonesia, another important exporter of tea, is reported to have produced a lower tea crop of 7.2 m. lbs. in February, 1956, as against 8.4 m. lbs. in the corresponding month of the previous year. Total crop during the first three months of this year was 15.1 m. lbs. as against 18.3 m. lbs. in the same period of 1955.[11]

The tea crop in Pakistan also recorded a decline despite the increase in acreage in the year under review from 74,000 to 76,500. Thus while acreage increased by 3.4 per cent, production declined by 2.8 per cent. This decline is attributed to the unfavourable weather conditions throughout the plucking season.[12]

Long-term Prospects

India continues to enjoy the position in the world of tea as being the highest producer of tea with the largest area (789,471 acres) under the crop. The second position is held by Ceylon, and Indonesia is the third largest producer. During 1955, India produced 383,091,000 lbs. Ceylon's output amounted to 380,013,000 lbs. and Indonesia's 95,610,000 lbs.[13] As exporter, India again holds the *first* position. In 1955, for example,

6. *Report*, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.
7. *Ibid*.
8. *Commerce*, 17th March, 1956.
9. *Tea Trade and Industry*, Vol. V, No. 2.
10. *Indian Finance*, April 21, 1956.
11. *NAFEN*.
12. *Ibid*.
13. *Indian Finance*, April 27, 1956.

India exported 363,091,000 lbs.; Ceylon's exports amounted to 360,858,000 lbs. It is interesting to note that Ceylon exported almost its entire production, since her internal consumption is negligible for obvious reasons. India will continue to face keen competition especially from Ceylon. But India stands on a better footing. External market is of vital importance to Ceylon. There is no denying the fact that India, too, is interested in developing the external market. But my point is that whereas Ceylon must send her tea abroad or perish, India can afford to bank upon her vast internal market. Recent estimates put the figure for internal absorption in India around 220 m. lbs. As against our level of consumption, Ceylon's internal market is very much limited. For example, if Ceylon produces 380 m. lbs., she can at least, consume about 12-13 m. lbs. Thus it is evident, that she must find out external market for almost her entire production or perish. Since India has an extensive internal market, we are better placed in this respect. As Sri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., Chairman, Tea Board, Government of India, says :

> "We, in India, are drinking roughly at the rate of half pound per head per year. It is easy to envisage the difference it will make to the Tea Industry in India if consumption went up by one pound per head per year. Then we shall be drinking more than half the tea we produce and thereby we shall be in a position to bring about a certain amount of stability in the tea industry."[14]

Problems of the Producers

While presiding over the annual meeting of the Indian Tea Planters' Association held recently Mr. N. R. Ghosh is reported to have invited the notice of the Government of India to the various liabilities which the tea industry is now faced.

"It is a moot point," Mr. Ghosh observed, "how far the implementation of the Plantation Labour Act, claim of labour for higher wages, bonus and the introduction of the Provident Fund would be possible with resources at the industry's disposal."

He also criticised the imposition of certain taxes and duties levied on the industry and said that besides being the highest taxed among Indian products India's export duty on tea was the highest except that of Ceylon. Incidentally, it may be stated here that with a view to facilitating the mechanics of exports and ensuring that the duty is related to the actual price fetched for tea in the world markets, a slab system of export duties was introduced in the 1st March, 1955. The slab system works as follows :[15]

	Rate of duty imposed per lb.
When the price of tea—	
(*i*) does not exceed Rs. 2-8-0 per lb.	4 annas
(*ii*) exceeds Rs. 2-8-0 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 3-4 per lb.	6 annas
(*iii*) exceeds Rs. 3-4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4 per lb.	8 annas
(*v*) exceed Rs. 4 per lb., but does not exceed Rs. 4-12 per lb.	10 annas
(*v*) exceeds Rs. 4-12-0 per lb.	12 annas

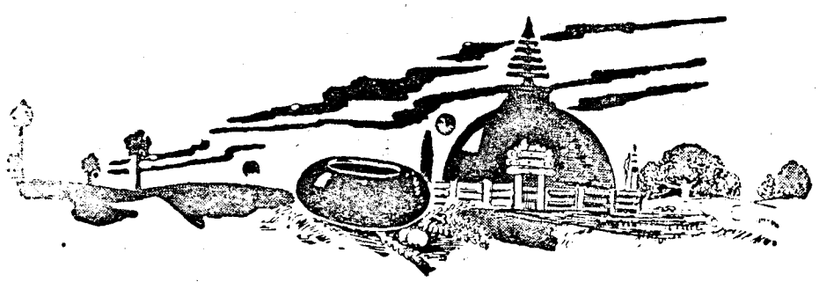
Shri U. K. Ghoshal, I.C.S., in his recent speech at the Calcutta Rotary Club[16] exhorted the producers to keep pace with time and "to give the labour a larger share than was the case before in the over-all income." As regards the complaint against higher export duty Sri Ghoshal emphasised on "the increased contribution that the industry was expected to make to public revenue either at the States or at the Centre."

"The industry," Sri Ghoshal said, "can naturally object to being asked to pay more by way of taxes. But taxes have to be paid and the problem is to find an optimum level at which an assessee can play his part and at the same time remain in his business."

He assured the producers that the Government was trying to arrive at a pattern which would not prove crushing to the industry and would at the same time "produce from this very important industry a contribution of the size that our National Plan requires."

14. *Statesman*, April 16, 1956.

15. *Report*, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1955.
16. *Statesman*, April 15, 1956.



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

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA : *By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, National Council of Education (Bengal), Calcutta. 1955. Pp. 185. Price Rs. 8.*

This well-written work consists of a series of five lectures delivered by the late lamented scholar as Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor of History at the National Council of Education (Bengal) during 1949-51. It is marked by the same qualities that adorn his other writings, namely, thoroughness and lucid exposition. In this small volume in particular the author has condensed with a remarkable clarity of expression an enormous mass of material derived from the best authorities (mostly in French). His criticisms of earlier views, whenever they occur, are characterised by a penetrating analysis and sound judgment.

Of the five lectures constituting the body of the work the first deals mainly with the movements of the nomadic peoples (Scythians, Huns, Yue-ches, Hephthalite Huns and Turks) into Central Asia from about the second century B.C. to the tenth century A.D. and their profound repercussions upon the fortunes of the neighbouring lands. In the second, third and the fourth lectures the author passes successively in review the geography and history, the language and literature, as well as the Buddhist culture of the regions of Central Asia, namely, Tokharestan (comprising chiefly the Oxus river valley) and Eastern Iran, the Southern States of Eastern Turkestan and the Northern States of the same tract. The fifth and the last lecture reviews briefly the scripts and languages as well as the literature (largely Indian in the original Sanskrit or its translations into the local languages) of the peoples of Eastern Turkestan.

There are three Appendices of a more specialised character, culled from the author's previously published writings, which do honour to his scholarship. A map drawn to scale but without references to the latitude and the longitude is given appropriately enough at the beginning of this work, while a valuable bibliography and a good index bring it to a close. One minor defect which we have noticed in this work and for which the author begs the readers' apology in advance is the total absence of diacritical marks throughout its earlier portion. We have noticed a slight contradiction on page 14 where the author says in the same breath that "the civilisation of Chinese Turkestan up to about the tenth century was mainly derived from India and Iran," and that "both China and India played a dominant role" in shaping the same. The paper, print and general get-up are good.

U. N. Ghoshal

SELECTIONS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE JUDGE-MAGISTRATE AND THE JUDGE OF PATNA, (1790—1857) : *Compiled and edited with an introduction by Dr. K. K. Dutt. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar. Pp. 422. Price Rs. 5.*

Historical studies on a scientific basis are of recent origin in India. Increasing emphasis is now being laid on the use and publication of what Ranke called "absolutely contemporary records" and reconstructing our history on the basis of their evidences. The Governments of Madras and Bombay pioneered this enterprise. Hyderabad followed suit and now the Government of Bihar has joined in this laudable task and set an example for its neighbours to follow.

The records embodied in this volume relate to a variety of topics which have been classified under headings, such as, political, administrative, customs, excise, banking, jails, roads and bridges, public buildings, thuggee and dacoity, education, sati and slavery. They range from 1793 to 1857 and diffuse light *mainly* on the history of North and South Bihar.

The first portion of this volume comprising the documents on matters political have, however, a wider appeal. They relate to the French interest in India, the Danish factory at Patna, Portuguese vicarage in the same city, Nawab Wazir Ali's rising against the British and murder of Cherry, Conway, Graham and Evans (p. 73), Raja Jhao Lal *alias* Hedayet Ali Khan's intrigues and the visit of the Nepalese envoys of Patna, March 1802 and the Tanjore Raja (for performance of pilgrimage). This section of papers has a bearing upon Indian history as a whole, however, inconsequential it might be. There are other documents which, though exclusively of local interest, are of great merit. Read, for instance, the syllabus for the *Arabic and Sanskrit Junior Scholarship Examination*," p. 412, the Government circular (1845) announcing its desire to start 101 schools in the districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttack for education of the people in the vernacular reading and writing, arithmetic, geography and the history of India and Bengal (pp. 407-410). Even the circular, granting 15 days holiday *on the occasion of the Muharram*, a month's *on the occasion of the Dusserah and the Diwali*, a two-days' holiday on the occasion of the *Harichattar Mela* (with a virtual suspension of business in the Judges' Court for a week), offer an interesting reading. Similarly, the Patna Collector's statement (pp. 182-183), tabulating the expenditure of a sum of one thousand rupees by Maharaj Kalyan Singh in 1802, in gifts and charity to the Muslims on the occasion of the Id festivals as well as the assumption of the title of Hedayet Ali Khan by the Saksena Kayeth of Oudh, Jhau Lal and

the designation of his wife as Najibunnisa Begam (p. 109), give us an idea, though faint and shadowy, of the tolerance and amity that marked the Hindu-Muslim relation in those days.

In the 18th century, Patna had grown into an important centre of Muslim influence and authority in Eastern India. This city produced such eminent Wahhabi leaders as Welayet Ali and Inayet Ali who fought the Khalsa army in the Panjab, Rahat Ali, Pir Baksh, and Shah Kabiruddin of this city hatched a dangerous conspiracy against the British in concert with Raja Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur in 1845 (the relevant documents will be shortly published by the reviewer). Hence, possibly the titular Nawab of Murshidabad, Tipu Sultan's son Yasin, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan's brothers, Wazir Ali's agents are described either as peregrinating or seeking asylum in this State.

There has been a considerable advance of our knowledge on the history of the Company's Rule in India *in recent years*. The editorial note has taken note of them and is therefore of the desirable quality and standard.

N. B. Roy

DIANETICS: The Modern Science of Mental Health: *By L. R. Hubbard. Derricke Ridgway, London. Pp. xvii + 404.*

The title of the book might lead one to presume the existence of an established science called Dianetics. The term 'dianetic,' however, is a derivative of the word *dianoetic* which according to Warren's Dictionary of Psychology means: "pert. to the intellectual functions in general, esp. reasoning"; consequently, if it were forcibly used to mean any specific system in psychology or 'the modern science of mental health,' dianetics would have little sustaining power amidst the existing schools of psychology.

On going through the book a bewildered reader may justly feel like inquiring what, after all, is the big idea? The introduction written by The Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc. (*sic.*) opens with the canonical statement, "The major contribution of the Dianetic theory to the field of psychology and psychotherapy are seven fundamental assumptions." Assumptions are assumptions even if they were made to appear like seven pillars of wisdom. Every science starts with assumption but can one accept a science whose final conclusions are admittedly assumptions? In the foreword written by a medical person we are assured, "The technique of dianetics theory is basically simple and can be understood and applied to each other by any two reasonably intelligent people after a brief study of this volume. . . . No previous background in psychoanalysis or psychology is necessary." Very reassuring indeed as it sounds very much like psychoanalysis or psychology without tears. It is rather curious, however, that a subject, to understand which no previous knowledge of psychology or psychoanalysis is required, may by itself have major contributions to make to the fields of psychology and psychotherapy!

If a reader insisted on reading the book through, as the reviewer had had to do—a task needing a very great amount of patience, he may be entitled to comment upon this enigmatic science as simply a prototype of faith cure trying to appear scientific with borrowed buntings of psychoanalysis and psychology. The underlying thesis, more precisely, the assumptions and the presumptions—are highly spiced with special terms dexterously deduced from science to suit particular occasions ('symbiote,' 'perceptice,' 'keying-in the engram') and verbiage coined with little restraint (basic-basic, 'demon,' 'bouncer').

Lest the reader may forget, he is repeatedly reminded, "Dianetic is extremely simple." Possibly. That, also, is the source of its weakness. Printing is good indeed.

S. C. Mitra

LECTURES IN INDIA: *By Keshub Chunder Sen. Navavidhan Publications Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. ix + 551. Price Rs. 6.*

The name of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen has become almost a household word to educated India. He was a force in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He is popularly known and respected as a first-rank Brahmo leader. But those who had at least some acquaintance with the affairs of the last century, know and appreciate what a great nation-builder Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen was. He strove hard to build New India on the spiritual plane. But he did not forget the day-to-day problems of human life. He took a keen interest in things Indian. He thought and acted in terms of Mother India. And he may be called the first apostle of Indian nationhood inasmuch as he sought to blend the different aspects of Indian life on a sound foundation.

Brahmananda's nineteen speeches have been given in the book under notice. His epoch-making speeches on "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia," "Great Men," "Regenerating Faith," "Inspiration," "India Asks: Who is Christ?," "Asia's Message to Europe," and many other speeches sent a thrill into the mind of the audience, when they were first delivered in public meetings. These speeches are still inspiring and instructive. And the country will be benefited if instructions couched in these lectures are followed by the people. These have inspired even friends of other lands, and have undergone translations in their mother-tongues. The language of the speeches comes direct from the heart and cannot but touch the heart of the reader and elevate it to a noble and high status. People who listened to his speeches have testified also this fact; and we most earnestly wish that such inspiring and soul-elevating lectures might be delivered today! The subject-matter of most of the speeches is spiritual, but it has been dressed in such an easy and flowing style, and suited to the yearnings of the common man that it cannot but be appealing and inspiring. We welcome the handsome and handy reprint. Needless to add, the book will repay perusal.

Jogesh C. Bagal

INDIA: DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION (A Study of the work of the Birla Education Trust): *By Jossleyn Hennessy. Orient Longmans Ltd. 1955. Pp. 338 + 115 photographs. Price Rs. 15.*

It must have been a very auspicious moment for India when Ghanshyamdas Birla decided he would divert a part of the fabulous millions from his intricate and far-flung empire of commerce towards some really worthy, if apparently non-profit-making in the usual material sense, cause, such as the propagation of education and of all the fine values it stands for. To this admirable sentiment we owe the birth, in January, 1929, of the now-famous Birla Education Trust (of which G. D. Birla himself is chairman) based mainly on Pilani, the Birlas' home village in arid Rajasthan. Over the years, fed and nurtured on the right lines, the Trust has grown up into an elaborate and well-administered organisation, modelled essentially on the English public schools system, where, in ideal physical and natural conditions, six thousand boys and girls drawn from all parts of India are given a fine, all-round, healthy modern education—the sort of equipment that our future statesmen and administrators will need in the new India that is now shaping. The Trust's activities have increased from year to year and are still expanding into fresh fields and today the Pilani endeavour must be reckoned as among the best that this country can offer in the field of education.

Somewhere along the way, it was decided that a kind of conspectus detailing the Trust's many-sided activities and experiments should be issued and a special grant was made for this purpose. Mr. Jossleyn Hennessy, who was a well-known figure in India during the years of World War II, was entrusted with this task, a task to which he devoted himself with rare zest and thoroughness. Mr. Hennessy utilised this opportunity to survey the entire field of education in this country, its many ills and inadequacies and also certain dangerous recent trends in isolated areas. Mr. Hennessy has gone to the roots of his subject and the results of his painstaking investigation should be considered and deeply pondered over by our educationists and by those whose business it is to look after the interests and welfare of our students.

We unhesitatingly commend this book to educationists and public men who will find it both stimulating and profitable reading. The 115 photographs (including one of Mr. G. D. Birla) enliven the text considerably.

In the end, a spot of pious wish-making. Reading this book about Pilani, one is tempted to express a hope that many more of our leading industrialists and people who have tons of idle money hidden away in secret caches, would come forward and establish similar nation-building institutions all over the country. For, in the last analysis, glory and bliss lie not in parading shiny automobiles or resplendent palaces, nor in blandly exhibiting jewelleries and rare gems, but in relieving the suffering of fellow humans and in fighting the twin curse of ignorance and hunger that ultimately kill the fine and noble flower that is human life.

Ramesh Ghoshal

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RURAL INDIA: *By Dr. S. N. Mukerji. Published by Acharya Book Depot, Baroda. First edition. 1956. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 10.*

The truth is being gradually realised that the future of the country depends on the education of the people of the country and after the attainment of independence the country's mind has been deeply stirred for a solution of this vital problem. The soul of India lived in villages. To educate and vitalise the people the countryside cannot be brought to the towns and the cities but educational institutions have to be spread to the rural areas and adapted to the regional needs.

In the present volume Dr. Mukerji has examined the educational problems of rural India and offered schemes of higher Secondary Schools and Universities on the models of American institutions for improvement of Indian villages. His analysis and suggestions are thorough and comprehensive and deserve careful consideration. Printing and get-up are excellent.

Narayan Chandra Chanda

DIVINE LIFE FOR CHILDREN: *By Swami Sibananda. Published by the Yoga Vedanta Forest University, Ananda Kutir, Post, Rishikesh, Himalayas. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The author of this little volume is a prolific writer and dynamic Hindu monk devoted to the spread of our religion and multifarious allied activities residing in the quiet and cool atmosphere of Rishikesh. This book is essentially meant for little ones who are the citizens of tomorrow. It is written in an easy and lucid style. A number of interesting stories from our immortal epics and Puranas, the inspiring anecdotes of sages and saints, moral instructions and indispensable information of general knowledge fill the pages of this little book. It has, in fact, ended in eighty-five pages and then a long list of panegyrics of the eminent persons of modern India and the West have been collected from different sources to blazon the greatness and magnanimity of Swami Sivananda. Frankly speaking, it is nothing but a kind of self-advertisement which is the less done the better. It has belittled the force and worth of the booklet and defeated its purpose. The book is expected to be useful to the English-speaking children for whom it is mainly written.

Shibani Prasad Maitra

THE TECHNIQUE OF PLANNING IN INDIA: *By N. B. Sapre, M.A. Published by the author from 855, Shivajinagar, Poona-4. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this book the writer has given a short history of various plans for industrial development of India since Netaji Subhas Bose as Congress President appointed a planning committee under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The book is divided into ten chapters and the subjects discussed are Assumptions and Form of Planning, Establishment of Central Organisation, Objectives, Priorities, Estimating, Building Targets, etc. The author on several occasions has compared the English industrial methods with the planning of other countries although the former refers to yearly programme in place of three to four years' planning of other countries. The treatment in these pages is more or less statement and examination of the theories regarding planning and as such only satisfies requirements partially of students and general readers.

A. B. Dutta

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MSS. (Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV): *Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. 1955. Pp. ix+62. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This neat volume, the last and the smallest of the Series, describes 89 MSS. only on eight different subjects. Prof. Chakravarti has given all up-to-date information on the works which are surveyed in a brilliant and interesting introduction. Scholars working on Sanskrit books of music, game of chess, erotics and such other minor subjects will be benefited by a perusal of the volume. The price of the small book seems to be prohibitive.

D. C. Bhattacharyya

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SCIENCE IN THE VEDAS: *By Hans Raj. Published by Sakti Publications, Model Town, Ludhiana. Price Re. 1-12.*

This booklet seeks to shew that the Vedic hymns have reference to a number of scientific theories of modern times, especially regarding electricity, magnet-

ism and water. Elaborate quotations are given from different parts of the vast Vedic literature in support of the views of the learned author. In his opinion Vedas indicate that Agni and Soma and the two Asvins represent two kinds of electricity, positive and negative (p. 16); that the ancient Aryans believed that the basic elements of the material world are two kinds of electricity now called 'electrons' and 'protons' (p. 26); and that water (*Vasistha*) is produced by the combination of oxygen (*Mitra*) and hydrogen (*Varuna*) as father and electricity (*Urvasi*) as mother (p. 29). It is true that the Vedas have been interpreted both figuratively and mythologically from very early times. But it would seem that the latter method has appealed to the people at large who are generally attracted to the Vedas for their spiritual outlook which is more apparent or sometimes for their poetry which occasionally is vivid and fascinating.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJNARAYAN BASU: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243-1, Upper Circular Road. Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.*

This is the fortyninth book in the series entitled "Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala." As a thinker, writer, social reformer, patriot and above all as a man, Rajnarayan Basu is held by his countrymen in high esteem. Rabindranath has drawn a memorable penpicture of this eminent man in his Reminiscences.

In this short but copiously informative biography, the author has not only given us a full record of his life, but also shown his relation and contribution to our cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century. Sri Bagal has voluntarily undertaken the task of presenting before us the great ideas and achievements of our last generation and this book may be regarded as a part in the execution of that task. This too, like his other works, is marked by his characteristic precision and careful selection of materials. Not carried away by sentiments, he ably builds up the character he means to present, on the solid foundation of facts.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

BHARAT DARSHAN—CHITRON ME (Seeing India—Through Pictures): *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, March, 1955. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is an attempt to give a bird's-eye view of India through illustrations. It is divided into ten parts, each with a preface of its own. Natural beauties, ancient heritage, modern life, social work, scientific researches, commercial enterprise, military administration and Government secretariat—are all represented. Sports, recreations, festivals, health resorts have their share. Surely the volume does not attempt a complete representation; the four hundred pictures are not sufficient to give one a complete understanding of our country passing through different phases, but the object is different; it is an acquaintance with India, an introduction to this marvellous land.

The brief prefaces to the different parts have been ably written. The style is lucid. The book provides both entertainment and information, and it contributes a substantial addition to the publications of the Government of India.

P. R. SEN

GOKHALE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.*
ASPRISHYATA: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 20. Price three annas.*
HARIJAN SEVAKON KI LIYE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 46. Price six annas.*
VIDYARTHIYON SE: *By Gandhiji. Pp. 226. Price Rs. 2.*
All available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

The late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, founder of the well-known pioneer institution for self-sacrificing national service—the Servants of India Society—was Gandhiji's political preceptor. At their very first meeting in 1896, each seemed to recognise in the other his long-lost kindred, and from that moment there grew up between the two a holy and wholesome relationship. And Gokhale continued to be Gandhiji's shining pillar of strength in the latter's epic nonviolent struggle in South Africa. The pamphlet, *Gokhale*, is an account of Gandhiji's several meetings with his political master and mentor and of his touching tributes to the latter's memory.

Untouchability is a heinous crime against both Man and God. And as such it has no place in religion as well as society. It must, therefore, go root-and-branch. *Asprishyata* deals with Gandhiji's views on the subject in question-and-answer form. *Harijan Sevakon Ki Liye* is a companion volume, in which Gandhiji has given detailed instructions to workers who have engaged themselves in the righteous crusade to erase "man's inhumanity to man" in India.

Vidyarthiyon Se contains Gandhiji's answers to the one-hundred-and-one questions pertaining to politics, religion, character, marriage, education, constructive work, violence, etc., referred to him by a large number of students. These are full of the affection of a true friend, and the admonition of a true father. And was not Gandhiji both a unique friend and a father to the people of India, particularly to the students? *Vidyarthiyon Se* should be on the shelf of every student.

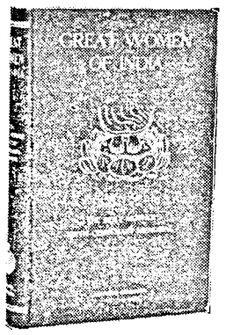
G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATNA NAGARONUM FARSI BHASHA ANE SAHITYANUN KHEDAN (Intimate Knowledge of the Persian Language and Literature of the Nagars of Gujarat): *By Prof. Dr. Chhotabhai Ranchhodji Nayak, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Published by the Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp. 112. Price As. 12.*

Persian was the Court language during the time of the Muslim rule in Gujarat as elsewhere in India. Those persons, therefore, who aspired to be court functionaries and favourites had to study that language. The Nagar Brahmin community of Gujarat and Saurashtra is by instinct an intelligent community and no wonder if it produced intellectuals of high calibre, whose study was deep and wide. Names like Sarabhai of Ahmedabad and his son, Bholanath, Ranchhodji Divan of Junagadh, are outstanding examples in this category, who knew Persian as well as their mothertongue. The Kayastha community of Surat, followed closely in the wake of the Nagar community in this respect. The writer has worked well in the way of research and, given as much biographical details as possible, of all the scholars therein; the last one being Balashankar Kantharia of Nadiad. They were good scribes and calligraphists.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA



Issued to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of Sri Sarada Devi—the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna

Editors
SWAMI MADHAVANANDA
DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Introduction by
DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

"The position of women in any society is a true index of its cultural and spiritual level."

"THIS VOLUME, which commemorates the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman of our time, is an attempt, the first of its kind, to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last five thousand years, and to present a kaleidoscopic picture of their dreams and visions, hopes and aspirations, through an illustrative study of the lives and achievements of the more outstanding among them.... Quite a fascinating picture unfolds itself in the pages of this book. It is a long procession, through the ages, of Indian women who attained greatness in various spheres of life and culture—political and aesthetic, moral and spiritual," says Dr. Radhakrishnan in his Introduction.

THE VOLUME is divided into two main sections. The first gives a general survey of the ideals and position of Indian womanhood in different spheres of life, both in the past and in the present, together with a chapter on the evolution of Mother worship in India. The second section is a study of the lives of great women in India—not only those who actually lived and died, but also many others who are known only from literary sources such as the Vedas, Epics, Puranas, and classical Sanskrit literature.

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6. GANDHIJI—A STUDY: *By Shantilal Maganlal Desai. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 4.*

All paper-cover. Published by Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951 : 1952.

This highly admirable and useful series of publications, published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, founded by Mahatma Gandhiji, as the list shows, consists of books in various subjects. The book on the art of spinning contains directions in easy language for those who desire to take to spinning, and explains the method with illustrations. *Typhoid* is a useful brochure, and explains anything relating to that fell disease in popular language from the bacillus to its destroyer Chloromycetine. The advice given to a typhoid patient is to go to hospital, as one's home does not contain all those amenities and facilities which a well-conducted hospital does. *Gram Vidyapitha* is founded on Dr. A. E. Morgan's *Higher Education in Relation to Rural India*. He was a member of the Radhakrishnan University Commission and has devoted much space in its Report as to how to turn the present Degree-conferring Universities into such as would help the rural population to be both educated, cultured and useful members of society. The pace of modification of the British-founded Universities has begun but progress is lamentably slow. To such progress, this book is a good guide. The Constitution of the Indian National Congress as passed at its Ahmedabad session on 29th, 30th and 31st January, 1951, is presented here, complete in the Gujarati language, with specimens of application forms for membership. The Golden Age of Islam gives a faithful picture of the times when its prevalence and power—worldly and religious—were at their apex. Mr. Barot's study of the subject is intimate; *e.g.*, he has described how a Faithful starts and says his prayers, the genuflexions and the words uttered when offering them, God as conceived by the Muslim and the Koran, etc. It is a most useful contribution to the study of Islam, for a Gujarati-knowing person. To those interested in Gandhiji's life and activities in various spheres, this book—*Gandhiji*—furnishes a very valuable means, written as it is, in close association with him at Sevagram. It is fittingly published as the first volume in the Mahadev Desai 'Memorial Series.' Shrijut Shantilal's labour is sure to be rewarded by attracting numerous and serious readers.

EKANKI (One-Act Plays): *Edited by Gulabdas Broker and Jayanti Dalal. Published by the Indian National Theatre Prakashan. Printed at the Chitra Press, Baroda. 1951. Paper-cover. Pp. 99. Annual contribution Rs. 2.*

The Editors contemplate the issue of three such collections of One-Act plays in Gujarati per year. The present issue consists of the plays written by eminent writers like Umashankar Joshi, Jayanti Dalal, Gulabdas Broker (the Editors) and Santprasad Bhatt, all of them readable and promising better work hereafter.

PRARTHANA: *By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Published by Ishwarlal Vaulya, Kachholi* (via *Amalsad*). *Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, 1951. Illustrated. Paper-cover. Pp.* 32. *Price not mentioned.*

This small book describes the efficacy of prayer offered sincerely and with due humility. It is written in memory of Shri Gangeshwar.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Grace Plunkett
SYMBOL OF YOUNG IRELAND

Grace Plunkett is one of those Irish patriots who forgot themselves in devotion to their cause and toiled and suffered that their people might be free. R. M. Fox, writes in *The Aryan Path*:

One of the most romantic and tragic stories of the 1916 Rising in Ireland is recalled by the death in Dublin, on December 13th, 1955, of Grace Plunkett, who had married Joseph Plunkett, the rebel leader, at midnight in Kilmainham prison chapel, just before his execution. She has a special place in the history of those stormy, heroic days.

Had he lived, Joseph Plunkett would have made a big reputation as a poet, for already his verse had made him pre-eminent among the talented group. Just before the 1916 struggle began, Plunkett had to enter a nursing home for an operation. He left on Easter Saturday and stayed in a Dublin hotel. He was determined to take part in the fighting, but had arranged to marry Grace Gifford on Easter Sunday morning. Through some mistake on the part of a messenger this plan miscarried.

Grace Gifford and her three sisters were all active in the militant Irish National movement. She was unhappy at home; for her people were bitterly opposed to her activities. Her sister Muriel was already married to Thomas MacDonagh, also executed for his part in the Easter Week rising. When the rebels surrendered, Plunkett was held in Kilmainham Gaol. He had sent a message to Grace asking her to complete the arrangements for their marriage. She had the help of the priest who was to have married them earlier and she went to the prison. For the sake of historical accuracy it is best to give what followed in her own words:

"I entered Kilmainham Gaol on Wednesday, May 3rd, at 6 p.m. and was detained there till about 11-30 p.m., when I saw him for the first time in the prison chapel, where the marriage was gone through and no speech allowed. He was taken back to his cell and I left the prison with Fr. Eugene MacCarthy of James's St. We tried to get shelter for the night and I was finally lodged at the house of Mr. Byrne—bell founder—in James's St. I went to bed at 1.30 and was wakened at 2 o'clock by a policeman, with a letter from the prison Commandant, Major Lennon, asking me to visit Joseph Plunkett. I was brought there in a motor and saw my husband in his cell, the interview occupying ten minutes. During the interview the cell was packed with officers and a sergeant, who kept a watch in his hand, closed the interview by saying 'Your time is now up.'"

Every detail of that night was deeply imprinted on Grace Plunkett's memory. A few points deserve emphasis. She entered that prison for the first time at 6 p.m. She was kept waiting for five and a half hours—till 11-30 p.m.—without being allowed to see the condemned man she was about to marry. Near midnight he was taken from his cell and conducted to the altar in handcuffs. These were removed for the ceremony and put on immediately after it. Then he was marched away. The prison chapel was in darkness, except that one soldier held a lighted candle. About twenty soldiers were present and one acted as witness.

Grace Plunkett was sent away without being granted any time with her husband after the ceremony. But, at 2 a.m. they came for her again. This second time she was allowed a bare ten minutes in his cell. Even for this brief period they were given no privacy. The cell, she recalled, was crowded with officers while the time was regulated by a soldier with an open watch. "We who had never had enough time to say what we wanted to each other," she said wistfully, "found that in that last ten minutes we could not talk at all."

According to convention, a criminal condemned to death is granted certain comforts. But in the case of this patriot and his wife nothing was done to soften the harshness of their fate. Although he was still ill, Joseph Plunkett was kept in a narrow, cold cell in a disused prison where the guards needed a roaring fire. His wife had the bleakest part of the ordeal to bear. At home there was such hostility to the National struggle that she was refused admission when she returned after her husband's execution.

It happens sometimes that an ordinary man or woman, without any outstanding qualities other than faith or love, is lifted up at the crisis of a movement and remains always as a symbol of humanity, showing to what heights of sacrifice one can reach. But, besides this, Grace Plunkett was a woman of artistic gifts in her own right. When she was an art student at the Slade School in London, Sir William Orpen painted her portrait as "Young Ireland" and this hung in the doorway of the Leicester Galleries for many years. He painted better than he knew, for Grace Gifford—as she then was—has remained ever since as a symbol of the Young Ireland of those stirring days. She used her artistic gifts in the National struggle and, later, she was known for her clever cartoons of Abbey Theatre celebrities.

Her verses are an index to her personality. She wrote one in memory of the 1916 leaders who were her personal friends:

> Little we thought who watched your strength and power,
> That you would lie "defeated" 'neath the sod;
> The flag is furled that knew your glorious hour,
> Your eyes are closed now by the Hand of God,
> (And yet from age to age remember we Christ did not die in vain on Calvary.)

When this was written, the issue of Ireland's freedom still hung in the balance. Her idealism found more ringing utterance in these later verses:

Who battles with fire,
Who breasteth the flood
On the wings of desire
And armoured by God?
Round his head bowed by sorrow
The hero-light gleams,
Rise! Bright dawns the morrow
O dreamer of dreams!

Although Joseph Plunkett's name was not used in connection with this verse, I do not believe that he could have been out of her heart and mind.

Seven years after that nightmare ordeal of her marriage in Kilmainham Gaol she was bought there as a prisoner. In the struggle between the Free State and the Republic she took the Republican side. This cold, stone prison, long disused and now a ruin, was then the place where women and girl prisoners were held. She saw again the cell where the last ten minutes with her husband were spoilt by the inhumanity of his captors. Into this place of terrible memories she was hurled once more. A nurse in the prison hospital took pity on her and brought her a box of cheap paints. With these she painted the graceful figures of the Madonna and Child on the rough wall of her cell. I saw it there years later when the prison was broken and deserted, pigeons flying through the gaping windows and weeds sprouting among the ill-famed stones. It was still an appealing picture, the colours fresh and gleaming.

In this prison there was much sickness, for it was without heat and had been condemned as unfit for use many years before. Yet, when the women prisoners were told that they would be removed to the North Dublin Union, they refused to go without two of their number who were on hunger strike. Soldiers were sent at 9 p.m. to remove them forcibly, dragging them from landing to landing, throwing them down the iron staircases. Grace Plunkett described it to me as being like a picture of hell, with oaths, screams, struggles and blows. This military operation went on all night. But she paid a tribute to the wardresses who shielded the girls from brutality as far as they could.

In the early morning she was transferred to the North Dublin Union and remembered the journey, for it was in May and she saw the river and the green trees as she sped by. She was glad to be out of that grim bastille of unhappy memories. But she had to spend a further three months in the North Dublin Union before she was released. When the order for release finally came, she refused to leave without her sister, Mrs. Gifford-Wilson, who was imprisoned with her and shared her home.

I met her after these troubles, in the early thirties. And even then an artist could have taken her as a model for Young Ireland. She had not been broken by suffering. The storms had left her young, slim, erect in body and in spirit. Her proud, sensitive face had vivacity and animation. Time the greatest artist of all, had pencilled in those lines of character. Her firm chin and delicately moulded features were as clear-cut as a cameo.

I understood the terrible aftermath of 1916 when she told me how empty Dublin seemed to her then. It was not just the death of one man, however dear, but of a whole intimate group. "Something would happen," she said, "and I would think, I must tell so-and-so, then I would suddenly remember that he, like the others, was dead."

Never did she adopt any pathetic pose. She carried her courage like a gay plume. But she had quick transitions. Sometimes she was a graceful dancing figure, in a frieze-like design, then a devotee kneeling at the altar or lighting candles at a shrine. For her generation she lit the candles of truth and loyalty at the Altar of Life.

When her health failed I saw her in a nursing home. Her talk then was of early days with the Countess Markievicz and of pictures she had been painting.

At her death the wheel turned full circle. After her marriage in Kilmainham she was hurried out of the prison to make way for the firing squad which ended her husband's life. At her funeral in Dublin, picked men of the National Army fired a volley over her grave as a last salute from the Irish nation.

A New Civilisation for Africa

Rev. Michael Scott writes in *Careers and Courses*:

Role of United Nations

During the past years that the United Nations has been in existence, history has moved forward at an ever quickening pace in Africa and in the world at large. The role of the United Nations has also been assuming an increasing importance in African affairs. For many peoples in vast areas of Africa, the United Nations is the only international channel of expression of their hopes and needs to the conscience of the world. In the sphere of trusteeship and non-self-governing territories a struggle has been going on between emergent nationalism striving to find expression at the United Nations and the administering powers which, on the whole, have been on the defensive. At the time the United Nations Charter was drawn up at Dumbardon Oaks in San Francisco, it was hardly dreamt by any of the administering powers that the non-self-governing peoples would receive so much of the time and attention of the United Nations or that a special committee on non-self-governing territories would be established. At the most it was thought that Article 73, Chapter XI, would place upon them the obligation of submitting information year by year, and it came as a surprise to many of the administering powers when a special committee was appointed to deal with this information, to examine it, and make a report on it to the General Assembly. Inevitably, in a country like Africa where people are awakening quickly and are passing rapidly from the kindergarten to the adolescent stage in the growth towards self-government, there are conflicts between those who control their destiny and those who are striving to gain more and more control over their own fate.

India, through her representatives on the Trusteeship Council, has played a notable part in the work of the United Nations.

Racial Discrimination

In many parts of Africa, the development of hitherto non-self-governing peoples is not a straightforward question of nationalism. There are people of many different races living in areas of Central and East Africa. In South Africa it is the white population which governs. A white minority of two and a half million holds the overwhelming proportion of political power over the so-called non-European peoples who number ten and a half million. Asian peoples have no representation in the Councils of the State in South Africa. The African people who number three-fourths of the population are represented by three members of Parliament out of a total of 156 members. Thus, the situation has come about in the Union of South Africa whereby the great

mass of the population are unable to secure release from the many and increasing burdens which they bear and the just grievances which they find it hard even to utter. The Western world has failed to take adequate account of the fact that the character of this State is a menace to all Africa. It is spreading disillusionment and desperation amongst the non-white sections of the population and threatening to poison the whole blood stream of race relations in Africa, south of the Sahara. How much of the terrible situation now prevailing in Kenya is not due to the frustration and disillusionment which has been emanating from South Africa?

The British Attitude

In all this seething ferment which is going on in Africa today, there is need of a new stocktaking by Britain of her policies in these multi-racial territories. What is the role of Britain in Africa today? In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Britain has to her credit a low advance in self-government on the part of the African population. Few would have believed some years ago that the Gold Coast would have an African elected Prime Minister. On the whole, it is probably true to say, especially in regard to these territories, that Britain has led the way in progress towards Constitutional Government and indigeneous Parliamentary institutions Neither the French, Belgian nor Portuguese administrations nor can the other administering powers show the advancement which has taken place under British administration in West Africa. Those of us who criticise Britain's role in other parts of Africa today can draw some inspiration and encouragement from these happenings. We should not fail to give credit where credit is due. But the problems in East, Central and South Africa are very different from those of West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. And it is here that many in Britain believe that the time has come for a re-examination of the role of Britain there. This role is two-fold. It is that of trustee for the African people who sought Britain's protection during the days of slavery and the arrival of other great European powers in these African territories. But her role is also that of a mediator between the different races who have settled in Africa, who took their capital there, who have pioneered in trade, industry and education and who settled down there and who regard Africa as their home. This applies to the many hundreds of thousands of Asian people in East, Central and South Africa and also to white people who have contributed much and who could continue to contribute as much towards the future peace and prosperity of these countries, if only they would pursue policies which were not based on fear of competition from the other people who belong to the country and to whom the country belongs.

Fresh Outlook Needed

Nowhere in the world it is more dangerous than in the emergent Africa of today for preachers and politicians to proclaim doctrines of racial supremacy. Europe has been threatened twice in our generation by this doctrine which captivated Germany and her allies and intoxicated their people with dreams of world domination. It was this doctrine that brought Europe to the verge of destruction. The menace to Africa from the doctrine of racial supremacy is in no way less. African civilisation also cannot be based on racial discrimination or it will perish miserably. We need a new kind of civilisation in Africa, not a slavish imitation of Western systems but one which will conserve and utilise to the full the vast human and natural resources of Africa and at the same time offer increasing opportunities and freedom to people of all races to develop their own lands, their own skills, that God has given them in industry, trade agriculture aid professions. Britain and India can both help Africa in this task.

It is sometimes said that the method of gradual constitutional reforms followed by Britain in Africa leads to stresses and strains which are not apparent in some other territories, such as the Portuguese, for example. This has led some people to claim that the Portuguese methods is more peaceful and to be preferred. But Britain must go forward with faith in the future for there can be no turning back towards old mythologies and the false doctrines that were so prevalent at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Africa, like India, stands at the beginning of an age of industrial and agricultural revolution and possesses political and economic problems of a much greater magnitude than those which confronted the politicians and industrialists of Britain in the hungry 40s. These tasks call for statesmanship of a high order. We cannot afford to place Africa's destiny in the hands of those whose bigotry enables them to think only in terms of negative fear and suspicion of all the hopes and aspirations of peoples other than their own. Africa is a great continent. Great varieties of tradition, language, culture and the colour and rhythm and drama of its life must be appreciated in all their richness and diversity by those responsible for making its laws and its constitutions. Otherwise, the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people will go on coming into violent collision with one another, and the immense God-given possibilities of Africa will be over-shadowed by the evil spectre of race hatred and suspicion which can only destroy and can never create the means towards a new and happier destiny.

Policy of Non-discrimination

The outlook for the white race if it pursues an oppressive or exclusive policy towards other races is not pleasant to contemplate. It may be that the time has come before Britain surrenders any more power to the people of her own kith and kin in Africa, to recall them to the sense of the high purposes and mission which Britain undertook when she offered her protection to these lands and peoples a century ago. Now, indeed, her task is that of a mediator as well as that of a trustee, and if all the mistakes which have led to the tragedy of South Africa and Kenya are to be avoided, we must be bold. We must take stock of the situation before it degenerates any further. We must re-examine the whole field of agricultural and industrial possibilities and see what is required in the sphere of education and politics and constitution-making to enable this growth and development to take place without recourse to violence. In these multi-racial territories, constitutions, which emphasize racial and communal differences, may not be the best means of evoking what is best in human nature. What is needed is a political system which emphasizes all that human beings have in common in the development of their land and people, not what keeps them apart. Apartheid is a doctrine of despair and does not correspond to the basic economic and political trends of a twentieth century State. It drives apart what God and History are drawing together, for, we cannot speak of a white civilisation (despite Mr. Lyttleton's remarks about the poverty of Africa's contribution to civilisation) because it was probably on the African continent, in Egypt, that one of the first civilisations was born and flourished and, at all events, almost all races have contributed towards all

that we now mean when we speak of civilisation. Certainly, civilsation cannot be thought of exclusively white. If it were exclusively white, it would not be a civilisation.

How India Can Help

There are many practical ways in which India and the Indian people living in Africa can help in the political tasks immediately confronting Africa and in the promotion of better understanding between the races living in East and Central Africa. It should be possible for more of those qualified in the methods of basic education to come from India and assist in the reorganisation of education and its adaptation to the needs of African society at the present time. I have seen a great deal of the work that is being done at Sevagram and by the Indian Village Industries Association. I know of many places in Africa which are crying out for just the rural reconstruction that is being achieved in some of India's underveloped areas and the new life that is being brought both to land and people by the application of the principles of basic education.

In many respects, the problems of Africa have more in common with the problems of India than of Britain. A large-scale agricultural as well as industrial revolution is now taking place there, and along with the rapid awakening of great masses of people through a large-scale migration to the towns, there is the inevitable break-up of the old society and the social disciplines that in Africa went with the tribal system. The break-down of old faiths and old tribal organizations led to a discarding of the old standards of morality. And the widespread disillusionment with the white man's law and justice has spread also to some forms of the Christian religion which seemed to sanction apartheid and racial discrimination. Many Africans have left the more orthodox churches in search of some means to express their own feelings and yearnings for deliverance. There are some 800 different Christian sects in South Africa at the present time. Many Africans feel the need of a religion which, while conserving all that is best in their own traditional way of life, will inspire them in their struggle for freedom and justice on earth.

To very many Africans, India's struggle for her independence, and the non-violent methods that were used by India's peasantry and middle classes are still a great inspiration. I believe that India has a great and vital part to play in the future development of Africa, and it is important that this should take place in a manner consonant with the needs of that great Continent and its human problems. Especially there are great possibilities in the sphere of education and technical assistance, in the rehabilitation of Africa's rural areas and social economy, in the use of her great water resources, irrigation and power, and the adaptation of Africa's social and religious life to the rapid changes that are taking place in the direction of industrial development and urban life and the changing agricultural methods needed to conserve and utilise her soil to the best advanatage. The immense psychological changes that are taking place and the conflicts which are being set up through the past and present policies of racial discrimination cannot be avoided. These are the stuff out of which the future of Africa will be fashioned and it is for all of us to find techniques of struggle whereby the necessary change can be brought about without violence and hatred. This was the task to which Mahatma Gandhi devoted himself, and it was in Africa that the spirit of Satyagraha was born. India which has contributed so much to ancient civilisation must take a leading part in the great renaissance of science and culture and their application to the problems of hunger and poverty in Africa.

Little Magazines

Prof. P. Goswami observes in *Triveni*:

The Little Review, an Americain literary periodical (1914-1929), is considered one of the most outstanding of the Little Magazines. *The Little Review* championed all experimental movements of this century and published the work of emirent American and European writers. It was in this magazine that Arnold Bennett read fragments of *Ulysses* after having been told by Wells of the new writer Joyce. A taste of Joyce made Bennett puzzled, but the older author recalled "the time when I laughed at Cezanne's pictures. I wondered whether there might not be something real in the pages after all." The serialization of *Ulysses* nearly resulted in the suppression of the magazine.

In America, the generic term has been taken as "Little Magazine" of which *The Little Review* is an example. In Britain, however, the term preferred is "Little Review," taking its name from the famous New York *Little Review*. Should we use the term Little Magazine(s) or Little Review(s)? The chief aim of a periodical of this type is the promotion of literary experiment and reform and the encouragement of obscure and hitherto unpublished authors. This is done frequently in accordance with a definite editorial viewpoint in the matter of aesthetics or politics. Such a magazine is not concerned much with high sales or profit-making. By the very nature of its activity it cannot appeal to all and sundry, and if it can impose itself on a large public, well and good, but if it fails to do so, it does not care.

These Little Magazines are an interesting feature of the present century. Both in the U.S.A. and England there have been some influential periodicals of this type. One of the earliest in Britain was Katherine Mansfield and Middleton Murry's *Rhythm* (1911). It was the first to publish Picasso and discuss Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Croce. And what was the financial status of this brave magazine? Stephen Swift, the publisher of Katherine Mansfield's books and *Rhythm*, failed, leaving Mansfield and Murry

with a printer's debt of £400. They, however, decided to continue the magazine and clear the debt from the allowance she used to get from her father. The magazine belied their hopes and in July, 1913, publication ceased. Another English magazine had more influence. It was *The Egoist*, having in its coterie, among others, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. *The Egoist* published Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist* in 1914 and 1915. It was in this magazine that T. S. Eliot made his famous statement of poetic faith: "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The essay repays perusal even now:

"No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. I mean this as a principle of aesthetic, not merely historical, criticism . . . the emotion of art is impersonal. And the poet cannot reach this impersonality without surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done. And he is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living."

It was in *The Egoist* that in April 1918 May Sinclair wrote an article analysing the technique of Dorothy Richardson, the first exemplar of what was called "the stream of consciousness" method of writing fiction. A more influential magazine was the quarterly *The Criterion*, founded by T. S. Eliot in 1922 and edited by him till its disappearance in 1939. The first number of this magazine published *The Waste Land* and the fact considerbly fortified Eliot's critical reputation. The Editor broadcast a series of talks to Germany in 1946 on "The Unity of European Culture," and in one of these talks he spoke on the policy with which he had started *The Criterion*. He made it clear that the magazine did not have any particular credo, excepting an unconscious assumption "that there existed an international fraternity of men of letters, within Europe: a bond which did not replace, but was perfectly compatible with, national loyalties, religious loyalties, and differences of political philosophy. And that it was our business not so much to make any particular ideas prevail, as to maintain intellectual activity on the highest level."

The essays that T. S. Eliot wrote for *The Egoist*, the *Atheneum*, or *The Criterion* were the portents of a new movement in the literature of the present century. Another magazine of considerable influence was Cyril Connoly's *Horizon* (1940—49). Some of the articles of this review were recently anthologized under the title *The Golden Horizon*.

Many of the Little Magazines in America popularised Marxian socio-historical methods of criticism. The proletarian literature of the thirties had these as its organ, and sometimes the discussion of the philosophical aspects of Marxism and the application of its concepts to literature, science, history, and sociology that these magazines carried on, was of a high level. Professor Isaacs observes rightly:

"These Little Magazines are the foundations of the literature of our time, the battlegrounds of new movements and new ideas, the seed-grounds of all new literature, sheltering the young writers while they are growing, bringing them, while they are new, to the audiences ready for them, and offering them to the commercial world, which will decide their fame or their fate . . . The function of such reviews, as Mr. Allan Tate says, is "not to give the public what it wants, or what it thinks it wants, but what, through the medium of its most intelligent members, it ought to have."

Indeed, how important these magazines with their rather restricted circulations have been will be evident, if we only remember some of the outstandng writers of this century who came to be first known through these vehicles—Katherine Mansfield, Sherwood Anderson, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, E. E. Cummings, William Faulkner, Edmund Wilson, Dylan Thomas.

In India possibly most magazines are of the Little Magazine type. In a land where most of the population is illiterate and where all cultural moves have to be made by the educated few, however reactionary they may be on occasions, each magazine has its own coterie to inject it with life-blood and hope. Only as an exception does it attain to a wide circulation. In Assam it is more so. Assamese magazines do not have a wide audience, either because they are not well edited or because they are in truth *Little Magazines*.

ভারতে জ্যোতির্চর্চ্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলী

শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিঃশাস্ত্রী

(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)

প্রকাশক—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ

১৩নং হ্যারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

গ্রন্থখানি ২১ অধ্যায়ে সমাপ্ত। বাঁধাই মূল্য ১০৲ টাকা। ডবল ডিমাই সাইজ ৫২০ পৃষ্ঠা। বৈদিকযুগ হইতে, বর্ত্তমান যুগের ভারতে জ্যোতির্চর্চ্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস প্রথমে প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। কোষ্ঠী-বিচার ভাগে—সহজে কোষ্ঠী প্রস্তুত, গ্রহস্ফুট, ভাবস্ফুট গণনা শিক্ষা, দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতার সঙ্গে রাষ্ট্রীয় দ্বাদশ ভাবের কারকতা, দ্বাদশ ভাব বিচারের নানাবিধ সঙ্কেত, রাজযোগ, বিংশোত্তরী, অষ্টোত্তরীদশা বিচার, মানবের দৈহিককান্ত ও কণ্ঠস্বর হইতে গ্রহপ্রভাব বিচার, রেখাইবর্গের ডিগ্রী গণনা হইতে দৈনিক গ্রহগোচর ফল, ৩০০ শত বৎসর পূর্ব্বের সাণ্ডার্সের নিয়মে, মানবের শরীরচিহ্ন দ্বারা নষ্টকোষ্ঠী উদ্ধার, গ্রহ প্রভাবে নারীর মাসিক ঋতু আবর্ত্তন ও সহজে গুপ্তনিয়মে বা সুসন্তান লাভ প্রভৃতি বিচার, বিবাহ মিলন বিচারে, দম্পতির দৈহিক সুখ, সৌভাগ্যবৃদ্ধির বিচার ব্যবসায় জ্যোতিষ, পিথাগোরাসের নিয়মে সপ্তগ্রহ প্রভাবিত সপ্তস্বর হইতে সঙ্গীতের উন্নতি বিচার প্রভৃতি গ্রন্থে সরল বঙ্গভাষায় সর্ব্বশ্রেণীর পাঠকগণের উপযোগী করিয়া রচিত হইয়াছে।

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Religion of Walt Whitman

John H. Hershey writes about the philosophy of the greatest American Poet, Walt Whitman in *Unity*, Jan.-Feb., 1956, as follows :

The year 1955 was the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the famous book of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, by Walt Whitman (1819-92). But the reception of it at first was not gratifying. The Quaker, John Greenleaf Whittier, for example, definitely did not like it; one story is that he threw it into the fire! Ralph Waldo Emerson, however, was one of the few who did give it a boost very soon after receiving a copy. He wrote the poet in July, 1855: "I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed." With regard to Whitman personally, John Burroughs, his friend for three decades, went so far as to say that he was "the greatest personality that has appeared in the world since the Christian era" and he also wrote a little book about him.

One could look at Whitman from many sides; but let us examine only his religion. Indeed, he himself wrote that the main purpose underlying his writing of *Leaves of Grass* was religious. He did not mean by religion the conventional doctrines as they were held by many of the churches; rather, he sought what he called a "more splendid theology."

Let us, then, begin with his general attitude toward Bibles and religions, as found in his poem, "Bibles and Religions." He does not deny that they are not divine, but nevertheless asserts emphatically that they all have their origins in the life of man himself. Human beings give them the life, rather than contrariwise. In this respect he was in accord with the teaching of his friend, Emerson.

Miracles—what are they for Whitman? A miracle, its root meaning being "to wonder," may mean either a supernatural or a natural wonder. Our poet seems clearly to emphasize the latter. It is in this sense that he says in his poem, "Miracles" that he knows "of nothing else but miracles." Viewing the wonderfulness of sky and earth and sea and living creatures, he asks, "What stranger miracles are there?"

The brotherhood of man was sung by Whitman in his poems: "I will sing the song of companionship," and "All men ever born are also my brothers." Although optimistically inclined, he saw, as expressed in his poem, "By the Roadside," the arrogance of persons toward laborers, the poor, and Negroes, as well as the evils of pestilence and tyranny, and wars. He practised as well as sang of brotherhood. As a volunteer he helped the sick and wounded and dying in the hospitals of Washington, D.C., for twenty months during the Civil War. Working a few hours each day to earn just enough to get along, he spent the rest of the day visiting the soldiers, writing home for them, giving them tobacco or fruit, playing games, and even, though sickened by what he saw daily, managing to greet them with a cheery smile.

Whitman had a keen interest not only in individual human beings, whether Emerson or cab-drivers, but also in individual things and creatures of nature. We find this in both his poetry and prose. He wrote of "the large pale thin crescent of the new moon," "the chirping of crickets in the grass," "the odor of the neighboring ripening corn," "the distant guttural screech of a flock of guinea-hens comes shrilly yet somehow musically to my ears."

But our poet did not limit his interest to particular things and beings of creation. What is important to note is his seeing that to which the particular is related: the Whole, the Universal, God. Many Americans, it seems, see the part but not the Whole; extreme mystics, on the other hand, seem inclined to withdraw from the things of this world in order to fasten their attention on an absolute being having no vital relation to the parts of creation. Whitman avoided these extremes, seeing both the reality of the part and the Whole, the particular and the Universal, the created and God, and their relation to each other. Something of God he saw in "each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment then, in the face of men and women I see God." "I hear and behold God in every object." But he did not profess to know much about God. He was certain that God is but not what God is. "With the mystery of God we dare not dally."

Whitman felt the reality of God rather than merely believing in God. He wrote of his experience once when he was observing the night sky. He referred to "the visible suggestion of God in space and time—now once definitely indicated, if never again." He seemed to see "a flashing glance of Deity, addressed to the soul. All silently—the indescribable night and stars—far off and silently." At another time, near the end of his days, he tells of his experience in an outdoor spot: "How it is I know not, but I often realize a presence here—in clear woods I am certain of it, and neither chemistry nor reasoning nor aesthetics will give the least explanation. .....And he adds that this experience of "a presence" has helped to strengthen him in body and soul.

Such was the view and vision of one of America's religious personalities, the "good gray poet," Walt Whitman. Although his message was written in the past century, it seems as fresh and vital as if it were written only yesterday.

Buddhism in China

Chou Shu-chia, Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese Buddhist Association, writes in the *News Bulletin* of the People's Republic of China, May 31, 1956 :

Buddhism was introduced into China during the first century A.D. At that time the Madhyamika School was flourishing in India, and so China accepted the Mahayana thought of the Madhyamika School at the very beginning.

From the opening years of the Later Han Dynasty to the end of the Wei Dynasty during the Three Kingdom Period (*i.e.*, 25—264 A.D.), it was the period of inception of Buddhism in China. Since the wide

circulation and learning of the *Maha-prajna-paramita-sutra* at the end of the Wei Dynasty, the Chinese Buddhists began to propagate this sutra by copying, annotating, preaching and debating on it. At the beginning of the fifth century (during the Later Chin Period 384—417 A.D.), Kumarajiva came to China, and his profound learning of the Madhyamika School and his fluent style of translations of the Buddhist scriptures surpassed all his predecessors. At the same time the *Four Agamas* of the Sravakayana and the *Vinayas* of the different schools were translated into Chinese one after the other. Thus Buddhism in China possessed a complete set of the holy scriptures and afforded its followers a way of practice.

Since then many experts of Buddhism emerged, some being teachers of Dharma who engaged themselves in theoretical researches, and others, teachers of Dhyana who solely practised meditation, and still others, teachers of Vinaya who made analytical studies of the *Vinaya*. And there were also many different kinds of view regarding the teachings of Buddhism, arising from different kinds of views regarding the teaching of Buddhism, arising from different scriptures, upon which these views were based. The arguments and disputes arising from these different views furthered the study of Buddhism to a deeper degree.

During the sixth century (during the Liang Dynasty and the middle of the Northern Wei Period) the Yoga School of Buddhism was gradually developed in India. Since then most of the Indian teachers who came to China belonged to the Yoga School, such as Bodhiruchi and Ratnamati who came during the Northern Wei Period and Paramartha who was in China at the end of the Liang and in the beginning of the Chen Dynasties. They propagated many of the works of the Yoga School.

The various schools of Chinese Buddhism, each having its own particular points, were founded successively. The first one was the Tien Tai School, founded by the venerable Chih Yi at the beginning of

the seventh century with a newly-created system of thought to mediate between the theories of the Madhyamika and the Yoga Schools. The "Three Treatises" School (basing on the *Madhyamika-sastra*, the *Sata-sastra* and the *Dvadasanikaya-sastra*) was also founded to propagate the teachings of the Madhyamika School. Being discontent with the different views and not knowing which was right, the venerable Hsuan-chuang went to India with a resolution to acquire a complete and thorough solution of the question at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. After going through many hardships he arrived in India where he studied Buddhism, and returned to China, spending altogether seventeen years abroad. When he had returned home he translated a great number of sutras and sastras into Chinese (of the 5,000 volumes of translated works as collected in the existing Chinese Tripitaka, one-fifth was done by him alone). His disciple, the venerable Kuei-chi, succeeded him in his system of thought and founded the Tzu En School.

Bodhidharma who came to China in the middle of the fifth century, advocated the knowledge of Dhyana, and this system of thought later developed into the Dhyana School in the middle of the Tang Dynasty. The school that proposed to harmonize the theories of the Tien Tai, Tzu En and Dhyana Schools with another system of thought, was the Hsien Shou School, founded by the venerable Fa-tsang. During the eighth century when the Esoteric School flourished in India, two Indian teachers, Bajrambati and Amogha, introduced the theories of this school into China.

The Pure Land School which taught its follower to repeat the name of the Amita Buddha so as to be reborn in the Western Paradise, and the Vinaya School which chiefly devoted in the study and practice of the Vinaya rules, were also founded one after the other during the seventh and the eighth centuries. The seventh and the eighth centuries were the golden time of Buddhism in China, and the various schools and sects which became prevalent among the Chinese Buddhists afterwards, were all founded during this period. It was also in this period that Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from the interior of China on the one hand and directly from India on the other hand. And this was the Former Period of Buddhism in Tibet.

During the tenth century (Sung Dynasty) the Esoteric School was again introduced into the land of Han from India, and at the same time it was also brought into Tibet and formed the Later period of Buddhism in Tibet, laying the foundation of the Tibetan Buddhism which is prevalent today. At the end of the twelfth century (the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty) Buddhism of the Pali system gradually spread among the Tai tribe in Yunnan province, and Tibetan Buddhism was also introduced into Mongolia. Thus the southern Buddhism of the Pali system and the northern Buddhism of the Chinese and Tibetan systems were all disseminated in China.

Since the introduction of Buddhism into China during the Han Dynasty, it was always studied and propagated, although not without hindrances, throughout the succeeding Tsin, the Six Dynasties, Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The salient points of Chinese Buddhism are that it advocates all the three "yanas," but lays stress on Mahayana teachings, and that under the guiding thought of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," the Chinese Buddhists positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism and obtain their own liberation by working for the liberation of others.

At the end of the Ching Dynasty when imperialism invaded China, Buddhism suffered the same fate as the original culture of China (and the Buddhists also shared the common fate of the Chinese people). Buddhism was rejected and the Buddhists were despised, Buddhist temples and monasteries being demolished and destroyed. During the forty years before the liberation, there were, however, many enthusiastic Buddhists who tried with utmost effort to renovate and bring about a renascence of Buddhism, but they all wasted their time and energy without any achievement. During the twenty years of Kuomintang regiment, the destruction and oppression which Buddhism suffered increased ever more than before.

In 1949 China was liberated, and under the protection of the policy of religious freedom (which was first fixed in the Common Programme and is now prescribed in the Constitution) as adopted by the Communist Party and the People's Government, the religious faith of Buddhists is protected and respected, and the political and social status of Buddhists is unprecedentedly elevated. Many of the important Buddhist temples and monasteries which were damaged before the liberation, have been repaired or reconstructed by the People's Government. In June, 1953, the Buddhist Association of China, which is constituted by the leading Buddhists of the various regions, nationalities and schools of all China, was founded in Peking. In August, 1955, the second (expanded) session of the Board of Directors, the Buddhist Association of China, was convened in Peking and it was resolved to found a Buddhist Academy of China for the purpose of educating competent persons to disseminate the Dharma. The meeting also passed a resolution that the Buddhists should positively promote the good traditions of Buddhism, maintain the purity of the Tathagata's holy teachings, support the socialistic reconstruction of our mother country and protect world peace.

A number of regional Buddhist associations have now been established one after the other, and the Buddhist followers of the different areas in the whole country have already made a certain amount of achievements in the study and practice of Buddhism, as well as in the promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism. Owing to the full realization of the positive Buddhist spirit of "benefiting all sentient beings and purifying the world," Buddhists are now supported and esteemed in society. Now, the Buddhists of China, under the leadership of the Buddhist Association of China, are working hard with a full confidence together with the people of the whole country for our socialistic reconstruction, for protecting world peace and for the further promotion of the good traditions of Buddhism.

1956 is the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana. The Chinese Buddhists do not have, however, quite the same calculation as regards the year in which the Buddha entered Nirvana, with the Buddhists of the various southern Buddhist countries, but we also have a great esteem for the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nirvana, which is to be held in 1956, and therefore the Chinese Buddhists are making due preparation for the celebration and will undertake a series of memorial works for the occasion.

An Outline of Egyptian Culture

The eminence of Egypt in the world of today is due to its geographical location which has facilitated development and progress in spiritual, scientific and material fields. Its situation between the three main continents, namely, Africa, Asia, and Europe helped in making intimate contacts between the Egyptian and the other civilisations. Its situation near the Holy Lands of Judaism, Christianity and Islam has made it conversant with the teachings and philosophies of these religions. The respective nature of the Egyptian civilisation has enabled it to draw the best from the culture of its neighbouring countries, and thereby improve and enrich its own culture and civilisation. The other nations too can benefit in the same way from the Egyptian civilisation. Thus Egypt was and still is in a position, due to its geographical location, to influence and be influenced by the culture of the neighbouring countries.

Egypt is endowed with an equable Mediteranean climate. A sunny, clear and blue sky is to be found all the year round. The climate on the whole is moderate, both the winter and the summer are mild and salubrious.

What really distinguish Egypt from other countries are the customs, habits and ideas of its people which are peculiar only to Egyptians.

The Nile, the most precious gift of nature to Egypt, passes right through the heart of Egyptian land bringing fertility and prosperity at its full. Not only the agricultural but also the cultural development is due to the welfare and prosperity brought by the Nile. It is this river which is responsible for nursing the old Egyptian civilisation.

The old civilisation of Egypt is universally proclaimed to be one of the oldest and the most developed in the world. An idea of the progress made and standard attained in science, art and literature is clearly visible in the ruins and antiquities found in Egypt. These ruins and antiquities even today baffle the minds and speak very high of the culture and civilisation of that time. Some historians are of the opinion that Egyptian culture was the spring which watered Greek philosophy and civilisation. Plato confessed the influence of Egyptians and regarded them as professors of the world. After the fall of the Greek civilisation it was Egypt that became the torch-bearer of the Hellenic civilisation. The School of Alexandria was once the biggest cultural centre. Its library contained a very great number of high class works of Greek philosophy, literature and science, and it is a well-known fact that research scholars from all over the world used to come to Egypt to study Greek works. Neo-Platonic Philosophy was inspired in Egypt. Plautus, the famous Latin dramatic poet, mentioned that he had to go to Egypt to translate some old Greek plays. And recently some parts of the comedies of Menander, the Greek comedy poet of the third phase, were found only in Egypt.

Egypt was conversant with the Roman culture also, but never gave it a way. It proved to be a shield against the Romans who tried to ride roughly on Christianity. Egypt learned and preferred St. Mark Angle's vision of the Christian education over the Arius Angle and became the focus of St. Mark Pope. Some of the most able and universally respected theologists like Clement of Alexandria, Origan, the philosopher, John of Nikius and others have flourished in Egypt.

Islamic Egypt took its birth with the settling of different Arab tribes. Once again Egypt achieved the highest dignity by becoming the leader of Islamic nations and defender of Islamic civilisation. It played major role in defending the Islam in the Crusade Wars. Egypt again successfully fought back the barbarians who attacked Persia and Iraq and were planning to invade Syria. This saved the West also from the ruthlessness of the barbarians.

Egypt maintains an exalted position in the Islamic culture too. Azhar University, established in the 10th century, is the only Islamic University in the world where its traditions, customs and literature still flourish and are most preserved even now. This University is the oldest educational institute in the whole of the world. It diffuses the light of knowledge all over the Islamic world.

Amity with all and enmity with none is the motto of the Egyptians. They are the people with refined and aesthetic tastes. They draw the best from other nations, build a culture which fits their customs, habits and taboos and even so to say, send it to other nations. They like to keep old teachings and at the same time they like the new. They mix the old and the new and evolve something which suits their conditions, habits and temperaments. For example, the typical Egyptian literature is a mixture of both the old and the new literature and this concoction is neither eastern nor western literature, but purely Egyptian literature. Similiarly the Egyptian culture, frankly speaking, is the mixture of various cultures detaining her own traditions and customs intact.

It was only due to adverse political conditions that her cultural advancement received a setback. But now after the 1952 revolution Egypt is straining its maximum to attain its old place in the world of letters and culture.

The Ministry of Education is working for the educational and cultural progress in all fields.

The Council of National Planning aiming at the increase of the national income and raising the standard of living recommended the establishment of several industries. For implementation of the recommendations several industries are built in different parts of the country in a decentralised form.

Agricultural improvement is taking place day by day. Major and minor irrigation projects are being constructed for the purpose. Co-operative societies and collective farming, the basis of agricultural development, are now established on a large scale.

Social centres, for health conditions and social improvement, and to supply trained personnel, are now scattered all over the country in both rural and urban areas.

New Egyptian Government is marching on solid and concrete basis in every branch of advancement and development, to place Egypt in its right position and march along with the world of today.

This bulletin aims to show the steps that Egypt is taking to fulfil its goal in the cultural field and definitely Egypt will retain its right position under the new regime.—*Culture of Egypt*, June 1956.

Nepamills Now Progressing Toward Real "Stability"

K. P. Narayanan writes in the *American Reporter*, June 6, 1956:

Newsprint is more than newsprint; it is food for freedom, raw material for democracy.

There is the story of a pompous official of the unhappy, forgotten days of newsprint control who asked, "What is newsprint?" and went on to say pontifically, "I know 'news' and I know 'print' as well, but what is this newsprint control? It possibly has something to do with controlling the printing of news."

YASHODA'S CHILD
By Maya Das

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

and

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1956

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NOTES

"Children of the Revolution"

With the resignation of Chintaman Deshmukh, the Union Cabinet becomes an one-man show, with Pandit Nehru as the sole, lone, figure of an All-India statesman, measurable by international standards of democratic elder statesman. There were but two figures in the Cabinet besides Nehru after the death of Sardar Patel, who had comparable stature. Death removed Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and now we have to face the loss of Deshmukh by resignation.

We have known Chintaman Deshmukh for over four decades and have followed his record of service with admiration. We know him too well to think that he is capable of hasty or malicious action. We append the speeches by Deshmukh and Nehru at the end of these editorials, for record, as given in the *Statesman* for July 26th.

But on July 30th there was another exchange. We append the report, as given in the *Statesman* for July 31st, in part, at the end of this note to show how the parting has taken a bitter turn. What is still more of consequence, not only in regard to the subject under debate in the Lok Sabha but also with the question of the nation's future under the Congress, was the way in which Pandit Nehru strove to silence his accuser. He said, in the course of his reply, *"I am something more than a Prime Minister of this country. We are something more. We are the children of the Indian Revolution . . ."*

We shall not discuss the arrogance contained in the statement, indeed in the entire reply. That has become common-place now amongst the party politicians of all colours. But what is truly astounding is the colossal ignorance, of real conditions within the Congress Party and the Nation, betrayed by this ridiculous bit of vain-glorious rhetoric.

We are second to none in our admiration of the sterling qualities of Pandit Nehru and we are fully aware of the sacrifices made by him in the service and cause of the nation. But this proneness to utter impulsive absurdities and incongruities, without considerations regarding either verity or consequences, is now assuming the shape of a calamity.

We wish a very long life to Pandit Nehru. But it will only be a life of service to mankind, if he starts thinking about his mistakes and errors of omission and commission from now.

"Children of the Revolution" is a sonorous mouthful, but what of the misbegotten ones, whose number is myriad, that have flocked into his party in order to share the flesh-pots of power? How many are there in his party, whose records can bear comparison with a great many who have been deprived of all recognition by his party, on purely ulterior motives? How many can he name whose record will really bear scrutiny, on the score of integrity and selfless service?

The resistance groups of occupied Europe kept the torch of liberty alight in the darkest hours of trial in history. It is now a matter of historical record that those groups provided all the tyrants and all the tools of lawlessness and oppression after the end of World War II. The same may be said about our country to a lesser degree, thanks to the traditions laid down by the Father of the Nation and his predecessors.

Today, India has her first newsprint factory, the National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited plant which, designed to produce 100 tons daily, meets about 40 per cent of the country's total requirements, and saves nearly Rs. 2 crores' worth of foreign exchange. Until lately, not a sheet of the nearly 90,000 tons of the country's annual consumption was produced in India.

This factory was formally declared open by Prime Minister Nehru at a glittering function at Nepanagar. In the course of a vigorous speech on the occasion, Mr. Nehru referred to the machinery installed in the factory and asked Pandit Rs. S. Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, who was seated on the dais, "Where does Nepa machinery come from?" Pandit Sukla looked to Dr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, chairman of the Nepamills, who was also seated on the dais. He promptly said, "America."

The machinery came from America. The factory was designed by Ebasco Services. Inc., of New York. Earlier, to determine whether commercially acceptable newsprint can be made from a combination of salai and bamboo pulps, the company sent raw materials to be tested at the Herty Foundation Laboratories in Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A.

When forwarding the results of these experiments, the engineers observed:

"We are thoroughly satisfied that commercial newsprint can be made from salai and bamboo. The test data is better than the average required by the American Newsprint Association."

To American help in building this factory, Chairman Ramaswami Mudaliar paid tribute in his welcome speech: "The Technical Co-operation Mission had helped by obtaining technicians from the U.S.A. The consultants, Ebasco Services, New York, had proved trusted friends and their advice and experience had always been at the disposal of the mills."

The gigantic paper machine of Nepamills is the finest of its kind in the East. It can make a continuous sheet of finished paper 18 feet wide and operate at a speed of 1,500 feet per minute to produce 100 tons of standard newsprint in 24 hours, enough to form a continuous 18 feet wide carpet from Nepanagar to Bombay, 325 miles away.

A LANDMARK

Nepamills is a landmark in the cavalcade of India's progress. Here is an instance, not of erecting just another factory, but a case of establishing a pioneer industry. This pioneer industry has given lead in a significant matter. The Nepamills management and workers have signed an agreement that they would maintain industrial peace during the Second Plan period.

The site of the new plant in Chandni, north-west Madhya Pradesh, was once described by Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar, first chairman of the board, as "a God-forsaken, malaria-infested forest venue" where the howling of jackals vied only with the whistling of wild winds. In this once snake-abounding, tiger-haunted jungle tract now has risen the sunlit, 400-acre township of Nepanagar, where the high chimneys of the new factory tell of the birth of a pioneer industry for India.

The total cost estimate of the Nepamills today stands at Rs. 6.5 crores. Of this, the subscribed capital is about Rs. 1.4 crores. The remainder is represented by States and Union Government loans and by American Point Four aid.

The anicut on the Tapti River for supplying the mill and the township about eight million gallons of water every day, costing Rs. 12 lakhs, was built by Government, the plan being to recover the amount in instalments.

The State Government has undertaken to supply forest raw materials to the Nepamills from the reserved forests of the state.

Nepamills had a shaky start. In the words of Dr. Mudaliar, the plant was "every now and then faced with unpredictable difficulties." Dr. Mudaliar himself referred to "the wastage involved in the earlier period in designing the factory" and to "the years the locusts have eaten." Mistakes have been many. Misfortunes have not been fewer. For example, a ship carrying electrical equipment for Nepamills sank on the high seas, delaying work by four months.

But things have changed. The dull grey in the canvas is gradually turning into crimson. Today, as Pandit Shukla said in his message, "The sky is clear and we look straight ahead . . . . Nepamills has now come into its own and is well on the way to stability and progress."

Book "Hospital"

The Lenin Library in Moscow has 18,600,000 copies of books, magazines, yearly files of newspapers, etc. They are under the constant observation of the employees of the hygiene and restoration department which is a kind of hospital: here care is taken of the "health" and prolonging the life of books, manuscripts, newspapers and maps. The meteorologist, for example, sees to it that the humidity and temperature of the air is maintained at a definite level. The entomologist, too, has his eye on every corner of the library protecting the books against moths and bookworms. Every book is regularly vacuum-cleaned to remove the dust, the library's horrible enemy. If a book is found to have a torn sheet, spoilt binding, or mould it is removed from the library for "treatment."—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

Chain of Dnieper Power Stations

Although the construction of the Kakhovka Hydro-power Development, the fourth unit of which is about to be put into operation, has not yet been completed, the noise of new building sites floats over the Dnieper. A chain of power stations is being erected on the Dnieper. Near the city of Dnieprodzerzhinsk a hydro-electric station of 250,000 kw. capacity is being built; electric transmission lines, a railway branch line and sidings are already being laid here. As soon as the ice melts on the river, suction dredges will commence work.

In Kirovograd Region one of the large Dnieper power stations is being built: the Kremenchug Hydro-electric Station with a capacity of 450,000 kw. The builders, armed with up-to-date machinery, quickly completed the cofferdam, protecting the construction site against the spring floors, and stemmed the oil bed of the Dnieper. The dam has caused a reservoir to be formed, which will ensure the uninterrupted work of the turbines of another three power stations, besides that at Kremenchug, belonging to the Dnieper chain. It is planned to increase the power supply to Kiev by building a new station—the Kiev Hydro-electric Station. This will be the last large hydro-power station in the lower part of the Dnieper chain.

The Dnieper, the third largest river in Europe, possesses power resources calculated at many thousands of millions of kilowatt-hours. The upper reaches of the river also hold out a promise of cheap electric energy.—*News and Views from The Soviet Union.*

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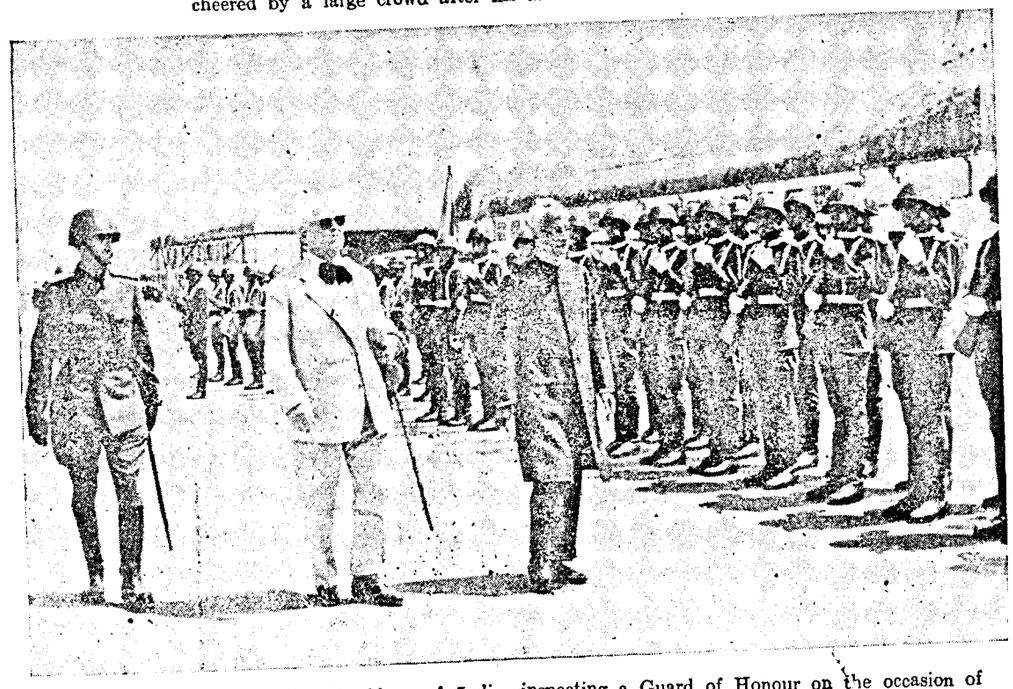
Sri Jawaharlal Nehru returned to New Delhi on July 23, on conclusion of his foreign tour. He was cheered by a large crowd after his arrival at the Palam airport



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, inspecting a Guard of Honour on the occasion of his arrival in Bucharest, Rumania, on a goodwill visit. He was received at the airport by the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Chiva Stoica

"On July 30, Sri Deshmukh began his last speech by correcting the impression that he had accused the Prime Minister of 'animus' against Maharashtra. Mr. Nehru, he said, was 'constitutionally incapable of animus against anyone.'

"He made it clear, however, that he did think some personages in the Congress Party had such an animus and, in contrast to his earlier statement, directed much of his speech against the Home Minister.

"This did not prevent him from reasserting his charge that the two main decisions concerning Bombay were made without consulting the Cabinet.

"His main point was that the present decision on Bombay's future was even worse than the earlier proposal to make it a city State. This was based on the fear that difficult conditions might be placed on the manner in which Bombay city could, after the period specified, decide to merge with Maharashtra. For example, he said, a two-thirds majority might be required.

"He also feared that in the interim period tension would continue to increase and in addition to Government servants Maharastrian employees of private firms would be squeezed out.

"Mr. Deshmukh's speech contained repeated attacks on capitalist 'money-bags.' He supported two proposals of all-India interest: the Constitution of boundary commission and statutory safeguards for linguistic minorities.

"Mr. Nehru, intervening in the debate, said just a week ago he had returned to Delhi after visiting many countries in the West and meeting leading personalities there. While there he had tried to understand the great movement taking place there and to understand what impression there was about India in the minds of the people of Europe. He found everyone there greatly interested about India and about what was happening in India because they felt something very significant was happening.

"He did not suppose that even the most ideal solution would have been pleasing to everybody. 'So far as our Government is concerned it is of no great significance to us what part of India goes into this State boundary or the other. Certainly we must consider what is most desirable from the various points of view. But in the ultimate analysis it does not make much difference whether one part goes here or there. From the individual's point of view or the State's point of view it may be of some importance.'

"'Therefore the Government of India approached this question more or less objectively and without any particular desire to impose this decision or that.'

"Denying Mr. Deshmukh's charge that two 'crucial decisions' on Bombay city were taken without consultation with the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru said: 'I do not know where he got his facts from. I have consulted my papers, the Cabinet papers and everything, and I say the two decisions—leave out for the moment the Bombay statement—were made absolutely and repeatedly after consultations with every colleague of the Cabinet and with the full consent of the Cabinet.'

"'Leave out all the intermediate stages, this Bill itself was placed before the Cabinet and it was adopted by the Cabinet and then it came before this House.'

"His Bombay statement of June 3, he said, was no new announcement of policy. He had only repeated at the all-India Congress Committee—and, he might add, at the request of some Maharashtrian friends.

"In reply to Mr. Deshmukh's charge that the Prime Minister had been making policy statements without consulting the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru said: 'I am the Premier of India. I know something of democratic procedure about the Prime Minister's duties and the Constitution (of India) and the Constitution of Britain. The Prime Minister is the lynchpin of Government and the Prime Minister can make a statement on behalf of Government.'

Mr. Nehru added: "I am something more than a Prime Minister of this country. We are something more. We are the children of the Indian revolution and although we may tone down here and there and although we may forget what we did before, we still have the fire of revolution in us. Many of us know a little more about the Indian people, and about the poor people, something more than those who talk so much about peasants. We know a great deal more about the peasants and the poor people, and it does not become of anyone to talk of moneybags here referring to our party or Government."

Report on Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank of India's annual Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1955-56 says that the year under review witnessed an apparent acceleration of the pace of economic growth in India. The growth was marked in industrial production which recorded a rise of about 8 per cent during the year. In many industries, the targets fixed for the First Five-Year Plan period were more than fulfilled. Overall agricultural production, however, is estimated to have been of the same order as in the 1954-55 crop year, though in the case of rice the output is estimated to have been 4 per cent higher. The rate of investment in the public and private sectors would appear to have recorded a further rise during the year, and this was accompanied by an improvement in the flow of savings, including in particular small savings. Reflecting mainly the higher levels of production and domestic and foreign trade, there was a 22 per cent expansion of bank creidit which, together with the budgetary deficit which was larger than in 1954-55, contributed mainly to a 14 per cent rise in money supply with the public.

The capital market was buoyant during the greater part of the year, with a net rise of 6 per cent in share prices, reflecting the long-term prospects for substantial growth of industries as well as the sizeable increase in current industrial profits, which were aided by the fall in prices of agricultural commodities, a trend that appears now to have been reversed, at least for the time being. The gilt-edged market also ruled firm practically throughout the year, in spite of substantial Government borrowing and some net sales of securities by the Reserve Bank. The accelerated tempo of investment and economic activity in general inevitably resulted in some strain on the economy, which was particularly noticeable in the latter half of the year and which was reflected in a rising trend of commodity prices and cost of living, contrary to the pattern of the previous year. While to a substantial extent the rise in commodity prices, which amounted to about 12 per cent over the year, was a correction of the rather sharp fall in the previous year, it also reflected the decline in output of some primary commodities and rise in exports in particular of raw cotton and oils and oilseeds, following better demand. Further, it appears that the rise in prices was partly stimulated by the higher rate of investment outlay in the economy and rising consumption expenditure. Sporadic speculative and hoarding tendencies were perhaps assisted to some extent by easy bank credit.

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan the trends in the economic developments are as under: 18 per rise in national income, 25-30 per cent rise in industrial production, about 20 per cent rise in agricultural output, a 10 per cent rise in money supply with the public, a 13 per cent decline in wholesale prices and a 5 per cent decline in the working class cost of living index. Budgetary deficit of the Centre and States together was around Rs. 400 crores. As against this, there was also a modest balance of payments deficit resulting in a decline of Rs. 121 crores in foreign exchange reserves. During this period, many direct economic controls, in particular concerning the prices and distribution of foodgrains and cloth, were removed by stages. The disinflationary but flexible monetary policy adopted in mid-November 1951 contributed in some measure to the establishment of stability in the economy.

However, as mentioned earlier, the Report points out that towards the close of 1955-56, some symptoms of inflation were noticeable. These require careful watching especially in view of the much larger magnitude of the developmental effort that has to be put in for Second Five-Year Plan. The proposed total developmental outlay of the Central and State Government over the five years of the second Plan is Rs. 4,800 crores, which is much more than twice the estimated outlay of a little under Rs. 2000 crores during the first Plan period. The estimated gap in resources is Rs. 1,600 crores, of which Rs. 1,200 crores is envisaged to be covered by deficit financing. It is of the utmost importance that the considerable inflationary potential of the above order of development expenditure in the public sector (along with substantial investment in the private sector, estimated at Rs. 2,400 crores), and deficit financing should be held in restraint.

The Report observes that agricultural production in 1955-56 appears to be generally satisfactory despite floods, cyclones, etc., in certain parts of the country. Final estimates of production for the current year in respect of certain cereals, *viz.*, rice, wheat, Jowar, bajra, maize and ragi indicate that although the production of

coarse grains may be lower. the production of rice and wheat will be satisfactory. The production of rice, placed at 25.5 million tons in the final estimate for 1955-56 represents an increase of 3.8 per cent over the partially revised estimate for 1954-55. Among commercial crops, the output of jute in 1955-56, estimated at 41.4 lakh bales, has turned out to be much better than in the preceding two seasons, when production was around 30 lakh bales. But cotton production shows a decline of 5.4 per cent. The year also witnessed a considerable increase in industrial production and there was a greater expansion in new and existing undertakings. In the private sector, the Report provides the information, 164 licences for the establishment of new industrial undertakings and 319 for expansion of existing undertakings were granted during the year 1955 under the Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951. In 1955, the aggregate industrial production recorded a rise of 8 per cent, following a rise of 7 per cent in 1954. The increase was marked in sugar, paper, jute manufactures, general engineering, automobiles and rubber. In respect of some important industries, namely, cotton textiles, steel and cement, however, the rise in output was comparatively small. Among basic industries, while cement and steel registered further though small increase, the rise in the output of coal was fairly substantial. Coal output rose from 36.8 million tons in 1954 to 38.2 million tons in 1955. But it is a pity that notwithstanding higher coal output, for some months past there has been shortage of domestic coal, particularly in Calcutta and other districts of West Bengal. Does it indicate a lag in transport system or non-delivery tactics of the mine owners? Anyhow, the people will have cause for the least elation over the so-called rise in industrial production, because consumer goods like cotton textiles are in short supply. Similar is the case with cement which has recorded a rise from 4.40 million tons to 4.42 million tons, although the commodity is in short supply in the market. The rise in inventory production offers little aid to the people who have to suffer on account of short supply and higher prices.

The Report states that during the four-year period 1952-55 for which the revised index numbers of industrial production are available, industrial production advanced by 22 per cent or an annual rate of 5½ per cent, the general index rising form 100.0 in 1951 to 121.9 in 1955. This has been achieved partly by the fuller utilisation of existing capacity as in the case of industries like sugar, paper, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, soda ash, soap, glass, cement, diesel engines, machine tools and electricity and partly by the expansion of capacity in many industries, particularly in the case of basic industries like cement and steel.

As regards the trends in national income, the Report observes that the rising trend of national income witnessed since 1949-50 was maintained in 1954-55, the latest year for which estimates are available, though the increase was considerably smaller than in 1953-54. At 1948-49 prices, the preliminary estimate of national income, that is, net national output at factor cost, in 1954-55 is Rs. 10,170 crores as against Rs. 10,040 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 8,850 crores in 1950-51, the pre-Plan year. At current prices, however, there was a substantial decline, from Rs. 10,490 crores in 1953-54 to Rs. 9,910 crores. In 1954-55, per capita income at 1948-49 prices remained unchanged at Rs. 269, while at current prices there was a decline from Rs. 281 to Rs. 262. As compared with 1950-51, national income in 1954-55 was about 15 per cent higher and per capita income 9 per cent higher, both at 1948-49 prices. The rise in national income at 1948-49 prices was accounted for by three major sectors, namely, (i) mining, manufacturing, and small enterprises; (ii) commerce, transport and communications, and (iii) other services (professions, Government services, etc.), the increase amounting to Rs. 60 crores, Rs. 40 crores and Rs. 60 crores respectively. On the other hand, the contribution of agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities recorded a decline of Rs. 30 crores. The decline in the value of output of agricultural sector was much sharper, from Rs. 5,320 crores in 1953-54 to Rs. 4,580 crores in 1954-55. The tempo of rising prices has halted the growth of per capita income which was envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan. The achievement during the last year of the First Five-Year Plan in the direction of national income was discouraging enough in so far as it failed to raise the real income of the people. In the face of a larger deficit financing during the second Plan period, the authorities should allow liberal import of

consumer goods so as to keep down the prices, otherwise the price level will go up and the per capita income will be forced to come down.

About the agricultural finance, the Report states that following the recommendations of the Conference of State Ministers on Co-operation, the State Governments have drawn up programmes for co-operative development for the second Plan period which have incorporated the main features of the integrated scheme of rural credit outlined in the Rural Credit Surgey Report. In the second Plan, the targets for short-term, medium-term and long-term credit to be achieved through co-operative institutions have been set at Rs. 150 crores, Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 25 crores respectively. For this purpose, it is proposed to organise during the Plan period about 10,409 large-sized credit soccieties and 1,800 primary marketing societies. In addition to organisation of co-operative processing institutions, it is envisaged that about 350 warehouses of Central and State Warehousing Corporations, 1,500 godowns of marketing sscieties and 4,000 godowns of large-sized credit societies will be constructed by 1960-61. For achieving these targets, apart from the contribution which the Reserve Bank will be making to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions, the Plan provides for a total sum of Rs. 47 crores. As regards the medium-term loans, the Report points out that, the Reserve Bank is permitted to give loans with a maturity of between 15 months and 5 years under section 17 (4A) of the Reserve Bank Act. Under this section the Reserve Bank granted loans to the extent of Rs. 1.30 crores at the concessional rate of 1½ per cent to 9 State co-operative banks during 1955-56.

The Indian Copyright Bill

Copyright laws came to be enacted in different countries of the world to give protection to the writers, artists and musicians to the right of exclusive use of their creations for a specified period of time. Such protection was extended to cover the international field by the first International Copyright Convention held at Berne in 1866 under the chairmanship of the renowned French author, Victor Hugo.

India's first copyright law enacted during the British regime closely resembled the international convention with some minor variations. A particularly objectionable feature of that law was the ten-year limitation for the translation of a publication in one Indian language into another. Under that provision a book published in Bengali in a particular year could be translated into another Indian language after ten years even without the permission of the author of the original work. This provision greatly militated against the interests of both the author and the readers in so far as the author was deprived of any benefit of the translation of his book and the readers were often treated with clumsy translations.

There were several other defects in the Indian Act so that in keeping with India's new status after independence a revision of the existing legislation on the matter could not be far delayed. The Indian Copyright Bill, now under consideration of a joint select committee of the Parliament, was framed to meet the situation but apparently it has somehow missed the point and has thereby incurred the wrath of authors, journalists and newspapers.

Referring to the objectionable features of the bill the *Economic Weekly* writes: "One wonders whether the Education Ministry, which sponsors the bill, is aware that the primary purpose of copyright legislation is to protect the producer of artistic works and to assist him in asserting his rights."

Dwelling on the same subject the *Statesman* writes that while the new Bill did indeed in some particulars bring the old law up-to-date its manifest other deficiencies "seem more than likely to cancel out any incidental merits. The final effect, unless it is radically modified, may well be to make nobody's rights, least of all the public's, more secure, but rather to make their enforcement still more difficult and expensive. And yet, though it has been repeatedly criticized since gazetting last October, officialdom seems still unaware that there is anything wrong with it."

Some of the provisions of the bill to which strong exception has been taken by those vitally concerned with the matter are: the provision for compulsory registration of copyright material with a special copyright registrar before legal action for infringement of copyright could be taken; the authority given to the Registrar to grant permission for translation of a book even against the expressed refusal of the holder of

the copyright; the reduction of the period of copyright from 50 to 25 years after the death of the author (the international copyright convention to which India was a signatory, though she has not yet ratified it, provided for 50 years); the further provision that in the case of a joint work, the period of copyright should be counted from the date of death of the first co-author to die (against the international convention providing for 50 years from the death of the last co-author to die); and the provision that copyright in any material produced by an employed person would generally vest in the employer virtually denying the author the right to enjoy the fruits of his own work.

Referring to the last-mentioned provision the *Economic Weekly* writes: "Here is a highly dangerous provision affecting thousands of free-lance writers who might hardly like to demand from their employers a written release from the operation of this provision." In its provisions regarding enforcement the magazine further notes, the Bill allowed for presumptions of law not in favour of but against the author.

It is to be greatly hoped that the Joint Select Committee of the Parliament would pay heed to the points raised in criticism of the Bill at the time of drafting its report. It is really amazing that a popular government could put so much handicap on authorship and research as the Bill seeks to do.

Personality Cult in India

Outstanding personalities have always claimed public admiration almost in all lands of the world. So long as such adoration does not inhibit one's rationality there is nothing wrong in it. But when the idealization of a man reaches a point where all rational discussions not to the taste of the leader are sought to be suppressed intransigently, as was done in Stalinist Russia and its European satellites, the situation is bound to provoke the greatest concern. In present-day India personal idolatry seems to be taking a dangerous turn. We have already had an occasion (*The Modern Review* for May, 1956) to draw attention to one aspect of the personality cult in India. Since then the growth of the phenomenon of this cult has induced political leaders and newspaper commentators to come out against its evils.

The fortnightly *Aura-India*, July 17, reports:

"Allahabad, June 28: Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, M.P., and former Congress President, yesterday criticised Mr. U. N. Dhebar for his recent appeal to the people 'not to do anything which is not liked by Mr. Nehru if we really love and respect our Prime Minister'.

"Mr. Tandon, who was addressing the inmates of the Congress Seva Dal Camp, said he himself loved Mr. Nehru but he differed with him on many issues. Even the Prime Minister would not like such an appeal, he added.

"Had Mr. Nehru not done anything against the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi? Gandhiji was never in favour of partition of the country, but Mr. Nehru and Congress Working Committee adpted a resolution accepting the partition against Gandhiji's wishes.

"Mr. Tandon said it was no politics to have all 'yes-men' in the party."

Describing the growth of personality cult in West Bengal, the writer who regularly contributes to the *Economic Weekly*, under the pseudonym of *Flibbertigibbet*, says that there the cult centred round the personality of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray, the Chief Minister of the State. Even the Government's officials were infected by it as would be evident by the fact that on July 1, Dr. Ray's 75th birthday, the permanent officials of the State Government, breaking all precedent, organised a *Kirtan* in the Secretariat to mark the occasion. This did not in any way suggest the political inclination of the civil servants, the writer points out. Most civil servants were moved by considerations of personal advancement and when they found that promotion was difficult without being in the good books of Dr. Ray, personal efficiency notwithstanding, they did not hesitate to take up the thread.

Flibbertigibbet writes: "You could trust India's hired civil service to devise precise frmulae for pleasing the newcomers to power. Work they do not want, and they must not be bothered with it. Flattery they like, and oodles and lashings of that shall be arranged. Perhaps, it is the same story in most capitals; in Calcutta, the bureaucracy's task has been made easier by the fact that there is only one man to be pleased (not even the Public Service Commission can remove you if Dr. Ray is happy. When he is short of higher posts, he can help you in the matter of going to the Centre). Hence, the assembly of twenty to thirty people, all senior civil servants, every morning at Writers' Building round the Chief Minister's horse-shoe table. Business is discussed, but there is time for such exchange of compliments as that Dr. Ray is extraordinarily well preserved for a man of 75, which is true, or that Dr. Ray is a master of English prose, which is less true. The morning's prayer done, the civil servant can go to the Indian Coffee House for the rest of the day. He often does."

Indian and Chinese Plans

Planning has become a normal feature of newly-independent Asian countries. That the under-developed economies cannot make any significant progress towards attaining a higher standard of living for their peoples without varying degrees of regulation and control by the State is admitted on all hands, including even such exponents of free economy as the U.S. economists. In this context a comparative study of the economic plans in operation in the neighbourng countries becomes interesting. The *Economic Weekly*, Second Five-Year Plan issue, contains among other valuable contributions one by Dr. K. N. Raj discussing the similarities and differences between the Second Indian and First Chinese Five-Year Plans.

Dealing with the similarities between the two Plans, Prof. Raj shows that the targets in regard to the over-all rates of investment in China's first Plan were not significantly higher than those which were proposed in India's second Plan. "It is not only the targets in regard to the over-all rate of investment that are similar; the expected increases in total national output are also not very much larger in China." As in India in China also it would not be possible to solve the unemployment problem. The fear of aggravating the position in regard to unemployment affected many policies in China as in India, Dr. Raj notes. Similarly, the Chinese Plan placed almost as much stress on hand and household industries as the Indian plan.

Turning to the differences between the two plans Prof. Raj notes that the first important difference was in the relative roles of the public and private sectors. In China, more importance was attached to the public sector. "But it is possible to exaggerate the share of the public sector in China," the writer points out. It would further not be correct to assume that the profits from State enterprises accounted for the bulk of the finance available to the Government or even that they were adequate to avoid the need for deficit financing in China. Though it could not be said for certain whether there was any deficit financing in China investments of the order contemplated were likely to generate inflationary pressures.

"One of the important differences in the Chinese Plan compared to the Indian is in the measures designed to prevent an inflationary rise in prices. It is clear, for instance, that this is the main purpose of the nationalisation of wholesale trade, which does not figure at all in the Indian plan but is a very integral part of the Chinese programme," Dr. Raj writes.

Another significant difference between the two plans lay in the distribution of investment and in regard to certain priorities in investment. The allocation in the Chinese plan for industries producing machines, for example, was considerably larger than in the Indian plan. The Chinese plan, on the other hand, gave a conspicuously lower priority to transport.

Summing up the matter Prof. Raj says: "Allowing for all the assistance that China may be receiving from the Soviet Union, and the unpredictability of the aid that India may get from the West, it is difficult to escape the impression that the Chinese plan shows far greater awareness of the implications of the targets that have been set, and willingness to face them, than one is able to detect in the Indian plan. As a pencil sketch of what should be done the Indian Plan undoubtedly compares favourably with the Chinese and, as a model built on detailed statistics and carefully worked out input-output ratios, it may be even technically superior on a point or two. But as a programme of action, it does not have the claws and the teeth for coming to grips with the problems which it will necessarily have to face."

Communist Nuclear Co-operation

Nuclear research, for both military and peaceful purposes, has made striking progress in the U.S.S.R. The research has apparently reached such an advanced stage that it has been considered expedient to share some of its fruits with the other Communist countries.

On March 26, 1956, an agreement was

signed in Moscow by the representatives of eleven Communist States of Europe and Asia including U.S.S.R. and China (but excluding Yugoslavia) on the establishment of a joint Nuclear Research Institute "to ensure joint theoretical and experimental research into nuclear physics by scientists of the States signatories of the present agreement." Other States might also be admitted by the decision of a majority of the States members of the Institute.

The Joint Nuclear Research Institute to be located in the Kalinin region of the U.S.S.R. would conduct its activities in accordance with a charter to be prepared by the Institute's management with the approval of the governments of the States' members of the Institute. It would be headed by a Director and two deputy directors elected by the majority of States members of the Institute from among scientists of those States. The terms of the Director and the deputy directors were three and two years respectively. The management of the Institute would be responsible to the States members and would regularly report to them on the activities of the Institute.

A scientific council set up by the member-States from among their scientists—each State appointing three persons, would be entrusted with the responsibility to draw up research plans and to check up their fulfilment and to decide on other questions bearing on the Institute's scientific activities. The director would be chairman of the council.

The Institute would be financed by the States members in stated proportions (U.S.S.R. and China contributing respectively 47.25 per cent and 20 per cent of the total expenditure). The share of each State would be revised on the withdrawal or accession of any State. Article 6 of the agreement lays down: "The share of the States members of the Institute cannot be a factor bearing on the degree of participation of one member-State or another in the Institute's scientific work and administration." The controlling authority in respect of financial matters would be the Financial Committee in which every member-State would have one representative appointed by it. The chairmanship of the Committee would rotate among the representatives of every State.

Any member-State might withdraw from the Institute with three months' notice. The institute might also be liquidated "by agreement among the governments of all the States members of the Institute." On liquidation the Institute with all its equipment would become the property of the U.S.S.R. "The other member-States shall be compensated in accordance with their share in the capital expenditure in the Institute."

The Government of the U.S.S.R. would hand over to the Joint Nuclear Research Institute, the Nuclear Problems Institute and the Electrophysics Laboratory of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences "with all equipment, principal, auxiliary and administrative installations and buildings on the date the present agreement comes into force," says Article 4.

The agreement came into force on March 26, 1956, the date on which it was signed. The signatories were: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., China, Korea and Mongolia.

Commonwealth Premiers' Meeting

The Prime Ministers of United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon met in a conference in London from June 27 to July 6. Significant developments in the conference included the British announcement to withdraw military bases from Ceylon and the latter's announcement of her decision to become a republic within the Commonwealth.

Referring to the achievements of the Conference in an editorial article on July 10 the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that many Indians questioned the wisdom of India's continued association with the British Commonwealth. Though British democracy with its insistence on the rule of law and administrative integrity offered points of appreciation such admiration, however, led one nowhere. "What the democratic world hungers for is action, positive action to consolidate peace in the world by guaranteeing the rule of law, freedom for all and racial equality. These positive aspects one misses in the communique issued year after year at the end of the meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. It is disheartening that these distinguished men cannot embolden themselves to go beyond mere cliches and platitudes."

Noting that there were wide differences within the Commonwealth on economic, political and defence problems the newspaper writes: "There is a feeling that the pooling of trade and currency resources have worked more for the benefit of the United Kingdom at the cost of the other Commonwealth nations." Much would depend on the way how Britain would fulfil her role as the supplier of capital for the development of the Commonwealth countries.

The United Kingdom, the newspaper goes on to say, had failed to bring to book the erring members. "The policy to keep all the old members in the organisation whether they subscribe fully or not to the new ideals will not only make the Commonwealth ineffective but bring its downfall in the end."

The only hope for the future of the Commonwealth lay in the prospect of more and more Asian and African members joining the organisation. It could then become an effective third bloc of peaceful nations "mediating between the two powerful blocs in maintaining and consolidating of world peace."

Shri Nehru and the British Press

While in London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Sidney Holland, Prime Minister of New Zealand, were awarded the Freedom of the City of London on July 3 at a memorable function in the historic guildhall. Describing the function Shri Prem Bhatia writes in the *Statesman*: "Not only for sheer spectacle but also for the handsome tributes paid to India and her Prime Minister the ceremony will be remembered for a long time.."

How did the British Press report that historic function? It seems that the British Press which, with notable exceptions, was controlled by reactionary Big Business, did not consider it worth reporting in their columns. The national newspapers of Britain largely ignored the occasion, writes James Cowley, *Statesman's* London correspondent. "Readers of the *Mail, Herald, News Chronicle, Mirror* and *Sketch*," writes Mr. Cowley, "might have searched in vain for mention of the Guildhall ceremony. The *Express* also blacked out the news but characteristically could not refrain from an editorial sidekick at Mr. Nehru as one who helped to 'kick the British out of India.' Thus nearly 16 million readers—the aggregate circulation of the six papers I have mentioned—might have remained ignorant, for all their respective editors cared, of the honour done in their own capital city to two Commonwealth Prime Ministers, if the B.B.C. had similarly shirked its responsibilities. Fortunately it did not. . ."

Brioni Conference

The three leading exponents from three continents of non-alignment with any power blocs, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, met in a two-day conference at the Yugoslav island of Brioni from July 18 to July 19. The three leaders had had a "detailed exchange of views" in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship, and joint statement on the discussions was released on July 20.

The three leaders reaffirmed their adherence to the Bandung principles, pleaded for an end of the division of the world into mutually hostile blocs of nations, reiterated the need for speedy disarmament and urged for the suspension of the explosion of nuclear weapons even for experimental purposes. They expressed their deep interest in full and equal co-operation among nations in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Such co-operation should in their opinion be organized within the framework of the U. N. and the proposed international agency should be representative of all nations.

The three heads of Governments stressed the need for quickening the development of the underdeveloped countries as one of the principal means for stabilizing world peace. In this connection they reorganized "the importance of international, economic and financial co-operation" and considered that it was "necessary and desirable that the proposed special U. N. Fund for Economic Development be constituted and enabled to function effectively." The need for facilitating a greater flow of international trade was also stressed by the leaders.

The joint statement adds:

"The three principal areas of tension and possible conflict are Central Europe, the Far East of Asia and the Middle East region between Europe and Asia. The problems of the Far East cannot be adequately solved without the full co-operation of the People's Republic of China. The three heads of Government express their belief

that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations.

"The problems of Central Europe are intimately connected with that of Germany. This important question should be solved in conformity with the wishes of the German people by peaceful negotiated settlements.

"In the Middle East the conflicting interests of great powers have added to the difficulties of the situation. These problems should be considered on their merits safeguarding legitimate economic interests, but basing solutions on the freedom of the people concerned. The situation in Palestine is particularly one of danger to world peace. The heads of Government support the resolution of the Bandung Conference in this regard.

"The three heads of Government considered the situation in Algeria which in their opinion is not only of great importance, but requires urgent attention both from the point of view of the basic rights of the people of Algeria and of the consolidation of peace in that part of the world. Believing as they do that colonial domination is wholly undesirable and is injurious to those who rule and those who are ruled, they must express their sympathy for the desire for freedom of the people of Algeria and they recognise that there are considerable numbers of people in Algeria of European descent whose interest should be protected. But this should not come in the way ef recognition of the legitimate rights of the Algerians. They warmly support all efforts directed towards the finding of a just and peaceful soution and particularly towards a cessation of violent conflicts in this area and negotiation. A ceasefire and negotiations between the parties concerned should lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem."

Shri Prem Bhatia, *Statesman* correspondent at Brioni, writes that while there was basic agreement on broad questions of peaceful co-existence and disarmament, on such specific issues as the future of Germany and the problem of Palestine, "the joint statement reflects a laudable compromise in expression, considering the fact that the detailed views of the three leaders, though basically identical, differed in emphasis."

"Thus Yugoslavia would have liked a more pointed reference to the need for direct negotiations between the two halves of Germany, while Egypt would have been happier with a stronger statement about Palestine."

Dwelling on the significance of the talks Shri Bhatia points to the fact the meeting of the three leaders was not accidental notwithstanding Sri Nehru's remarks to that effect but was preplanned inasmuch as President Nasser's visit to Yugoslavia had been altered at Sri Nehru's suggestion. Though only a limited number of Yugoslav, Indian and Egyptian newspaper correspondents were allowed to enter Brioni a vast number of correspondents from other countries were present at the nearby town of Pula.

Western observers regarded the joint statement as a "re-iteration of known views" of the three leaders, says *Reuter*.

The *New York Times* in its leader on July 20, entitled "The Neutralists Meet" writes : "After the terrific build-up given in the Yugoslav and Egyptian press, which heralded the rise of a neutralist 'Third Force' bloc against big power blocs, the meeting between President Tito, President Nasser and Prime Minister Nehru has ended in what can only be characterised as an anti-climax." According to the newspaper there was nothing unexpected in the result because "aside from their neutralist attitude the three statesmen have little in common and each has separate and individual problem to meet. Tito is a Communist, Nehru is a democratic Socialist and Nasser is a military dictator. To Tito and Nasser the meeting with Nehru, head of one of the most populous countries in the world, meant undoubtedly an accretion of prestige and was exploited as such. It served to emphasize their 'independence' of both East and West and to minimize the isolation into which they were manoeuvring themselves. But to Nehru the meeting could mean neither prestige nor profit, and it was he, therefore, who put the brakes on whatever larger ambitions the other two might have had."

Nevertheless the newspaper does not altogether dismiss the importance of the meeting. "Like the Bandung Conference," the *New York Times* writes, "it tends to give new impetus to the idea of neutralism as between the West and the Soviet bloc, which can only facilitate comunist ideological and economic penetration and, in the end effect, weaken the West. For that reason the West, and the United States in particular, are bound to review their own policies towards these neutralists."

The newspaper considers Nehru deserving the most favourable consideration on account of his effort to lead India toward a democratic development in competition with totalitarian Soviet Russia and communist China, and his success or failure may go far in determining the future of Asia."

On the same general principle the encouragement of an independent, even if neutralist, Yugoslavia or Egypt claimed preference over the policy of throwing either or both into Soviet arms, the newspaper writes. But Yugolsavia's recent friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union required a re-examination of the wisdom of continued grant of military, distinguished from economic aid to her. "And Egypt has mortgaged its future for arms from the Soviet bloc to such an extent that it is no longer capable of utilizing and repaying the Western aid it seeks for the Aswan dam."

The editorial concludes with a justification of the U.S. refusal to honour her promises to Egypt to aid financing the construction of the Aswan dam.

Ghana (Gold Coast) Elections

Elections were held in Gold Coast during the third week of July to determine popular will regarding its immediate independence. The results of the elections for the unicameral legislature of 104 members were: Convention People's Party (CPP) 71, National Liberation Movement 12, Northern People's Party 15, other parties 6.

The victory of the CPP under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who was the first African ever to become a Prime Minister, meant that Gold Coast was soon to be independent as a unitary State. The Opposition centred in the National Liberation Movement had advocated a Federal State for the country. In view of the differences between the two principal political parties in the country, the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd had proposed in May last that a general election be held in Gold Coast to determine popular support for the parties. He had further added that after the elections the British Government would be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a "reasonable majority."

It is now almost certain that Gold Coast would soon join the Commonwealth as its first African member under the name of Ghana.

Aswan Dam

The withdrawal by the United States and the United Kingdom of their offer to help finance the High Dam on the river Nile at Aswan in Egypt was announced on July, 19. The U.S. and U.K offers were made on December 16, 1955, when at the request of the Egyptian Government, the two Western Powers indicated their willingness to contribute $55 million and $15 million respectively. The World Bank also offered to supply a loan totalling $200 million on condition that the USA and the UK stood by their promise. The withdrawal of their offers by the Governments of the USA and the U.K. would therefore mean that Egypt would be deprived also of the World Bank loan.

The announcement of the British withdrawal followed upon that of the USA. It is interesting to note that as late as on July 19, a British Foreign Office spokesman reiterated Britain's firm stand on her offer to Egypt. Explaining the British reasons for withdrawal a Foreign Office spokesman said: "The factors which had influenced the U.S. Government and ourselves are the same."

The United States action represented a major policy decision indicating that after several weeks' re-examination of policy toward President Nasser's Government in Egypt the State Department had decided to follow a tougher line. The decision was taken in full awareness of its repercussions in Egypt and her allies in the Arab countries of the Middle East, the *New York Times* reports.

Dana Adams Schmidt, *New York Times'* Washington correspondent, writes that the real reasons for U.S. refusal to honour its own promise were both domestic and foreign. The domestic reason was the congressional opposition to the project. "Congressional opposition was based on the belief that a big investment in Egypt would offend zionist sympathies and on the fear of Southern legislation that Egypt might raise more cotton in competition with the United States." The correspondent notes however, and herein perhaps lay the real explanation of U.S. conduct, that quite apart from these extremely influential considerations, the State Department had in the last year grown increasingly dubious of the wisdom of backing President Nasser in so epoch-making an enterprise as the Aswan High Dam.

The State Department release said that since the December offer developments had taken place which were not favourable for the success of the Aswan Dam project which had led the U.S. Government to conclude "that it is not feasible in present circumstances to participate in the project."

The U.S. refusal was made known to Egypt when the Egyptian Ambassador Dr. Ahmed Hussein had called on the Secretary of State Mr. Dulles on July 19 to convey to the U.S. Government Egypt's eagerness to accept the grant. President Nasser was then flying to Cairo after the talks at Brioni.

The Aswan Dam Project, designed to solve the problem of finding provision for the increasing population in Egypt, is naturally considered as a matter of life and death by all patriotic Egyptians. The Prospect estimated to cost 1300 million U.S. dollars would, when completed, represent one of the biggest engineering enterprises of history. Of the total cost of $1300 million, about 900 million dollars represented local Egyptian currency needs. The Anglo-U.S. offer of $70 million was designed to help Egypt cover the foreign exchange costs of the first stage of construction. The completion of the dam would take twelve to sixteen years, would add two million acres of cultivable land to Egypt's present seven million, and would multiply her electric power resources by eight.

Commenting on the action of the British and U.S. Governments in going back on their own promises the *Hitavada writes*: "The reason presumably is that Egypt is not meekly submitting to America and Britain but is following an independent foreign policy. It is an act of petulance on the part of Britain and also of America." (July 23).

Suez Canal Nationalized

On July 27, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal. The immediate cause of taking over the Canal is said to be mainly economic. Egypt is in urgent need of large funds for the erection of Aswan Dam. So long the UK and the USA had given hope that they would finance the Aswan Dam. But following the recent entente of Egypt and Yugoslavia, the USA and the UK stepped back from their previous commitment and the position was made further worse for Egypt when the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development also refused to grant loans to Egypt following the refusal of the USA and the UK in the matter. Egypt must have her Aswan Dam on the Nile and she must also have finance for that purpose. Loans being refused the only alternative source of finance has now been tapped and that is by the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Of course, Egypt's action will give rise to many international repercussions in the near future.

Colonel Nasser declared: "The Suez Canal is an exploiting company. We shall build the high dam by restoring our rights in the Suez Canal. We shall take the income from the Suez Canal—$100 million a year—and build the high dam." He described the Suez Canal Company as "a State within a State" and said that this inadmissible state of affairs was now ended. Egypt is now heading towards a national economy. This is nationalisation with compensation. Shareholders would be paid in accordance with the last closing prices at the Paris Bourse. The Suez Canal Company, with headquarters in Paris, is an Egyptian registered company with a majority of foreign shareholders. Britain is the largest shareholder in it. The 99-year concession granted to Britain is due to expire in 13 years after which under the original agreement the Canal would revert to Egypt.

On August 1, President Eisenhower commenting on the Suez crisis told a Press conference at Washington that it must be made certain that the rights of the world are not abused. He recalled that the Constantinople Convention of 1888 had laid it down that the Suez Canal should always be an international waterway.

The Suez Canal is the most important of the interoceanic Canals. It connects the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. In 1875 Sir Travers Twiss made a proposal for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal and in 1883 Britain proposed an international conference with a view to bringing about the neutralisation of the Canal. It took several years to materialise the proposal and this was done on October 29, 1888 by the Convention of Constantinople. The parties to the Convention were: Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, Russia and Turkey. Egypt was not a party to the Convention as she was a protectorate of Turkey at that time. The important provisions of the Convention are as follows:

"(1) The canal is open in time of peace as well as of war to merchantmen and men-of-war of all nations. No attempt to restrict this free use of the canal is allowed in time either of peace or of war. The canal can never be blockaded.

"(2) In time of war, even if Turkey is a belligerent, no act of hostility is allowed either inside the canal itself or within three sea miles from its ports. Men-of-war of the belligerents have to pass through the canal without delay. They may not stay longer than twenty-four hours, a case of absolute necessity excepted, within the harbours of Port Said and Suez, and twenty-four hours must elapse between the departure from those harbours of a belligerent man-of-war and a vessel of the enemy. Troops, munitions, and other war material may neither be shipped nor unshipped within the canal and its harbours. All rules regarding belligerents' men-of-war are likewise valid for their prizes.

"(3) No men-of-war are allowed to be stationed inside the canal, but each Power may station two men-of-war in the harbours of the port Said and Suez. Belligerents, however, are not allowed to station men-of-war in these harbours. No permanent fortifications are allowed in the canal.

"(4) The signatory Powers are obliged to notify the treaty to others and to invite them to accede thereto."

It may be recalled here that during the Italo-Abyssinian war the Canal was closed to Italian shipping, although on May 6, 1936, the British Foreign Secretary said that the "canal could not be closed except by League action." Egypt became a protectorate of Great Britain on and from December 18, 1914. Powers formerly conferred on the Sultan of Turkey were transferred by Germany and Austria to Britain under the terms of Peace Treaty after the first World War. Later on Turkey, under Article 17 of the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, surrendered all her rights and titles over Egypt as from November 1, 1914. In Febraury 1922, Britain declared the independence of Egypt. Under the Treaty of Alliance between Egypt and Britain in 1936, the parties recognised that the Canal was an integral part of Egypt. But it being an essential means of communication between different parts of the Commonwealth, provision was made for the defence of the Canal by the British forces to be stationed in the territory of Egypt in collaboration with Egyptian forces.

During the second World War, the Canal was closed by Britain to the Axis Powers. In 1940, Britain took over the interests of the Suez Canal Company. During the Palestine war in 1948, Egypt enforced a lawful blockade of Israel and established her right to visit and search ships passing through the Canal. In 1951, however, the Security Council in a resolution declared that such blockade by Egypt was illegal and called upon Egypt to terminate such restrictions imposed by her, but without any effect.

In 1923, while delivering judgment in the case of *Wimbledon*, in connection with status of the Kiel Canal, the Permanent Court of International Justice stated that the precedents of the Suez and Panama Canals "are merely illustrations of the general opinion according to which, when an artificial waterway connecting two open seas has been permanently dedicated to the use of the whole world, such waterway is assimilated to natural straits in the sense that even the passage of a belligerent man-of-war does not compromise the neutrality of the Sovereign State under whose jurisdiction the waters in question lie."

During his Press Conference on August 1, 1956, President Eisenhower rejected the suggestion that the proposed internationalization of the Suez Canal was comparable to internationalizing the U.S. Panama Canal. He said that the conditions were not the same. The great problem, declared the President, was to make certain of the continued efficient use of the great Suez waterway which was important to neighbouring countries and vital to U.S. economy and to the welfare of the American. But it is very difficult to understand how the welfare of the American can be said to be involved in the issue of the Suez Canal. By the same stretch of argument Egypt may also retort that the welfare of the people of Egypt depends on the Panama Canal.

Under the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States in 1901, the United States has the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal running between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and a number of rules, substantially as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, have been adopted as the basis of the neutralisation of the Panama Canal. The Panama Canal was opened in 1914 and under the terms of the Hay-Varilla Treaty of 1903 between the USA and the new Republic of

Panama, the canal and the entrance thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity and shall be open to vessels of all nations. The neutrality of the Panama Canal is subject to the USA's remaining neutral in a state of war. During the second World War, the USA seized all Axis vessels lying in the Panama Canal.

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal has conferred a strategic victory upon Egypt and in the future war Mediterranean will remain a dead sea if Egypt becomes a belligerent country against her. Under the terms of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, after a period of 20 years Britain should have to withdraw from the Canal Zone. But Britain still persists in the Canal Zone and Egypt may claim to have valid reasons for nationalisation.

On August 2, 1956, Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons that Britain could not accept any arrangements for the Suez Canal which wolud leave it in the unfettered control of a single Power which could, as recent events had shown, exploit it purely for purposes of national policy. Mr. Eden has suggested world control of the Canal, as he thinks that freedom and security of transit through the canal and efficiency of its operation are essential and these conditions can be effectively ensured by an international authority. "Nothing else than this can be acceptable to us," said the British Prime Minister.

But Egypt may pertinently ask what is the meaning of control by an international authority? In reality it would turn out to be the control by the USA and the UK, who are the trustees or rather the managing directors of the so-called Security Council and the UNO. When Britain was in control of the Canal during the second World War, did she allow free and safe passage to Axis vessels? Legally, during the second World War, the Convention of Constantinople was in force, still, however, was it not an offence on the part of the Allies to deny free passage to the ships of the Axis Powers through the Canal? Today they are invoking the doctrine of the Convention of Constantinople to which Egypt was not a party and as such she is not technically bound by the terms of the Convention. She may put forward the plea that the Convention was imposed on her under duress and this cannot be binding on her in view of her changed status. By applying the argument of Sir Eden, Egypt may lawfully demand that the Panama Canal should also be internationalized. Why that Canal should remain the national preserve of the USA?

If the Suez Canal is to be internationalized, it is deem and proper other canals like the Panama and the Kiel should also be internationalized and the main condition would be that these be permanently neutralised and shall remain open even to the belligerents during war. Simply speaking, during the next war, the Suez and the Panama Canal must remain open to the vessels of both the belligerent Powers, without discrimination or restrictions. The Suez Canal is no doubt vital to the Commonwealth trade nearly 75 per cent of which pass through the Canal.

On July 27, 1954, Britain and Egypt reached an agreement on evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone. The agreement provided for the evacuation of the estimated 73,000 strong British garrison, concentrated in the Canal Zone area since British soldiers, sailors and airmen left the main cities of Egypt in 1947. A maintenance staff was to have remained for some time to look after the Canal Zone military installations, valued at £400 million. The chief points of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement were as follows :

1. Evacuation of the British troops from the Canal Zone within 27 months;

2. Reactivation of the base in the event of an attack on the Arab States or Turkey;

3. The duration of the new agreement will be for seven years;

4. The base is to be maintained by a British civilian contracting firm.

The agreement will last until its expiry after seven years from the date of its signature. During the last 12 months of this period the two Governments will consult together to decide what arrangements are necessary upon termination of the agreement. Parts of the present Suez Canal base will be kept in efficient working order in accordance with the requirements set forth in Annexe I and capable of immediate use in accordance with the following :

A. In the event of an armed attack by an outside Power on Egypt, or any country which at the date of signature of the present agreement is a party to the treaty of joint defence between the Arab League States or on Turkey, Egypt will afford to the United Kingdom such facilities as may be necessary in order to place the base on a war footing and operate it effectively.

B. In the event of a threat of attack on any of the above-named countries, there shall be an immediate consultation between the UK and Egypt.

The agreement recognizes that the Suez Maritime Canal which is an integral part of Egypt, is a waterway economically, commercally and strategically of international importance and expresses the determination of both parties to uphold the 1888 Convention guaranteeing the freedom of navigation of the Canal.

Subsequently on October 19, 1954, Britain and Egypt signed an agreement for the evacuation of the British troops from the Suez Canal Zone within the next 20 months from the date thereof. The whole of the 8,000 strong British garrison in the Suez Canal Zone would leave Egypt by June 20, 1956 under the terms of the new Anglo-Egyptian agreement. But British troops are to return to the base in the event of an armed attack by an outside Power on Turkey or on any Arab State.

By nationalising therefore after June 20, 1956, it seems that Egypt has not violated the latest Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on the Canal.

The Suez Canal Company

We append the following account of the Suez Canal Company as given in the *New York Times*:

The income of the Suez Canal Company which President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt said his Government intended to use to build the Aswan High Dam, amounts to tens of millions of dollars yearly.

Although the Suez Canal Company—the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez—is an Egyptian stock company, its operations are subject to a nine-power international convention signed in Constantinople (now Istanbul) in 1888 and elaborated in the British-French agreement of 1904.

The nations in the 1888 convention were France, Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, Turkey and the Netherlands. An article of that convention said the canal shall be "free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag"—a clause somewhat qualified in world history since 1888.

One of the principal stockholders is the British Government. If the stockholders' position is infringed upon, a suit can be carried to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

If Egypt were able to sustain her claim, the amount of income available would depend on the financial policies she pursued. In 1954, the company's total receipts were $92,730,574. Total expenses were $43,208,171. Ths left a balance of $49,522,403.

Statutory interest and the redemption of shares took $4,968,656, leaving a net income, plus cash on hand, of $44,599,629.

Of this available total, the company set aside $7,428,573 for depreciation and other reserves, and provided $7,142,857 for improvement. Of the balance available for distribution, $30,028,199, the company paid out in dividends $29,778,672, leaving $249,527 to be carried forward.

The gross dividend per capital share, including 5 per cent statutory interest, was $30.51.

Less detailed figures are available for 1955. The combany's report of last June, however, showed that for 1955 total receipts had risen to $98,682,442 and total expenditures to $52,297,584. This left a balance of $46,384,858. Of this sum, $30,500,000 was distributed as dividends. The Egyptian Government received about $5,000,000.

This income was realized from transit dues, tolls on all ships using the canal. These dues have been reduced twenty-seven times in the canal's eighty-seven years of operation.

The Suez Canal Company is an international joint stock company. Its capital consists of 800,000 shares, each of a par value of $80.50.

The shares are traded on the Paris Bourse and in 1955 fluctuated in price between a low of $267.20 and a high of $355.70.

The British Government holds 353,204 shares, the result of the purchsa of the Khedive of Egypt's shares by Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli in 1875. This is 44 per cent of the stock. Of the balance, 78 per cent is held by private shareholders in France and 22 per cent by individuals in various parts of the world.

The company's board is composed of sixteen French directors, nine British, five Egyptian, one Dutch and one United States director.

The canal reduces by 6,700 miles the distance between New York and Red Sea ports and by 3,500 miles the distance between ports on the East Coast of the United States and those on the Per-

sian Gulf, as compared with the sea voyage around Africa.

The idea of the canal arose out of the rivalry between Britain and France for the Indian trade in the eighteenth century. Napoleon was sent by the French Directory in 1798 to occupy Egypt. An engineer sent with him, Charles Lepere, studied possible canal routes across the Isthmus of Suez.

Ferdinand de Lesseps, vice-consul in Alexandria in 1832 and later consul-general, read M. Lepere's reports. On retiring, he obtained a concession in 1854, improved in 1856. In spite of British opposition, he floated shares in 1858, more than half being taken up in France. He began digging in 1859 and ten years later, after many physical and political obstacles had been overcome, the canal was opened to traffic.

Refusal of Aid to Egypt

The following extract from an editorial in the *New York Times* gives an idea of how fully the matter of aid to Egypt was considered by the Anglo-American group:

"In 1953, President Eisenhower, six weeks in office, proclaimed a new Middle East policy—to try to stem the 'deterioration in relations between the Arab nations and the United States' and 'restore [the Arabs'] confidence and trust [in Washington]'.

"The Administration's efforts to win the friendship of the Arabs were long, hard and, it has recently appeared, futile. Instead of joining the West, the Arab nations have been engaged in a flirtation with the Soviet bloc. Instead of peace in the Middle East, the possibility of a renewal of the Arab-Israel war has mounted.

"Last week the United States appeared to have altered its Mid-East policy. For the first time Washington sharply rebuffed the leader of the Arab world—President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. After offering last December to help Colonel Nasser build Egypt's cherished $1.3 billion Aswan dam, Washington announced last Thursday: 'It is not feasible in present circumstances [for us] to participate in the project.'

"Last December the United States offered Egypt a grant of $56 million and Britain offered $14 million—both grants to help cover foreign exchange costs in the first stage of construction. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development agreed to put up $200 million in loans, and Britain and the United States promised to give sympathetic consideration to supplying $130,000,000 later in loans and grants. One political string was attached to the offer: in return for Western aid Egypt would have to forgo any Communist assistance."

"Last Thursday the Egyptian Ambassador to Washington, Ahmed Hussein, called on Secretary of State Dulles to say that Egypt was ready, willing and eager to accept the United States proposition on the dam. Fifty minutes later Ambassador Hussein emerged from the Secretary's office, empty-handed.

Next day the British Foreign Office announced that it, too, had rescinded its offer of aid on the dam. London did not trouble with diplomatic niceties; the announcement was made at a press conference hours before Cairo was formally notified.

Both Washington and London explained their change of mind on the ground that (1) Egypt had failed to reach agreement with neighbouring countries on a division of Nile waters, and (2) Egypt's ability to "devote adequate resources to assure the project's success" was now uncertain. That was presumably a reference to the fact that Egypt is bartering a large percentage of her best cash crop—cotton—for Communist weapons and goods.

But these were only the "diplomatic" reasons for the turn-down. Obviously, other factors entered into the West's decision."

Effect of Nasser's Action

The following quotation taken from the *New York Times* of July 28, shows the British reaction to the nationalization of the Suez Canal:

London, Friday, July 27.—Prime Minister Eden conferred hurriedly early today with United States and French diplomats on Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

The news of the action by President Gamal Abdel Nasser reached Sir Anthony last night in the middle of a dinner party he was giving for King Faisal of Iraq at 10 Downing Street.

Sir Anthony immediately conferred with Cabinet Ministers and service chiefs present at the dinner.

Later he summoned Andrew Foster, United States Charge d'Affairs, and Jean Chauvel, the French Ambassador, to the conference at 10 Downing Street. The meeting was still in progress after 1-30 o'clock this morning.

Also present at the post-midnight meeting were Mr. Lloyd, Viscount Kilmuir, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord President of the Council.

President Nasser's action appeared to have been a stunning surprise to British officials.

No formal response was immediately forthcoming. British officials were said to believe that any counter-action would have to be taken in close collaboration with the United States.

Since Washington took the lead in withdrawing Western promises to help Egypt build the dam, including initial aid grants totalling $70,000,000, the British feel the United States now must stand firmly beside Britain in this crisis.

Deshmukh and Nehru

Following is the text of Mr. Deshmukh's statement:

"For some time past my resignation of my office of Minister has been pending. Yesterday the President's office issued a Press Note to the effect that the President has been pleased to accept the resignation. I consider it necessary to make a statement in explanation of my resignation, and proceed to do so in accordance with Rule 218 of the Rules of Procedure of the Lok Sabha.

"I have resigned because I do not wish to share the responsibility for the Government's decision to separate the city of Bombay from Maharashtra. This issue, so vitally important to the interests of my constituency of Kolaba in particular, and of Maharashtra as well as India in general, has been handled by the Prime Minister.

"My protest has special reference to (1) the inability or unwillingness of the Government of India to persuade the Bombay Government to hold a judicial inquiry into the police firings of November 1955 and January 1956 in the course of which about 80 persons were killed and about 450 injured, and (2) to the impropriety of the Prime Minister's announcement in early June in regard to the future of Bombay while the States Reorganization Bill was before the Lok Sabha and had been referred to the Select Committee. I had in vain pleaded for an inquiry in regard to the former. In regard to the latter I have had no discussion with the Prime Minister, as obviously a discussion after the event was useless and as on the day the Prime Minister returned from Bombay after the A.I.C.C. meeting I asked him to make my pending resignation effective. It was at his suggestion that I agreed that the acceptance of my resignation might await his return from his tour abroad.

"I accepted the office of Finance Minister in May 1950 at the repeated requests of the Prime Minister. The House may be interested to know, as some little proof of my disinterestedness, that I had declined a similar offer made previously by Lord Wavell in May 1946 on the ground that neither by training nor by tradition was I qualified to take on the job of a politician. Before I accepted the Prime Minister's offer I warned him that I was apt to prove difficult where principles were involved and that I would have to resign if there was a major disagreement on matters of principle. His reply, if he will recall it, was 'in that event it will not be a case of your walking out alone.'

"Although the question was never explicitly discussed between us, this remark and assurance formed an unspoken pact between us to pursue and promote a progressive economic policy as a sound foundation for plans for the country's economic development. It is for him to say if he is satisfied or not with the nature and quality of my collaboration with him. On my part I should like to take this opportunity for acknowledging his constant and understanding support in the discharge of my duties, not to speak of his irreproachable courtesy, unlimited patience and unfailing consideration. We have had our differences of opinion, acute sometimes as in the matter of relaxation of financial control, but we have up till now always been able to reconcile them as a result of personal discussion.

"I have never been a member of the Congress Party, and I am inclined to believe that this freedom from a formal party affiliation has helped me to discharge a little more effectively my role as a supposed expert in economic, financial, fiscal and monetary matters. Had the general elections not broken into the tenure of my office and had it not been constitutionally almost inevitable for the Finance Minister to be a member of the Lok Sabha, the present situation

in which I feel it incumbent to resign on an issue not strictly financial or not of an all-India character would not have arisen—because I have had no serious differences of opinion with my colleagues in the Cabinet and the Prime Minister continued to extend his support to me in all essential matters concerning the Finance Ministry.

"I consider it only fair to all concerned to add that irrespective of the S.R.C. report and for many months past I had been informing the Prime Minister that I did not intend to take part in the coming elections and that it was my firm view that the time had arrived for some one from the Congress Party to take charge of the office of Finance Minister. It was with a view to bringing about a greater association of the concerned members of the Cabinet with the handling of the problems of the Finance Ministry, especially in regard to raising resources for the Second Five-Year Plan that on my advice the Prime Minister has constituted the resources committee of the Cabinet.

"My election as a representative of Kolaba District and as one among the Bombay representatives in the Lok Sabha could not but affect the political aloofness of my role as a non-party financial expert (supposed to be, according to one of my very able colleagues). The constituency and the State concerned called upon me from time to time to take an interest in some local problems, and I have always been able to do so without being untrue to my responsibility to the country at large. The matters involved were not matters of grave principle.

"But I am not one of those who hold that Central Government Ministers should be like disembodied spirits, concerned with only their Central responsibilities and not at all concerned with the affairs, politics and interests of their constituencies or States. Nevertheless, I can truthfully claim that I have concerned myself less with local matters than any of my colleagues, barring the Prime Minister, owing to my lack of party affiliation and the technical nature of the matters dealt with in the Finance Ministry.

"In the matter of the Government's decision in regard to the separation of Bombay State from Maharashtra, however, my conscience will not permit me to remain aloof or unconcerned as I hold strongly that the decision, with its latest modification, is grossly unjust and unfair to the people of Maharashtra and against even the interests of the country. I can find no single valid argument in justification of it. I hope I shall have an opportunity of elaborating this during the course of the coming general discussion on the S.R.C. Bill as reported by the select committee.

"But even in this matter, following my role as a non-party financial expert, I did not take up a strong personal attitude until I became convinced that the announced decision was unacceptable to the people of Kolaba in particular and Maharashtra in general and involved grave risk of economic ruination to them.

"I also anticipated the difficulties likely to arise over Bombay city and the lengths to which Congress-devoted Maharashtra leaders were prepared to go, and used my influence in securing acceptance for the bigger bilingual Bombay State (*i.e.*, including both Saurashtra and Vidarbha) which was the only genuine bilingual State arrangement in my view. Unfortunately this was rejected in turn by the Congress Working Committee, the Gujarat and Bombay Pradesh Congress Committees and finally by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee themselves by implication. Although I am certain that the Maharashtra and the Gujarat public will even now favour such a solution, with the present local leadership being what it is, I fear this solution will not be feasible.

"Even before the Prime Minister made his announcement about Bombay in January last, I had informed him and the Cabinet of my view that if the bigger bilingual Bombay State was not possible, then the only alternative was the formation of a separate Gujarat and a separate Maharashtra including Bombay city and that the separation of Bombay city from Maharashtra would be a grave economic and political blunder, besides being unjust to Maharashtra.

"I refrained from protesting against the Government decision of January last—which was not taken in the full Cabinet—until I became seized of the reactions of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and was satisfied that the decision was unacceptable to Maharashtra in general and my constituency in particular. On being satisfied on this point I tendered my resignation to the Prime Minister.

"In reply he referred to the desirability of doing everything possible to discourage violence, as also to interesting possibilities of the formation of big bilingual units such as Dakshina Pradesh, Purva Pradesh, etc. At about the same time a few friendly fellow-members of Parliament advised me not to precipitate matters until Parliament had had an opportunity of considering the question. It was in view of those considerations that I refrained from pressing my resignation in January last.

"Although the S.R.C. Bill as introduced made no change for the better, from my point of view, I was content to await the report of the Select Committee. But discussions in this respect were in my opinion gravely prejudiced by the extraordinary action of the Prime Minister in making his announcement in Bombay early last June. His later explanation that he was always free to announce the Government's decision is not valid, as in no sense was the decision a decision of the Government. There was no consideration of the proposal in the Cabinet or even by circulation. There was no individual consultation with members of the Cabinet known to be specially interested as, for instance, myself. There is no record even of a meeting of a committee of the Cabinet, and to this day no authoritative text of the so-called decision is available to the members of the Cabinet.

"This instance is typical of the cavalier and unconstitutional manner in which decisions have been taken and announced on behalf of the Cabinet by certain unauthorized members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, in matters concerning the reorganization of the States. The separation of Andhra from Tamilnad was decided upon and announced by the Prime Minister without reference to the Cabinet. The decision of last January in regard to placing Bombay city under Central administration was again without prior reference to the Cabinet, whose previous decision was Bombay should be made a city State. Nor did that decision represent a solution agreed upon by all concerned, including the Maharashtra leaders, since their proposal to that effect was conditional on (i) Bombay city being retained as the capital of Maharashtra and (ii) a provision for later merger of the city with Maharashtra.

"It is true that a committee of the Cabinet was constituted to decide boundary matters, but it was never the intention that the committee should decide the fate of Maharashtra and Bombay city on behalf of the Cabinet. In any case, I have a grievanec in that I was not consulted in regard to the specific decisions announced, although as a Minister specially interested, territorially and electorally, at least common courtesy demanded that I should have been. My complaint is that the Prime Minister and the Committee of three have arrogated to themselves powers not delegated to them by the Cabinet as a whole.

"Even more summary and discourteous has been the rejection by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of my request that they promote an inquiry into the Bombay firings of November 1955 and January 1956. I am convinced that they are being false to their principles in regard to the safeguarding of civil liberties in helping to hush up matters.

"Since the Prime Minister has at a late date argued that the question of Bombay city cannot be reconsidered just now because Bombay has misbehaved, he cannot argue that the matter is one concerning the Bombay Government alone. His view that such an inquiry will only exacerbate public feelings further is not valid, since truth can never embitter, and what is alleged with a great deal of prima facie evidence is that the people showed lack of fire control and grossly exceeded their legal powers.

"There is evidence to show that they were instructed by the Chief Minister to shoot at sight and to shoot to kill that the deliberate use of tear gas before intended firing brought out women and children from their rooms choking for breath, only to be shot down by the indiscriminate firing of the police, using tommy guns, firing several rounds to the second, that there were 2,500 rounds fired resulting in 80 persons dead and 450 injured, that the police injuries through stones and acid bulbs were insignificant and not contemporaneous with the firing episode.

"That the ruling party should have thought it fit to order an inquiry into the Hoshiarpur lathi charge when they resolutely refused to order an inquiry into the Bombay firings, shows an animus against Maharashtra with which I refuse to associate myself. I drew attention of the Prime Minister to many of these matters and informed him that I was dissatisfied with the

apathy with which this matter has been viewed by him.

"I pointed out to him that in any other country calling itself civilized with such a courage a judicial inquiry would have been compulsory by law. Even now, when the coroner has held in several cases that the firing of November 1955 was unjustified, there seems to be no intention to inquire into the matter.

"These matters, viz., the usurpation of the powers of the Cabinet by an inner circle and the denial of civil liberties by giving a carte blanche to the Bombay police, have a bearing on public interest going far beyond the range of the dispute over Bombay city. Violence can only be curbed by justice and rational behaviour. The aggressive non-violence of many men responsible for the Bombay decision will do far more to disrupt the unity of the country than outbursts of violence, which no sane man will concede and which must be dealt with firmly, but not brutally, especially where hundreds of palpably innocent citizens are involved."

Mr. Nehru, who was cheered by the Congress benches when he rose to read a prepared statement, said: "It is with deep regret that I have listened to the statement made by my honourable friend and my colleague in the Government till yesterday. I regret having to part company in the work of the Government from a valued colleague. I regret that on this occasion an element of controversy has been introduced. I am not referring to the merits of the questions raised by my friend. These will no doubt be dealt with in the course of the discussions in this House.

"The honourable member has criticized the various actions for which I am responsible. I accept that responsibility fully, as in fact, I must, in my capacity as the Prime Miniser. But I am reluctant to enter into a controversy which, to some extent, is of a personal character. Since we are ending our close association as members of Government, I should like this parting to be with goodwill (cheers).

"I shall only mention here two or three matters to which reference has been made. The account that the honourable member has given of various developments is not, in my opinion, quite correct in all its particulars or is incomplete and hence may give a wrong impression as to what happened.

"Reference has been made to the proceedings of the Cabinet. It is not usual to do so, and it is a little difficult to deal with this matter without a full account of what the Cabinet considered at various times. I do not think it is proper for me to deal fully with the proceedings of the Cabinet."

"This matter (Bombay issue)," Mr. Nehru continued, "has been under consideration in various ways for many months and it has always been our desire to have the largest measure of consultation and agreement not only in the Government but in Parliament and elsewhere. We discussed this in the Cabinet on many occasions and when the Cabinet appointed a sub-committee we kept the Cabinet informed of its work."

Mr. Nehru said: "The honourable member has said that my announcement early in June in regard to the future of Bombay was wrong in propriety as the S. R. Bill was before the Lok Sabha and had been referred to a Select Committee. I am wholly unable to appreciate this argument. What I announced then was the Government's policy which had already been included in the draft Bill before Parliament. The only additional statement I made was that the future of Bombay might be decided five years later by Bombay, a fact which had been referred to repeatedly. There was considerable speculation and uncertainty about this which called for clarification. In such circumstances it was necessary to state the position clearly. Apart from this it is the business of the Government to declare its policy and place it before Parliament. It is open to the Select Committee to accept it, vary it or reject it. I had in fact stated in Bombay that it will naturally be for the Select Committee of Parliament to decide what they thought proper.

"Reference has also been made to the decision not to hold a judicial inquiry into the incidents in Bombay in November 1955 and January 1956. These incidents were serious. But, after the most careful consideration and in consulation with many colleagues and others, we felt that our principal aim of developing normal and good relations in Bombay between various communities and groups would be jeopardized by such prolonged inquiry at this stage. We felt that our chief effort should be to establish good relations again.

"I should like again to express my deep regret at this parting of the ways."

INDIA'S NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

Background

India is on the verge of an industrial revolution. The nature and extent, the pace and progress of this revolution would, obviously, depend on the industrial policy of our country. Such a policy, if rightly conceived and properly executed, can prove a potent weapon for the accelerated growth and balanced development of the economy of our motherland. The Government of Free India, immediately after the attainment of Swaraj, recognised that a dynamic national policy should be formulated to increase production and to secure its equitable distribution. It was on the 6th April, 1948, that the Government in its resolution No. 1(3)-44(13)/48 of even date promulgated for the first time the "fundamental aspects of its industrial policy" with the confidence that "a joint and intensive effort will be made by labour, capital and the general public, which will pave the way for the rapid industrialization of the country." It was stressed at that time that the State must play a "progressively active role" in the development of industries. The contribution of the State was, inevitably, limited by its resources in men, money and material. The Government had, therefore, to bank upon private initiative and enterprise to fill up the void left as a result of the "disabilities" of the State. The entrepreneurial activities had, consequently, been demarcated as between the State sector and the Private sector but this bifurcation was not watertight. The two sectors had to co-exist and work as equal partners in this great adventure of building up industrial India. Notwithstanding this, it was stipulated that

"While the inherent right of the State to acquire any existing industrial undertaking will always remain, and will be exercised whenever the public interest requires it, Government have decided to let existing undertakings in these* fields develop for a period of ten years, during which they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion."

This was a period of interregnum—a period when the private industrialists were, in a way, on trial. Eight years have gone by. They have plied their furrows almost unhampered except where State was forced to intervene under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. They had both an opportunity and a challenge to justify their existence in the democratic socialism of our country. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minsiter for Commerce and Industry, says, in this connection:

"In practically 80 per cent of the industries with which I have been concerned, the private sector has not been coming forward to anticipate and provide against the increased demand for the products of the industries under its care."[1]

The production in the Private sector was thus restrictive, and failed to match with the needs of the country during the transitional stage. Any connivance or procrastination on the part of the State was detrimental to the interests of the people at large. The time has come for the Government to intensify its efforts for the transformation of our backward country into a country of extensive industrialisation and modern technique at an unprecedented tempo.[2] The era of *laissez faire* and capitalist enterprise has since long been dead. Almost in the same vein Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken at the historic session of the All-India Congress Committee held at Lahore in 1929. He said:

"I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old, and whose methods are predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country to adopt the full socialistic programme. But we just realize that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only point in dispute is the pace and methods of advance to its full realization. India will

* (1) Coal, (2) Iron and steel, (3) Aircraft manufacture, (4) Ship-building, (5) Manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets, and (6) Mineral oils.

1. *Commerce*, December, 1955, p. A 14, "Private Sector in a Socialist Economy."

2. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, observed while inaugurating the new building of the Indian Chambers of Commerce that he believed that within the next ten years India will be able to cross the Rubicon becoming from an under-developed country a vastly industrialist country.—*Tribune*, May 12, 1956, p. 1, column 2.

have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race."

This stand, as we all know, has been reiterated in the phrase "socialist pattern of society" (the Annual Report of the Congress Parliamentary Party now refers to the national goal in a clearer and shorter terminology as "socialist society." It also expresses the hope that bigger strides would be made in future for the realization of this objective within a measurable time). In unison with this pronounced deviation in the ideology our National Government enunciated its New Industrial Policy on April 30, 1956. The new policy has fortunately synchronised with the inauguration of the Second Five-Year Plan in which rapid industrialisation constitutes the core of economic development. It is, therefore, high time to examine this policy. It would help facilitate our analytical study if the highlights of this policy are enumerated first.

Highlights of New Policy

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 is not merely a re-enunciation of the old resolution. It is not "old wine in new bottles" as some critics have characterized it. It makes fundamental departures from the traditional grooves allowing of course the "mixed economy" to continue with a swing towards the "Left." It now looks more "red" than before. The New Policy says :

"The State will progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities with a view to reducing economic inequalities and concentration of economic power and monopolisation."

Motivated by this basic approach the Government of India have divided industries into three categories as indicated below :

(A) *Exclusive State Monopoly* : This group comprises the following seventeen industries in which the initiative for all new units will exclusively rest with the State except where under the force of circumstances or in public interest the State secures the co-operation of the private enterprise.

It may be of some interest to note here that the preponderance of State enterprise has involved not only the inclusion of defence and strategic industries named at items 1, 2 and 14 (as done in the 1948 resolution) but has drawn in this fold five more industries (items 3, 8, 12, 15 and 16) which were heretofore within the ambit of State-*cum*-Private sector. The bounds of Public sector have thus been enlarged considerably. This category includes :

Defence Industries

1. Arms and ammunitions and allied items of defence equipment.
2. Atomic energy.

Heavy Industries

3. Iron and steel.
4. Heavy castings and forgings of iron and steel.
5. Heavy plant and machinery required for iron and steel production, for mining, for machine tool manufacture and for such other basic industries as may be specified by the Central Government.
6. Heavy electrical plant including large hydraulic and steam turbines.

Mining

7. Coal and lignite.
8. Mineral oils.
9. Mining of iron ore, gypsum, sulphur, gold and diamond.
10. Mining and processing of copper, lead, zinc, tin, molybdenum and wolfram.
11. Minerals specified in the Schedule to the Atomic Energy Order, 1953.

Transport and Communications

12. Aircraft.
13. Air transport.
14. Railway transport.
15. Ship-building.
16. Telephones and telephone cables, telegraph and wireless apparatus (excluding radio receiving sets).
17. Generation and distribution of electricity.

(B) *Concurrent (State-cum-Private) Sector* : This would include the following twelve industries:

1. All minerals except "minor minerals."
2. Aluminium and other non-ferrous metals not included in the preceding list at (A) above.
3. Machine tools.
4. Ferro alloys and tool steels.
5. Basic and intermediate products required by chemical industries, such as, the manufacture of drugs, dyestuffs and plastics.
6. Anti-biotics and other essential drugs.
7. Fertilizers.
8. Synthetic rubber.
9. Carbonisation of coal.
10. Chemical pulp.
11. Road transport.
12. Sea transport.

(C) *Exclusively Private Sector* : The third category will embrace all other industries such as sugar, cotton textiles, cement, etc. Normally the development of industries in this group will rest solely with the private industrialists but the State will also reserve the right to set up any industry even in this region.

It would at once be admitted that this three-fold classification of the industrial realm is not doctrinaire and rigid. As a matter of fact, it permits of interpenetration and dovetailing between industries in the two sectors.

Decentralised Sector

Another outstanding feature of our Industrial Policy is that it accords the small and cottage industries a distinct role in the present economic structure of our country. This is justified on four scores :

1. They will help mitigate the "disguised" unemployment by absorbing a large number of under-employed and unemployed people in the rural and urban areas;
2. They will iron out the income and wealth disparities;
3. They will facilitate canalisation of the idle or potential resources in capital and human skill; and
4. They will reduce (if not eliminate altogether) the new social and economic problems emerging from unhealthy urbanisation.

It is noteworthy that stress has been laid on self-dependence rather than on "spoon-feeding." It is also contemplated that the decentralised sector of industries should be patterned on co-operative basis. The pyramidical industrial structure will thus have a broad base of village, small and cottage industries.

Some Views

The New Industrial Policy has had mixed reception in our country. While some regarded it as progressive, realistic and fair, others think that it is worse than the 1948 Industrial Policy, and is highly unrealistic and visionary. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry held that this statement will hamstring the Private sector and that a more "flexible" approach was needed for the simultaneous functioning of the Private and Public sectors. The Committee urged that "the major question is rapid development of the economy and not so much as to who should do it." This seems to be an impartial, scientific and balanced approach. But the crux of the matter is : Who can undertake this rapid development in the present juncture when our country is under-developed and is passing through the travails of industrial regeneration? Should it be the State or the Private *entrepreneur*? The answer to this may be sought in the observation made by a world-renowned British economist, A. C. Pigou :

"Private enterprise left to itself, even when it operates under conditions of simple competition, often leads to a distribution of resources less favourable to the national dividend than some other possible distribution."[3]

The tempo of productivity will be at a lower ebb if private initiative and enterprise is allowed to continue *status quo*. In order to create a milieu in which the small man is enabled to put in his best for ameliorating his own living standard as also of his countrymen, the State has to play a greater part in the economic progress of the country. This line of argument is countered by the private *entrepreneur* by putting forward the plea that the enlargement of its sphere of activities in preference to that of the State is justified by its "performance" during the First Plan period. In support of this contention the following figures of investment are adduced :

Table I

	First Five-Year Plan		
	Total allocation	Actual expenditure	Percentage of short-fall in expenditure
	Rs. Crores	Rs. Crores	
1. Public Sector	101	57	40
2. Private Sector	383	343	11

	Second Five-Year Plan	
	Total allocation	Percentage increase of allocation over that of 1st Plan
	Rs. Crores	
1. Public Sector	710	700*
2. Private Sector	700	200 (about)

* *N.B.*—If compared with the actual expenditure incurred during 1951-56, the percentage stands at 1246.

The above data bears eloquent testimony to the fact that on the investment-basis the alleged "strangulation" of the private sector by allocating to it proportionately smaller share of the investible resources is unjustified. It implies that just because the Public sector failed to utilize the entire planned expenditure of Rs. 101 crores during the First Plan, its share of outlays

3. *Economics of Welfare*, 4th Edition, p. 381.

of the future Plans should also be less. We are inclined to believe, however, that such a policy would amount to calling a dog a bad name and hang it. "Once deficient, ever deficient" does not appeal to any sane person. We, rather, feel that not only for ideological but practical reasons also, the Public sector should have higher apportionment of expenditure to enable it to regain the ground lost in the past.

The case for the Private Sector derives further strength from the fact that its contribution to the total national dividend of India is regarded as impressive by some critics. The Table given below makes this point clear :

(See TABLE II)

On the basis of the above statistics Shri Morarji J. Vaidya, President of the Indian Merchants Chamber, holds that

"The general feeling of the Private Sector is that in the enthusiasm to assign an increasingly larger role to the Public Sector, the scope of development for the Private Sector has been unnecessarily restricted."

The validity of this platitude is beyond our comprehension. In an expanding economy such as ours, the advances made, in whatever sector they may be, will influence the entire fabric of the country. Therefore with the prosperity of the State enterprise, its counterpart—that is, the Private sector—is bound to flourish. The only difference will be that under the changed conditions the benefit will accrue to the community at large—to the privileged as well as the unprivileged or less privileged class—and not to an individual or a body of individuals.

Another charge levelled against the 1956 Policy is that it gives a bias to the development of heavy and machine-making industries. The critics view this as un-Gandhian. To our mind this appears a dismal approach which reflects perverted and parochial thinking. There is no doubt that village and cottage and small-scale industries have a vital role to play in our economic renaissance, yet to make them as the bulwark of the future economy would be perilous. Taking cognizance of this fact, the Second Five-Year Plan makes a provision of Rs. 200 crores for cottage industries out of an aggregate allocation of Rs. 710 crores for industrial undertakings in the Public Sector. Further, the industrial Policy unmistakably says : "The aim of the State policy will be to ensure that the decentralised sector acquires sufficient vitality to be self-supporting and its development is integrated with that of large-scale industry."

The New Policy scrupulously avoids the mention of that most-accursed term "nationalisation" which served as a scare-crow to the industrialists since the first Policy statement on the subject was made in April, 1948. The protagonists of the Private Sector interpret the absence of a guarantee against nationalisation as an element of uncertainty and risk which would retard industrial growth. The question is whether such an assurance is called for in the context of the new approach envisaged in the 1956 Resolution. India now stands committed to the socialist economy. In such an economic set-up capitalism his no abiding place. Moreover, it is clearly stated in the Resolution under discussion that industrial undertakings in the Private Sector have necessarily to fit into the framework of the social and economic policy of the State. The objection raised thus holds no water.

The immunity from nationalisation is deemed by some critics as the "Charter of exploitation" under which the industrialists could take out all the kernel and leave the husk to posterity. This, too, is an unwarranted charge.

The argument that State-ownership or State dominance over the basic and strategic

TABLE II

(Fig. in Rupees Abja : 1 abja=100 crores)

Items	National net product (in terms of 1952-53 prices) in the year			Percentage increase during		Total net product during		
	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1951-56	1956-61	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61
1. Agriculture and allied pursuits	44.50	52.30	61.70	18	18	91.10	108.0	134.8
2. Mining	0.80	0.95	1.50	19	58			
3. Factory establishments	5.90	8.40	13.80	43	64			
4. Small enterprise	7.40	8.40	10.80	14	30			

industries will avoid concentration of economic power or monopolies is questioned by the private entrepreneurs. It is said : where is the guarantee that such evils (if evils they are) will not emerge in the Public sector? Even if it were granted that the measures calculated to expand the public enterprise will result in public monopolies, it is undeniable that such organisations will work for the public weal not public woe as the private monopolies are wont to do.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the latest Industrial Policy, although drawn up pragmatically and with the aim of fostering rapid economic transformation, cannot satisfy all. It has its points of weakness as well as of strength. It is a potent agent to turn the first sods for building up a free and viable society. But much depends upon the crusader's zeal and the pioneering spirit with which it is implemented as India enters the second lap of planning. Unless we have faith in our economic policies and unless we come to believe that India's economic improvisers of today, however dubiously they are now regarded, will be the sages of tomorrow, the new Industrial Policy will fail to make much leeway. Let us, therefore, shun that sceptical and cynical attitude, which many Indian intellectuals cherish towards the economic policies formulated by the Nehru Government. Given that faith and self-confidence India will soon become a power to be reckoned with in the resurgent Asia, if not in the world.

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THE EMPLOYMENT TARGET OF OUR SECOND PLAN

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THE 'draft outline' stage of the Second Five-Year Plan has recorded a marked change in the employment target, from 11 million to 8 million, which, however, is significant only because employment is intended to be the kingpin of the Second Plan. The statement of a quantitative fall of about 27 per cent in the employment target amounts to almost nothing, except the qualitative implication of the success or failure on this count, of an employment-oriented plan. In so far as this implication is unavoidable in the common platform, the employment target of our Plan needs a thorough reappraisal, although apparently it might seem that the draft outline has been much more cautious and realistic than the tentative framework.

It appears that there have been adopted three methods for calculation of the employment intensity of our Plan. The first is to calculate the value of invested capital per worker in different sectors and to calculate the number of workers that can be absorbed by additional investment planned for; this may be called the capital intensity method. The second method is to calculate the output per worker in different sectors and determine from the planned increase in output target, the number of additional workers required under certain assumptions of increase in labour productivity over the five-year period. The third is the method of regional socio-economic surveys conducted in different parts of India, by the Planning Commission, in order to assess the extent and distribution of the problem of unemployment in our country, in the context of which the employment target has to be adjudged. There may be good reasons to think that this third factual survey method has lent as much realism as is contained in the draft, as distinguished from the tentative framework, in its broad conclusion that "even with the larger effort that is envisaged in the Second Plan, the total volume of unemployment may be of the same order as at present." The question whether, in the scheme of investments planned for, the run to keep at the same place will not fall short of the new-set modest target. In fact, there are reasons to think in the negative, if the First Plan results are taken as any guide whatsoever. The now famous quantitative target of 5 to 6 million employment in the First Plan and the actual results achieved by now must at least beget some wisdom. In fact, the draft Second Plan clearly admits that in its effect

on "direct employment," the Second Plan will be like the First, in reaching a figure of about 4.5 million, though with double the volume of Government investment and priority placed on employment. Even admitting the figure of direct employment to be 4.5 million, the rest half of the target depends on the impulse of the private sector. The Second Plan outline has been delightfully vague in not giving any breakdown of estimate of the employment intensity in the public and private sector separately. In a sense this is unavoidable but for the quantitative statement of the target in the Plan. There are good reasons in not being complacent over the reaction of the Private Sector, specially after the New Industrial Policy statement by the Government and the restriction scheme for factory production of consumer goods. The differential excise tax-subsidy scheme appears to be too poor a substitute for diverting private investment otherwise destined to factory, to labour intensive village, small-scale, cottage and hand industries (viz., the mill *vs.* handloom). It is not only that the employment multiplier cannot be 2.4 on the optimistic assumption that 4.5 million will be the value of direct employment in the Second Plan framework, but it may be very much less than 1.8 even, as assumed in the draft Second Plan. The Survey of Calcutta by the Socio-economic Survey Project group of Planning Commission has clearly indicated the extent of decline of employment opportunities in the organised private sector in the industrial area of Calcutta, to the tune of about 4 per cent during 1951-1954. The Indian picture may well be seen through it.

Apart from the question about the reliable basis of calculation of increment of labour productivity for different sectors, one other consideration is relevant here, that is a distinction between the income content of a given volume of employment and the employment content of a given volume of output. It is one thing to increase output and quite another to create additional employment. Even if the output targets are all realised, the volume of employment generated in the indirect level will be much less than about 4 m. estimated in the Plan outline, due in the first place, to the distribution of more working hours to the already employed, and secondly to the accession in intra-industry efficiency along the optimal size of units in the organised sector, because of availability of financial aids and facilities.

But there is a big but, in the estimates of additional employment for the export-oriented industries like tea, jute, etc., which are tuned to forces of world demand and supply. The target for tea industry, for example, is 11 per cent increment of output in the Plan, and the existing employment in the industry is about 2 million and on this basis the estimates of additional employment may be roughly put at 0.2 million, but how fantastic this may sound in the content of recent depression in the industry and the threat of large-scale retrenchment in tea gardens, mainly because there have been too plenty of supply in relation to total world demand. Our Plan has not provided any reliable safeguard on this external front, except some meagre steps for storing the unsold volume.

The breakdown of total additional employment of 8 million in the Plan outline shows that about 26 p.c. is accounted for by construction activities and about 33 percent by others including trade and commerce. It is admitted by the draft outline in a footnote that the estimate of construction employment has been an overestimate, which, however, is expected to be corrected by an underestimate for trade and commerce and others accounting for 33 p.c. almost the whole of which is in the private sector. One fact appears to be left unconsidered that construction offers a type of floating employment which needs to be regenerated in properly dovetailed projects by matched timing, the failure of which will generate the additional waste of skilled know-how. The regional survey of the planned township of Faridabad and Chittaranjan conducted by the National Sample Survey Group clearly indicates the marked fall in the absorptive capacity of the respective regions, after the end of the first flush of constructoin, although the percentage of unemployed persons rank in equal technical education with those of their employed brethren; the ratio of employment in the planned and unplanned sector of the Chittaranjan economy today, for example, is roughly 8 to 1, and moreover, employment in private sector has been mainly of low income content and of 'on the-spot-service' type.

This bespeaks the momentum of the feedback process by planned investment in selected regions; likewise, the present apprehension of large-scale retrenchment in the D. V. C. project is an instance of lack of proper timing schemes of different projects.

Further, it may be noted that the Second Plan assumes that the rate of urbanization during the decade 1951-61 will be 7 percent less than that of the preceding decade which means in effect that the mobility of the rural un-and-underemployed will not be greater than that in the last decade. It is clear that the Plan outline has not estimated the total volume of under-employment in the rural sector which, however, will be a very large figure and even the mobility of a 2-3 p.c. of this large volume can upset the employment calculations of the Second Plan. As has been estimated by Dr. Rao, that excluding absolute unemployment, the figure for persons under-employed amount to something like 20 million, of which rural agriculture accounts for about 16 million, rural non-agriculture for 2.4 million, and urban areas for the remaining 1.6 million; the implication of mobility of only 2-3 p.c. of this large volume of under-employed can only be telling to the Plan outline. The unmistakable trend of mobility may doubtless be gathered from the Census finding that in the decades 1931-41, 1941-51, the urban population has increased by about 34 p.c. and 41 p.c. respectively whereas the rural by about 12 and 9 per cent respectively. This trend of migration has also been mainfested in the migration pattern of planned Chittaranjan township, for example, where of total migrant labour force in household families of about 7,655, 64 p.c. and 36 p.c. hail from urban and rural areas respectively. And about areas from where the migrant labour force came, the major percentage has been accounted for by the pro-

Industrial Status — *Percentage to total migrants of Chittaranjan*

Status	*Before migration*	*After migration*
1 Employer	0.2	0.03
2 Employer	50.7	87.8
3 Own account worker	13.9	2.6
4 Unemployed (first seeking)	8.2	4.7
5 Other unemployed	8.2	4.9
6 Others	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0

vinces mostly sensitive to unemployment like West Bengal, Bihar, South India, etc. It is significant also that in duration of migration, the rural migrants behave exactly like their urban counterparts. The employment pattern of the migrant labour force in this planned township may be clearly presented by a Table (see above) to show the impact of planned regions on the Indian economy at large.

The fact that out of the significant percentage of unemployed, and own account workers, and family members a large part obtained full time work in place of half or quarter work, can be gathered from the finding that out of 36 per cent of all migrants who were not in gainful employment, due to some reasons or others, 32 p.c. got full work, in continuous employment, and 2.4 p.c. in seasonal and casual employment. This indicates well the directions of mobility.

But apart from urbanization, the degree of monetization is likely to increase considerably over the plan period, and hence though it cannot originally generate the inflationary process, it can, with other attendant circumstances, accentuate the inflationary process generated by the Plan and this has two serious implications for unemployment problem. In the first place, this process dissipates small savings and hence regional investment opportunities and secondly there occurs large-scale shift to the volume of employment seekers out of other categories of industrial status like the own account worker, family member not essentially required for household work, student, infirm and aged people, who constitute the bulk of the population.

Thus the employment targets of the draft Second Plan has several 'ifs' to tackle; if the private sector moves in step, if the external market conditions remain favourable, if the calculations of productivity increment are correct, if the mobility of the rural under-employed be not significant in the plan period, if the timing of fruition and launching of construction projects is properly matched and if the inflationary process can be checked in its burden on the middle-income group and lastly if there is some long-term idea of occupational planning behind, then and then only the employment target of the Second Plan outline may approach its fulfilment.

THE PROPOSED NEW PATTERN OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

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The Need for Reform of Secondary Education

In October 1952, Government of India appointed a Commission to enquire into and report on the present set-up of secondary education in India in all its varied aspects and suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement. The Commission submitted its report in August 1953, which has since been published. The Central Advisory Board of Education at its 21st meeting held at New Delhi in February 1954, generally approved of the recommendations of the Commission.

Both the C.A.B.E. and the Commission are agreed that secondary education is the weakest link in the Indian educational chain. Elementary education is already being remodelled on the two basic patterns, *i.e.*, the orthodox Wardha lines of 8 years integrated education as well as the structural pattern of the C.A.B. under junior and senior basic schools. This reform of elementary education has made reform at the secondary stage all the more imperative and urgent. Besides, it will be agreed that secondary education determines the quality of education at the collegiate levels, which is admittedly poor. Secondary schools again supply teachers of primary schools and students for colleges and other institutions of higher level. The reform and reorganisation of secondary education in India has been recognised for many decades.

The emergence of India as a free democratic republic and the rapid development of commerce and industry and of science in this technological age have also led to a demand for an entirely new type of secondary school to meet the new social and economic needs of the nation, which the existing system is unable to meet because it was originally planned by the British to turn out clerks and administrative personnel of the lower orders. In a free State which has adopted democracy as its goal secondary education must on the one hand train up 'the large body of intermediary leaders' whose services are needed for the efficient and effective functioning of the State and on the other help to select the smaller band of leadership at the highest level to guide its policies in public affairs and the professions. Besides, under the impact of the industrial revolution that has been taking place after the war, the economy of the country has changed. The pace of this change is now being accelerated by the programme for rapid industrialization of the country under the Second Five-Year Plan. But in spite of the fact that vast projects have been initiated by the Government for the construction of civil works, roads, canals, irrigation works, the generation and transmission of power and the development of agricultural and industrial productions generally, the process of technological advance is being blocked by the grave shortage of technically trained personnel at all levels. All this calls for radical reform in the duration of the secondary course, the nature and content of its syllabus and the objectives of secondary education in relation to the democratic society, its socio-economic needs and the individual of a free country. The present system is unilateral, overweighted on the intellectual side so far as syllabus is concerned, dominated by examination and solely concentrated on preparing for entrance to the University instead of being multi-lateral and self-contained although the fact remains that only a small percentage of pupils go in for higher studies in colleges.

Why the Courses should be Diversified?

It is, therefore, clear that owing to the change in the character of Indian economy from agricultural to industrial-cum-technological it has become necessary that not only should education be pupil-centred but also community-structured, *i.e.*, its education system

should be so planned as to take due account of the means by which the country exists and prospers in this atomic age. The spread of technology all over India under the Second Five-Year Plan will have changed the whole aspect of the country making newer demands on the education system than ever before. So unless our education is planned on the needs of the community with an eye to the future, it will be bad education. There can be few things more disastrous for individuals no less for the nation as a whole than that they should be educated for a way of life that does not exist for the majority of the community. If a country's education system remains static in a rapidly changing technological age, tensions are bound to be created especially among those who may have been prepared by their early training for a type of society which is passing away. There is then the need for establishing a proper balance between education and occupational opportunity available to the nation's youth, for never before is co-operation more needed between education and industry than now—never before is there a greater need for establishing a dynamic equilibrium between educational provision and technical needs of the nation than the present age. The Directorate of the National Sample Survey has just revealed that there are at the moment more than 5 lacs of educated unemployed which proves that our present education system is unrelated to the economic development now going on in the country. Expansion of educational and training facilities has therefore to be based on the future needs of the economy, discouraging simultaneously the growth of educational facilities in those sectors which merely keep young persons out of the employment market without adding to their employability. The newly-started industries under the Five-Year Plan are sure to hold out new avenues of employment for the nation's youth possessing the necessary technical training from the accredited Technical Institutions in the country. There was a time when it was justly feared by Messrs. Abbott and Wood in their report on Vocational education that unless the provision for technical education goes side by side with the development of industries in the country, the market might be glutted with unemployed skilled workers and technicians. Now there is a great shortage of technical personnel as a virtual industrial revolution has started under the impact of the First Five-Year Plan. In these altered circumstances if secondary education still continues to be bookish and academic—if it does not develop practical skill, aptitudes, interests of the nation's children—suitable children with first-class brain will not be available for admission into our Technical Colleges. This then is the most important point of the argument for reorientation and diversification of the secondary course to meet the needs of an expanding industrial economy.

The second argument for diversification of the secondary course is psychological. The age of 12-14 is regarded by the psychologist as a diagnostic period in which particular abilities, interests and aptitudes develop in the adolescent through a number of well-thought-out programme and varied courses out of which he may choose in accordance with his ability, interest and inclination. A worthwhile system of secondary education must, therefore, cater for the needs of the nation's children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence giving the pre-adolescent and adolescent years a new school life and a change of atmosphere and outlook which answers to their special needs, interests and aptitudes and brings out their special values. Adolescence is not an abrupt event with these well-marked characteristics but recent research has shown that it is but the culmination of a slow process of growth which has been going on steadily from birth at varying rates in different individuals. Modern psychology says that intellectual development of the pre-adolescent is governed by a single central factor, *viz.*, that of "g," *i.e.*, 'general intelligence' entering into everything which the child attempts to think or say or do, besides the emergence of "s," *i.e.*, special aptitudes and interests which have very important educational implications demanding a change in atmosphere, outlook, curriculum and methodology at 14. This is the psychological justification for diversification of courses at 14 and the introduction of practical subjects for all pupils. The latest phase in all progressive countries is that intellectual and cultural development through any scheme of 'general' education is best imparted through a varied and diversified course containing both the traditional curricu-

lar or academic subjects and practical work through which alone the integrated development or the education of the growing personality of the adolescent is possible.

A New Conception of 'Liberal' Education

It is just here when you propose the intermingling of what is traditionally called 'general' or 'cultural' education with practical or 'vocational' or 'technical' education that we come into conflict with the old-time conception of 'liberal' education. The fact is that the old-time view of liberal education has now changed. The function of liberal education is to provide the means for the unfolding and development of the balanced personality of the child in its four-fold aspect—physical, social, moral or spiritual, aesthetic and intellectual, *i.e.*, "the whole man," *i.e.*, to live *physically* by the use and enjoyment of body—to live *mentally* or *intellectually* by deep thinking so that it may discharge itself into action—to live socially in terms of relationships in the pattern of school life with the object of giving the child the real social experience in the service of the community, and to create and enjoy beauty—and to live in the *spirit* through moral and spiritual education. Never since the days of the ancient Greeks have these four-fold aspects of the 'whole man' been given so much attention as in the progressive secondary schools of Europe and America today. It is now difficult to see why a man should be said to have a 'liberal' education if he knows something of the classics and humanities and very little about sciences whereas he is reviled as a mere 'technologist' if he knows about science and engineering and very little about classics and humanities. In the Technical Universities of Berlin, Massachusetts, Zurich and Kensington technical students in 4 faculties spend half their time in the humanistic faculty. Merely because one branch of learning was the more important so long this does not prove it to be superior to other branches which lie at the root of all industrial productions in the modern world.

This apparent antithesis or dualism between culture (so long the monopoly of 'liberal' education) and utility (the objective of 'technical' education)—between knowledge and action—between pure and applied thought—is the legacy of the past tradition in education which makes us believe that culture and utility are necessarily hostile, and that a subject is illiberal because it is useful, and cultural because it is useless. The traditional opposition between culture and utility rests on the notion that culture is derived from a higher source than is practical activity and possesses a higher and more spiritual worth. I quote from Prof. John Dewey whose fundamental thesis is that there cannot really be any dualism in true education between the vocational and cultural—between physical and mental—between pure and applied thought.

"The contempt for the physical aspect of things—for the senses and sense absorption—the feeling that knowledge is high and worthy in the degree in which it deals with ideal symbols instead of with the concrete in the scorn of particulars, the disregard for the body, the depreciation of arts and crafts and practical activity as intellectual instrumentalities—all sought shelter and found sanction under this estimate of their respective values of experience and reason of the practical and the intellectual."—Dewey: *Quest for Certainity.*

Cultural Values of Technical Subjects

The so-called technical subjects in the diversified course proposed by the Ministry of Education are now universally admitted by educationists all over the world to have cultural values. Prof. Dewey says that a vocational education may be as cultural as any for he says that the ramifications of every subject, even of a trade, are so wide that it can become the source and origin of real culture if pushed far enough. Prof. Kerschensteiner of Munich says: "On the way to the ideal man is the useful man." On the contrary there are some to whom the very name of craft, of technical and vocational education in any scheme of 'liberal' education is anathema. If we get down to bed-rock we, however, find that all education is ultimately vocational. "We cannot really think of an education in vacuo—an environment is an essential element in education and an abstract environment is practically a contradiction in terms," says Prof. Sir John Adams. This is the reason why the bookish tradition is now giving place to practical work of great variety and scope thus applying the dictum of Sanderson of Oundle that "nine people out of ten think with their hands or other than with their brains." Besides, according to the newer concept of purely liberal education mere intellectual training as provided for in the traditional bookish type of secondary education does not cultivate the total personality of the child. This is the educational justification for broadening and diversifying the curricula and for introducing practical courses to teach young people greater skill, more individual initiative, more taste to guide them so as to prepare themselves for the place they will be called upon to fill in society. This change in the curricula of multi-purpose schools is also to be accompanied by a change in the methods of instruction which provide greater and richer opportunities for individual activity of the great majority of pupils drawn from an entirely new stratum of society from the newer type of Junior and Senior Basic schools.

A study of the Statistics of the incidence of the educated unemployed made recently by Universities shows that 50% to 65% of arts and commerce graduates turned out by them have been unsuccessfully looking for employment during the last 2 or 3 years. In 1954 returns of the State employment exchanges show that out of 92,000 registrations only about 6,000 placements are on record. Thus the position is that far too many students receive instruction at the University level for the present level of national economy and that unless a planned attempt is made to divert these frustrated students at the secondary level to useful channels of employment by reorganising secondary education, the problem of educated unemployed cannot be solved satisfactorily. It is with the object of reducing the proportion of high school students going on to a University by diverting some to immediate employment that the occupational diversification of the curricula for higher secondary schools has been proposed.

The Proposals

Secondary education in India is proposed to be reorganised on the following lines:

(1) The first Degree course in the Colleges should be of 3 years and 17 should be the minimum age for entry into Universities after the completion of the higher secondary course and on the abolition of the present Intermediate course. The first year class of the latter is to be tagged on to the newer type of Higher Secondary schools and the second year class to the Degree colleges.

(2) The end of secondary education at 17 should mark a terminal and self-contained stage in education, preparing students for the complex civilized life of today in a technological age for the majority and also for higher University education for the minority who have the ability to profit by such education.

(3) As it is not possible to upgrade all the High schools at once by adding one year to Higher Secondary schools, we have to envisage the co-existence of two types of secondary schools during the interim period, terminating in a public examination, *viz.*, the present School Final Examination from the former type and Higher Secondary School Leaving Certificate from the latter type. If anyone of the students with S.F. Certificate wish to go in for the University Degree Course, he will be required to spend one year in the pre-University course of study, which should be attached either to a Higher Secondary school or a college, during the transition period of say 5 to 10 years from now. The pre-University classes will thus replace the existing first year classes in the Intermediate course as an interim arrangement. Ultimately when all the High Schools are converted into Higher Secondary schools they will be taken over by the latter, the Intermediate colleges and the Intermediate classes of Degree colleges being entirely abolished.

(4) The main argument advanced by the sponsors of the plan in its favour is that it will be the much-needed 'practical bias' to secondary education through the introduction of diversified courses offering to children with different aptitudes, ability and interests, different courses, thus making education more pleasant and enjoyable as well as more profitable. There must be a 'core' curriculum to be worked out by all the types of secondary schools, *viz.*, Junior High, Senior Basic and High schools on terms of equal partnership engaged in a co-operation task under such headings as language, mathematics, arts, science and physical education. There must be parity of esteem in public opinion for different types of schools staffed by teachers hav-

ing approximately the same scale of pay for the same work.

(5) Technical schools are to be started either *de novo* or as parts of multipurpose schools mainly in industrial areas and in co-operation with the industry concerned and a suitable pattern of technical and technological education in Universities should be evolved. If we accept the *academic ladder* as primary school, high school, University, then it is only logical that industries in a technological age should recruit mainly from those who have climbed an *alternative ladder, viz.,* primary school, technical school, college of technology or Technical University.

(6) At present the qualifiation for admission into the professional colleges is the Intermediate. Under the new set-up one year of intensive pre-professional study in the relevant pre-professional subject is proposed to be introduced and organised in the institutions themselves. Admission to these courses should be open to (a) those who have completed their Higher Secondary Course and (b) those who have successfully completed their High School course and have besides put in a year's course at the pre-University class.

Provision for "Guidance" Through the Appointment of "Career Master" and "Psychologist"

In order to minimise capital and running costs in building, staffing, equipment, etc., a multi-purpose school must needs be part residential, must cater for a large area and be planned on an "area" basis as in Australia, after a careful survey of the actual needs of the locality in which it is proposed to be established. For these reasons its enrolment must needs be large. Now the greatest drawback of a school with a large enrolment is that the child is apt to be lost in the crowd, unless steps are taken to prevent this from the very start of his secondary career by adopting some system of *guidance,* as in the Comprehensive Schools of United Kingdom and U.S.A. The first two years of work in the big school should be exploratory and diagnostic. By the end of the second year the child should have settled down to a course of study built round his individual needs. He will select a group of activities which will form the core of his school work and the basis of his culture as an individual. To assist him in this choice and in general to act as an adult friend and guide each child should have a personal tutor or Career Master or Counsellor who is an important member of the staff, besides the Psychologist to test the "bias" and the potential capabalities of the children for the different diversified courses; in order that the ultimate choice of occupation may not be a hasty and haphazard decision but a matter in which the final decision is taken against a background of developing intelligence, abilities and interests in consultation with parents. The latest phase in secondary education in all progressive countries is to bring it into closer relation with occupational requirements of the nation.

We must introduce the Cumulative Record Card as the new form of assessment of the effectiveness of instruction as well as for giving us information of real importance regarding the total personality of the child.

Problems of Upgrading

(1) *Problem of Selection*: According to the Ministry of Education's scheme, 500 selected High Schools were to be converted into multi-purpose schools each with at least 3 units of diversified courses during the remaining months of the First Five-Year Plan period. It is not known what progress has been made in this direction in all the States. So far as West Bengal is concerned 65 High Schools in the public and privite sectors are to be selected for the change-over during this financial year. It is not known whether this selection has been made or whether in future such selection will be made for converting 200 such schools next year—after an overall survey of the actual needs by acknowledged experts keeping in view an agreed basis of criteria for such conversion such as, good academic record, building on a suitable site easily approached from nearby areas by transport arrangements, good finances, equipment and need on area basis, etc., as is required to be done under the Indian Government scheme. There is a feeling lurking in the minds of educationists and protagonists of various professional organisations in the State that this selection has been made arbitrarily and without a survey. In view of this it is time Government came out with a Press Note clarifying the whole position and detailing their scheme. It is perhaps well for us to sound a timely note of caution at this stage, for errors of policy or planning or in execution of detail or in selection of schools for conversion in an unplanned manner, committed now, will take decades to remedy. So before the policy or administrative provision for the new set-up is translated into terms of organisation, *i.e.,* before it is worked out in detail in our development plans for overall conversion, its widest implications should be meticulously examined by all concerned in the work of education.

During the interim period of ten years from now on there is bound to be down-grading of some existing High Schools with poor academic records and unstable finances to Junior High Schools with consequent drafting of their teachers to lower forms thus disturbing their seniority and possibly of salary-structure. So care should be taken by Government to ensure that such steps may not cause any deterioration in the overall standard of education, withdrawal or even restriction of educational facilities by the area affected by such demotion or downgrading or dismissal of permanent and qualified members of the staff who cannot be fitted into the newer pattern of Higher Secondary schools.

The question of selection of staff is no less important and urgent. No educational advance is possible until the present teaching force is substantially reinforced by qualified men and women entertained on adequate and attractive pay. It is indeed a fact that men and women with first-class qualifications especially in science and technology are no longer being attracted to the profession because of the present low esteem of the status of teachers in the community and the poor salary-structure of teachers with which they find it very difficult to meet the mounting expenses of daily necessaries of life. The plain and distressing truth is that the occupation of the teacher is dated far below anything approaching its social value. In view of the critical part which education must play in democratic society, the teacher has certainly a stronger claim than most in demanding early adjustment. It is suggested that those younger graduates who can improve their academic and professional qualifications should be encouraged by higher salaries to improve themselves so as to be fitted into the staff of the newer types of secondary schools. The work of progressive upgrading should go hand in hand with the starting of multi-purpose schools during a period of intensive preparation by effecting improvements in accommodation, staffing, equipment, library, craft teaching, etc. Subjects of special importance, such as, General Science, Social Studies and Crafts should be taught with a reorientation of aims and teaching methods and to make this possible, grants for improving laboratory for General Sciences and for providing equipment and appliance for such crafts as have a local importance in the area served by selected High schools for conversion during the ten-year period should be made available from the State as well as from the Centre. As a necessary preliminary step to the recasting of courses of study in these selected High schools and to make education more practical and realistic, certain changes in staffing and equipment for the teaching of crafts in the middle stage, *i.e.,* Class VI to VII should be made at once and two additional teachers for craft teaching should be drafted to these selected High schools. Headmasters who are selected for appointment as Principals, teachers and inspecting officers for the new types of secondary schools should go in for intensive short courses on the curricula, mode of selection for bifurcation, organisation and methodology of the new pattern of multi-purpose schools. The teacher training programmes of all existing Training Colleges or Institutes of education for men and women should be immediately reoriented for this purpose. Reorientation or co-ordination courses must be arranged also for the technical staff, such as, the Graduates and Licentiates of Engineering—Civil, Mechanical and Electrical—so that they may know what actually they are expected to teach keeping in view the objective of giving an occupational bias to the trainees. The training of Career Masters or Mistresses, of Guidance Officers and Psychologists should be immediately undertaken by all Training Colleges and Institutes of Education. All training institutions should ini-

tiate and undertake curricular research in their demonstration schools.

(2) *Problem of diversification of courses*: If we take the average number of new courses to be provided for in each multi-purpose school, the choice of the courses must be made according to actual needs and circumstances of the catchment area for each such school, *e.g.*, if we add technical courses in Elements of Workshop Technology and Elements of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, we must ensure that there is a demand for such technical personnel in the locality in its local industries. It should be understood that diversification is admissible under seven groups out of which 3 subjects in one group are to be chosen. The seven groups are: (1) humanities group, (2) science group, (3) technical group, (4) agricultural group, (5) commerce group, (6) fine arts group, (7) home science group. If each multi-purpose school is to offer at least 2 of these 7 groups of diversified courses, then in fixing our choice on the two particular groups we must ensure that there is a local demand for the products to be turned out by each such school in the community for absorption in the local industries after further training as a paid or unpaid apprentice.

(3) *Problems of organisation*: The fundamental problem of a multi-purpose school is how to organise the school and plan the buildings, apart from complications of curriculm and time-tables, so that a *unity of spirit* among the boys or girls and the staff can be established and maintained. There will be boys or girls of high, average and low intelligence, every one of whom is to be made to feel that he or she is of equal importance. Each has to be given the opportunity of developing his or her particular talents, personal as well as artistic, academic and practical. As the staff of a multi-purpose school should be large, it is important that a unity of spirit should pervade the staff also. How the staff can be welded to form a unity will depend upon the personal influence of the Principal. There is no doubt that it can be done if each member of the staff is given the opportunity of contributing not only in the classroom but elsewhere also to the full life of the school through the House System (N. C. C., Scouting, Bratachari) and such other means. The different types of activity for the diversified courses will be housed in separate blocks, *viz.*, science, art, workshops, etc. The planning of each boy's work will be the duty primarily of the House Master while the co-ordination of planning will be the function of the Principal.

Another basic problem in organisation is the type or pattern of multi-purpose school to be developed. Is it to be *tripartite*, i.e., Grammar, Secondary modern and secondary technical High schools separately organized as in England or is it to be *multilateral* with clearly defined alternative sides pursuing entirely separate works in the same school or *comprehensive, i.e.,* providing for diversified courses in separate blocks of buildings with attached workshops but with partly integrated courses organised in the same school? For social security a comprehensive school can be so organised that pupils not only mix and blend on social occasions inside the Assembly Hall but also do some work together irrespective of varying degrees and kinds of ability. To my mind this kind of comprehensive school as in Scotland, England and America has certain definite advantages. It is capable of providing a richer community life than the multilateral school, offering separate courses of work to children of varying abilities and aptitudes. The richest community is founded on clashing views because any social group which contains elements of variety or difference recognised and accepted as such by members forms a richer community than the flat, uniform group of 'likes'. It is only under such conditions that the school can become colourful and rich. In a comprehensive school aptitudes and interests can be detected as they mature at different ages in different individuals through psychological tests. A comprehensive school will need a Principal with wide interests, great gifts of delegation and organisation and above all a clear conception of the essentials of a full community life with a burning determination that his school will solve them. In a predominantly industrial or agricultural area we may organise entirely separate Technical High schools with attached workshops or agricultural farms as the case may be. Such schools should be reached by an *alternative* technical ladder like the academic ladder or broad highway through Primary or Junior Basic, Senior Basic and Junior Technical schools followed by the College of Technology and Technological courses at the highest level in a Technical University. This is most important as the two top layers of the intelligence of the nation's youth must be equally distributed to the academic as well as to the technical side of a national system of education in this technological age. The time was when technical education was regarded as an inferior limb of the body educational—as the sort of place to which one sent a boy only when it had become evident that he was incapable of assimilating any of the more fashionable and traditional forms of education. That position has now completely changed.

(4) *Problem of siting accommodation, etc.*: The next problem is that of suitably siting the school according to the needs of the locality—of accommodation, building, equipment, technical blocks, Assembly Hall, workshops, laboratories, etc., within the campus of the school. Room must be found for providing additional class-rooms, craft-rooms, workshops, etc., special rooms for General science, social studies, besides Councillor's or Guidance Officer's room, Psychologist's room, House Master and House Tutor's rooms, agricultural farm, playgrounds, Assembly Hall, etc. There is a great dearth of trained and experienced psychologists and the lacuna is not likely to be removed in the course of many years to come unless the existing Training Colleges or Institutes of Education come forward to train some young persons for this type of work in their post-graduate M.A. course. Unless this is done, it will be impossible for the schools to test the bias and potential capacities of the students for the diversified courses. The Psychological Bureau should construct and standardise scholastic-*cum*-intelligence tests for this purpose. The paucity of accommodation, equipment and accessories, trained personnel 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 study proposed under the scheme.

(5) *Problems of Syllabus, Text-books and Time-tables*: The detailed syllabi for the lower school and for the diversified courses of the upper school as well as for the pre-University and pre-professional courses are not yet ready. It is suggested that a panel of experts should work out detailed syllabi in craft and technical subjects. This done, necessary text-books will have to be written up and got approved in the manner suggested in the Secondary Education Commission Report. The construction of the time-table for the lower and upper school will also present a unique difficulty.

In all these matters it is feared that the steam-roller of uniformity as proposed in the common pattern of secondary education for the whole of India is calculated to stunt the free and normal growth of mind of the students in different parts of the country, as each State system has so far developed according to different traditions, psychological background and objective conditions in the socio-economic structure. Before we embark on this experiment, we must first of all see that it is rooted as far as practicable on our past traditions in education. Our experience in the past has shown that no foreign plant grafted root and branch on uncongenial soil has any chance to thrive, unless it takes kindly to the native soil. The structural pattern should as far as practicable be designed after our inherited institutions. It will also be unwise to restrict our experimented schools in their development to predetermined lines somewhat on Western models of tripartite or multilateral or comprehensive schools as in England, Scotland and America. We must evolve our own lines of growth according to the genius, racial psychology and background and the socio-economic needs of the nation, in a technological age. I will give you an example. The success or failure of multilateral or comprehensive schools in America or Scotland or England is not a conclusive evidence one way or other of the success or failure of these types of schools in West Bengal as each of these countries has a different educational tradition. The English comprehensive school can only develop naturally from the English educational system. If it is to be an import to be grafted on to our native educational tradition, it has little chance of success, but if it is developed out of our own system, based on fundamental educational tradition, it will succeed because it is a natural or true growth.

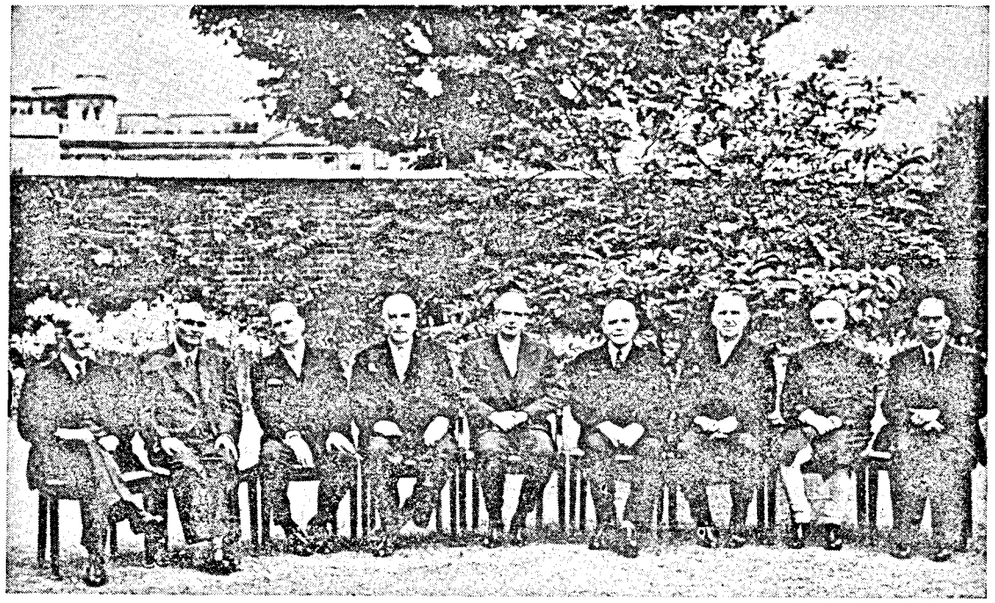
(6) *Problem of discovery of special interests, abilities and aptitudes of pupils at 11 and of division of pupils to diversified courses at 14*: The age of 12-14 years is the period of

diagnoses and of discovery of the particular abilities, aptitudes and interests of adolescence which is not an abrupt event but rather the culmination of a slow process of growth which has been proceeding steadily at varying rates from early childhood. When the interests and abilities are clearly marked by 11+, *i.e.*, directly after completion of primary (Junior Basic) course, we must meet them by a change of atmosphere, outlook and appropriate curriculum. We must allow both for early discovery of special abilities no less than for delayed discovery of 'late Bloomers' say at 14+. Such a discovery will depend on skilled observation over a period of time which may vary considerably with different pupils and the diagnostic methods (*i.e.*, intelligence-*cum*-scholastic-*cum*-vocational tests and scales, cumulative records, etc.) employed. The process of differentiation for the appropriate type of secondary education should begin in the later years of the primary stage through effective school records giving a history of the child's development and containing an objective record of progress (intelligence and other tests). On the basis of these combined verdicts a recommendation should be made that a pupil should continue his education with the type of school or course appropriate to him, due consideration having been given to the wish of the parents and pupil. By the end of two years every pupil should have been sympathetically and skilfully reviewed and at roughly the age of 14 promotion of suitable pupils should be made into higher forms. Thus by the use of the cumulative records of the primary (basic) schools and by a period of observation and trial in the lower school differentiation would be possible. But the chief difficulty at the moment is that these measuring instruments (intelligence and vocational or performance tests standardised for use with Indian chidren) are not yet ready for the purpose of selection of pupils either at 11+ or at 14+.

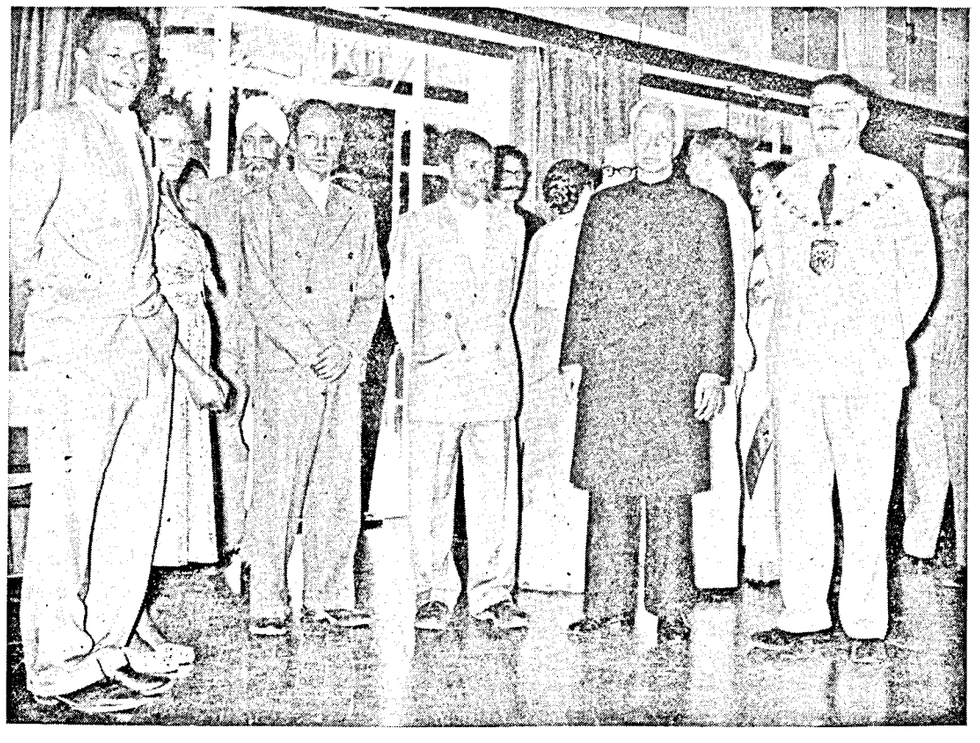
Stage of Experiment

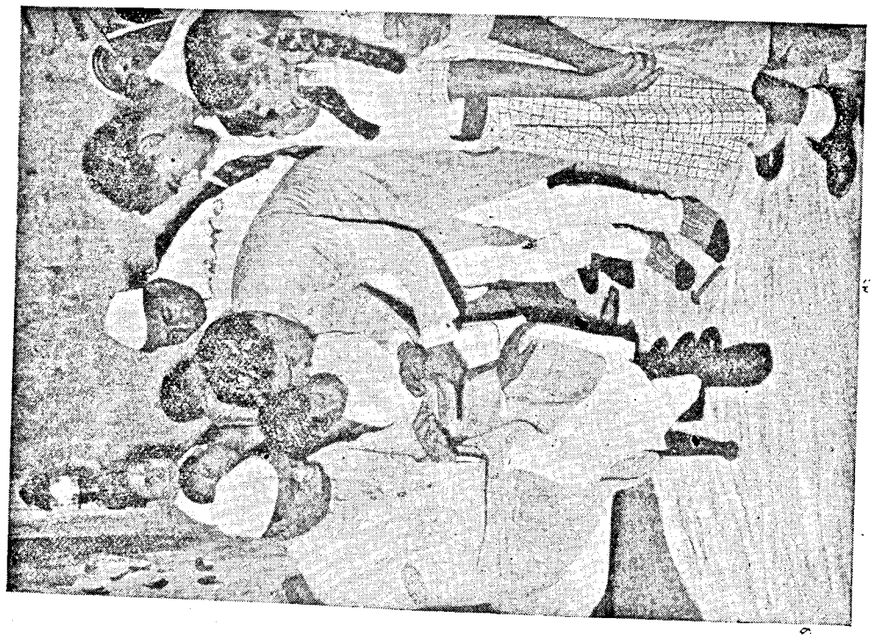
At this stage when we lack experience of the new educational system, when secondary education in a new setting is to be tried out for the first time, we should be very careful about our selection of schools to be converted into schools of the newer type. Once selected, schools should be free to experiment. It will be unwise to restrict schools in their development to predetermined lines somewhat on Western models of multilateral or comprehensive schools. We should take into confidence the accredited leaders of our professional organisations such as the W.B.T.A., W.B.U.T.A., A.B.T.A., and W. B. Headmasters' Association. In England every bit of educational advance—every line of reform—is determined in the last resort by the N.U.T. Teachers are wanted who are ready and able to explore boldly to discover and try out new means to the new ends society is setting before itself, for education is in transition; the concepts of its purpose and its function in society are broadening and deepening and consequently its content, its organisation and its methods are in a state of flux. The change-over from the old to the new order of secondary education is a fascinating task fraught with consequences of the highest importance to the future of the nation. To carry it out will require the best and bravest of the nation's manhood and womanhood.*

* Summary of my lectures at a series of symposia at the David Hare Training College and the Institute of Education for Women, Hastings House, Calcutta in January and February, 1956.—J. L.

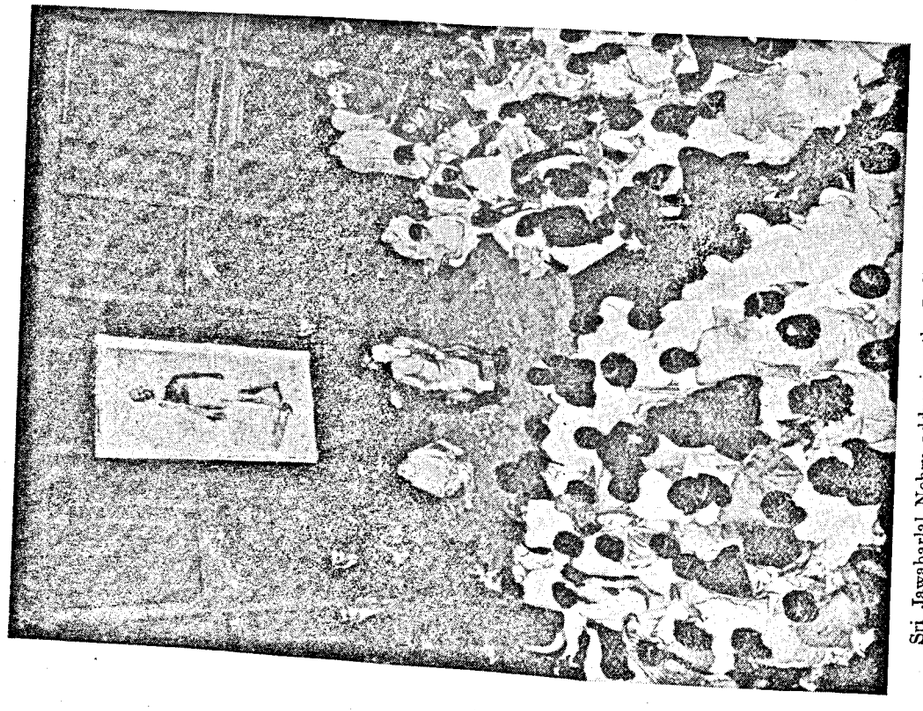


The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met at No. 10, Downing Street, London, recently. (*Right to Left*) Mr. Bandarnaike (Ceylon), Sri Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Mr. S. G. Holland (New Zealand), Mr. St. Laurent (Canada), Sir Anthony Eden (Britain), Mr. R. G. Menzies (Australia), Mr. J. G. Strigdom (South Africa), Mr. Mohammed Ali (Pakistan) and Lord Malvern (Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland)





President Dr. Rajendra Prasad visited the Bidri Works Centre, run by artisans on co-operative lines at Bidar recently



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the Indian students at India House, London, recently. Seated near him is Sm. Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in the U. K.

CYPRUS

By H. N. GULATI, M.A.

When the British were losing hopes of retaining the Suez canal zone Cyprus offered itself as an alternative. The Island's strategic value in relation to the Middle East defence cannot be overlooked. It has the capacity to house an extensive air base. In the event of a global war it is expected to serve as a useful bridgehead of attack. Its geographical position gives her significant advantages relative to distance from potential air targets. Moscow is only 1,500 air miles, Baku, the Soviet oil centre, is 1,000 miles, Rostov the principal industrial centre on the Don river is 900 miles, Sverdlovsk a newly developed centre of Soviet heavy industry is 2,000 miles, and the oil-fields of Rumania are only 800 miles from it. Furthermore, the closeness of Cyprus to the Suez canal places it in a position of vantage to exercise influence over Egypt for the use of the canal in the event of war.

Cyprus is situated 240 miles from Egypt, 60 miles from Syria and 40 miles from Turkey. Out of a total population of 500,000, Greeks constitute 400,000 and the Turkish Muslims 90,000.

The Island had been under Ottoman rule for 300 years when in 1878 it was taken over by Britain in lease by a treaty with Turkey signed at Constantinople. In return for the occupation of the territory, Britain pledged to protect Turkish empire in the East against Russian aggression. The formal sovereignty, however, lay with the Sultan, till 1914, when the British completely annexed and absorbed it. The annexation was recognized by Turkey and Greece in the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923. In 1925 the island was designated as a Crown colony.

For the administration of the Island a Constitution was framed in 1882. It provided for an Executive Council to advise the High Commissioner and a Legislative Council, which was to consist of six official members and 12 elected members, three of whom were to be elected by the Turkish citizens and nine by the non-Turkish. The Council was enlarged in 1925 by adding 3 official and 3 non-official members. The latter were to be elected by the non-Turkish population.

The 'enosis' movement which stands for the Union of Cyprus with Greece is an outgrowth of the movement for liberation from the Turkish rule. When the Greeks achieved independence in the 19th century, the movement developed into a concept of attachment with Greece. The movement has been led by the Greek orthodox church of Cyprus. In consideration of its legal status it is important to remember that ever since its known history Cyprus has never been administered by Greece nor yet a part of her territory. The 'enosis' clamour for affiliation with the "mother land" has no basis other than the common language, religion and culture.

Though enosis movement got under way much earlier, it gained momentum in 1931, when it assumed a terroristic form, but was soon suppressed by the British. The constitution was suspended and the island came under the rule of the governor.

The Greek public opinion and the Greek Government are vigorously espousing the cause of the enosis campaign. The Greek radio broadcasts have frequently criticized the British attitude towards the movement. On February 15, 1951, M. Venezelos the Greek Prime Minister thus spoke in the Greek Parliament:

> "I am happy to have this opportunity to express from this official tribune to the chamber and the whole of the Greek people the demand for the Union of Cyprus with Mother Greece, a matter which constitutes the ardent desire both of the Cypriot and the Greek people."

On several subsequent occasions the Greek Government has brought home to the British the necessity of the applicability of the Wilsonian principle of the "right of self-determination" to the Cypriots. The British answer has always been a flat refusal to recognize the principle in the context of her special responsibilities in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The Island's strategic importance whets Britain's appetite for a hold over Cyprus. A United Kingdom representation at the United Nations stated on September 23, 1954, that

> ". . . . in its efforts to maintain international peace, the United Kingdom had assumed numerous defence obligations, particularly in the Middle East and under the North Atlantic Treaty to which Greece and Turkey were also signatories. Cyprus was an integral part of that defence system and the United Kingdom had to have complete administrative authority there in order to ensure stability in the Middle East."

The British Government have no doubt been making offers of transfer of power to Cyprus from time to time. But in scope they never went beyond the sphere of internal affairs. Being shorn of real power, which could have meaning only in the grant of external sovereignty, the Greek Cypriot parties—both right and left—considered the offers hollow, and made them the subject of ruthless criticism.

Being dissatisfied with the lip sympathy of the Britishers the aspiration of the Cypriots grew in intensity and in August 1954 again kindled the smouldering splinters of the enosis movement. The population grew restive, a vigorous anti-British campaign got under way. The British did not allow the grass to grow under their feet. The situation was brought under control by the enforcement of sedition laws.

The Greek Government .petitioned the United Nations General Assembly at its ninth Session to consider an item entitled, "Application under the the auspices of the United Nations of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the Island of Cyprus." On December 17, 1954, the General Assembly decided not "to consider further the item," since, "for the time being, it does not appear appropriate to adopt a resolution on the question of Cyprus." The Assembly decision was adopted by fifty votes to none with eight abstentions.

The Turkish population in Cyprus do not view with favour the 'enosis' movement; rather they look down upon it as a severe below to their interests. As such the Turkish National Party in Cyprus expressed their views on enosis, telegraphically to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the following words:

> "100,000 Cyprus Turks strongly protest against the Greek Government's petition regarding the Union of Cyprus with Greece, and vehemently reject enosis, self-government or a plebiscite."

The decision of the General Assembly infuriated the Cypriots', majority in the Greeks. The hot tempers culminated in uprisings in both Cyprus and Greece, anti-British feeling became intense. The Greek delegation at the United Nations on May 10, 1955, appraised the Secretary-General of the "alarming" situation in Cyprus and expressed a resentment in a letter presented to him against the Government of Cyprus stating that the Government had followed "a policy of brutal repression in order to stifle any expression of the will of the people."

Britain who has been tied to Greece by the North Atlantic Treaty, took steps to placate Greek public opinion in inviting Greece and Turkey to a Convention on "political and defence questions which affect the Eastern Mediterranean including Cyprus." A three-power convention began in London on August 29, 1955.

The Greek delegation again emphasized the exercise of "the right of self-determination" by the Cypriots and gave the understanding that their government would accept the verdict of the people of Cyprus. The British delegation expressed the view in unequivocal words not to surrender soverignty over Cyprus. No compromise on this stand was possible. The principle of self-determinaton was set aside against the weight of strategic considerations.

Turkey stood for the *status quo*. Alternately she took the stand that Cyprus should unite with Turkey, since the island was but a continuation of the Turkish mainland. Britain came to have control over it in 1878 "under a sort of tenancy," and as a price assumed the obligation to defend the whole area against an anticipated Russian aggression. Furthermore, Cyprus was 500 miles from Athens and only 40 miles from Turkey. Defence consideration argued for a union with Turkey. A hostile foreign power in control of Cyprus would be in a position of easy access to Turkey's southern ports. The island might become "a pistol pointed at Turkey's heart." As such it should revert to Turkey if Britain surrendered sovereigty over it.

On September 6, 1955, U.K. foreign Secretary submitted proposals to the conference envisaging a gradual transfer for power to Cyprus in all spheres of Government excepting foreign affairs, defence and public security. The proposal contained safeguard for the rights of the Turkish minority. Furthermore, United Kingdom put forth a proposal to set up a Committee represented by the three powers to thrash out the detailed aspects of the new constitution. The Turkish and Greek delegates did not give an immediate decision but postponed it till a consultation of their governments was secured.

The tripartite conference instead of ironing out differences deadlocked the situation. Greece was deeply hurt, Turkey remained in suspense, Cypriots were extremely unhappy. A conference convened to consider the Cyprus question but without a representative of Cypriots was felt badly by them.

The situation since then has progressively deteriorated. In the island terror and sabotage reign supreme. Greek radio began to incite the people, by propagating anti-British, anti-Turkish and pro-Enosis propaganda. Greece furthermore refused to participate in the N.A.T.O. activities in the Mediterranean area, during September, "because of the presence of Turkish forces." Greece-Turkish tension is an ulcer in the N.A.T.O., and is viewed with grave concern by the United States. On September 18, 1955, John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, addressed identical notes to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, expressing her concern at "the dangerous deterioration of Turkish-Greek relations caused by the Cyprus question. Regardless of the causes of the disagreement, which are complex and numerous, I believe that the unity of the North Atlantic Community which is the basis of our Common Security, must be restored without delay . . ."

On October 3, Sir John Harding took over as the Governor of Cyprus, and announced the same day that he would be meeting Archbishop Makarios (the

leader of the 'Enosis' campaign) the following day, to find a solution to the tangled situation.

The Archbishop on his part was already anxious to meet Harding. Three meetings were held on October 4, 7 and 11. The Governor also had talks with the leaders of the Turkish Cypriots on October 5. All the efforts proved abortive. At the end of the meetings it was announced that they had "stated their separate views without being able to reach agreement."

Harding-Makarios meetings were again arranged on January 9 and 13, 1956, at the residence of the Anglican Archdeacon of Cyprus in Nicosia. As before nothing came out of the renewed attempts.

British Government's attitude to Cyprus was officially disclosed by Mr. Harold Macmillan (the foreign secretary) on December 5, 1955, when the Cyprus problem was discussed in the House of Commons. In substance Macmillan's statement revealed practically the same stand as each party took at the tripartite conference. Greek Cypriots were adamant over 'the right of self-determination.' Turks would accept no solution short of *status quo* or reversion of Cyprus to Turkey. Britain's attitude was thus expressed:

> "If we were to make a gesture of abdication, we would be failing in our obligations to all other people who depend on us as one of the main buttresses in the defence of freedom and democracy both in NATO and the Middle East. We would be in this sense abandoning our task instead of doing it as we intend to do."

Another attempt was made, to resolve the deadlock, when Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the British Colonial Secretary, visited Cyprus and held discussions from February 26 to 29 on the constitutional future of the island with Harding, the Governor, Makarios, and the Turkish-Cypriot leaders. As usual the talks proved unfruitful.

Terrorist activities which were already under way increased in momentum in Cyprus. On March 9, 1956, Archbishop Makarios together with three other leaders of the Enosis campaign were arrested and deported to the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean by order of Sir John Harding. The charge was preferred against the Archbishop that in addition to his overt seditious activities there was also "a large volume of evidence indicating that the Archbishop has been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism launched by the organization known as Eoka."

Greek population retaliated to deportation with riots and anti-British demonstrations. The Greek Cabinet on March 10, decided to recall their Ambassador, M. Vassilion Mostras, in London immediately. By an order of the Home Minister, the British institutes in Athens were closed down. The Greek orthodox Church decided to appeal to the heads of all churches to secure the release of Makarios, whose deportation was described as an "unholy act." It was also decided to send a similar appeal to the World Council of Churches.

M. Palmas, the Greek delegation at the United Nations, delivered a note of protest to the Secretary-General against the deportation.

The United States ambassador in Athens expressed sympathy with the Greek Government. President Eisenhower on March 14, at a Press Conference said that U.S.A. was ready to do "anything reasonable and practical," to help in a solution of the Cyprus problem. Both Greece and Britain were to Americans "very best friends," and their co-operation in NATO was essential to the success of that organization. The solution of this "tough and complicated" problem would have to be reached by the parties concerned but the U.S.A. wanted to maintain with both sides the very friendly historic relations it had always had with them.

In Cyprus itself the population grew restive. Uprisings on an unprecedented scale got under way. The upheavals were brought under control by counter-operations by the British Security forces.*

Greece-Turkish rift does not remain localized. Its impact on the defence arrangements in the Balkans and the Mediterranean is of no small import. The two years old Balkan pact, a military agreement for the defence of the area between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, already weakened by the renewed friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviets, has become more or less a dead letter because of the tension between Greece and Turkey.

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* London, July 12.—Sir Anthony Eden, British Prime Minister, told the House of Commons today that the Government intended to proceed with the development of internal self-government in Cyprus.

He announced that the eminent lawyer Lord Radcliffe will start work forthwith as Constitutional Commissioner to draw up a constitution for the Mediterranean island colony where there is a violent campaign for union with Greece.

SMALL-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE FUTURE ECONOMY OF INDIA

By Prof. R. B. LAL SHARMA, M.A.

Employment is guaranteed to every able-bodied citizen of India by our Constitution. Avadi Session of the A.-I.C.C. also promised full employment to the people of the country within a period of ten years. The Second Five-Year Plan also envisages the targets of employment for the next five years at 11 to 12 million jobs outside agriculture. What is the present position?

The country has already been facing unemployment to a great extent. This is equally true of urban as well as rural employment. The condition becomes worse when we take into consideration the figure of 1.8 million labour force which will be added every year in this country according to the Census Report of 1951. We have to think over this problem seriously. If we want to liquidate this weighty problem of unemployment sincerely, we have to evolve a technique of production which is labour-absorbing and not of capital-absorbing.

Before every country there are two production techniques: first, large-scale production technique requiring larger amount of capital resources and less amount of labour power—called capital intensive or organized industries and, second, small-scale or cottage industries technique of production requiring more of labour power and less of capital resources. We have to decide, which of the two we are going to adopt, taking a special note of the problem of unemployment cited above.

In the Case of Producer's Goods

In every country, some basic industries must be on large-scale production method. Nobody would think of producing machine tools, railway locomotives or aeroplanes, in this machine age, on small-scale production method. This is essential for the production of power or capital goods as the economic development of the country has been hindered because of the paucity of producer's goods. This is the reason why the development of such industries has been accorded a high order of priority in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the Case of Consumer's Goods

The production of consumer's goods of daily needs consisting of clothes, paper, oil and many others can efficiently be carried either on the large-scale production method or on the small-scale production method. For the production of such goods, we shall see, which of the two is preferable.

Paucity of Capital Resources

Capital resources are scarce in our country while there is abundance of labour power. Naturally we shall prefer a technique of production which requires less of capital resources and abundant labour power. Cottage and small-scale industries fulfils this aim. Adoption of the technique of cottages, some say, is out of date as the fruits of science cannot be utilised by adopting such a method. We shall not go with them. The example of Japan is before us. Likewise, we shall not forget to make use of the latest scientific and technological developments in the art of production but these have to be adopted according to the actual needs of the country. Organised industries in our country provide employment to nearly 3 million people out of 35 crores of people living in India. We can visualize the potentiality in this direction.

Machinery Displaces Labour

The use of machinery displaces manpower. With growing industrialization, it would be difficult to find sources of employment for such displaced persons. Moreover, the adoption of the process of rationalization and new inventions displace human labour very rapidly otherwise it becomes less efficient in production. This 'technological unemployment' is more dangerous and should be guarded against. For example, says Mr. Stuart Chase :

> "The introduction of the continuous hot strip mill in the steel industry in the 27 mills of Pittsburg since 1926 has thrown out 100,000 workers."[1]

Again, Mr. Philip Murray, the Chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, says :

> "The continuous automatic steel strip enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4512."[2]

Moreover, experience so far proves that employment opportunities do not expand at the same rate as industrialization.

1. Mr. Stuart Chase : "The Twilight of Communism in the U.S.A." in the *Readers' Digest*, Sept., 1941, quoted by Prof. Wadia and Merchant, p. 503.
2. Shri Khandu Bhai Desai : *Economic Review*, p. 11.

Cost of Machinery

Secondly, if we think of absorbing either the displaced labour or the already existing surplus labour by further industrialization the cost factor makes its fulfilment very difficult.

> "The amount of investment required to give employment to a person in a modern type of industry like iron and steel may well be over Rs. 10,000, for example, in Mysore Iron and Steel Works Ltd. approximately with a capital investment of Rs. 48 crores, only 4,782 workers get employment."[3]

With the amount of capital in hand and with the rate of its formation, we can think of the practicability of the mass production technique. Therefore, in finding a solution of the problem of such a huge magnitude, it would be wrong to ignore the possibilities of our traditional economic organization.

Equilibrium in the Two Forms of Economies

According to the Census Report of 1951, 82.5 per cent people live in villages. We are going to build up a Socialistic Pattern of Society, we must try to uplift the larger number against a smaller one. We can fulfil this aim by levelling up more incomes than doing the reverse. With the drive towards economic self-sufficiency we must attain a position of equilibrium in rural as well as urban economies. The village being the backbone of India's economy must be given the pre-consideration. The rural people must be aware of its due share in the progress and prosperity of the nation if we want to build up a happy and healthy India and this prosperity must flow to rural areas simultaneously with the urban areas. It means we should achieve work not only for urban people but for every able-bodied person in the country-side.

No authoritative data is available to know the actual figure of unemployed persons in rural areas but every person is well aware that an Indian farmer remains unemployed at least four months in a year. The cottage and the small-scale industries will remove this partial unemployment from the rural areas and will also enhance the earning capacity of the village people.

The concentration of industries in a few cities is not desirable in the larger interests of the society. The form of economy we have aimed at is a decentralised one, therefore, we must distribute all our industries on the basis of social equity. The decentralisation of industries is also important from the strategic point of view.

> "As the nations of the world still continue to live in the same state of nature as they have done in the past it is desirable to distribute the industries all over the country to escape concentrated aerial attacks which might otherwise cripple the fighting capacity of the country by destroying its basic industries."[4]

The Social Costs

The case of a decentralised economy through small-scale and cottage industries becomes more weighty when we take into account the cost of covering social risks emerging out of the concentration and development of large-scale industries in a few cities. Their costs for a poor nation becomes too high to bear. Concentration of industries gives rise, in its turn, to many social problems—in the nature of accidents, industrial congestion leading to housing and sanitary inadequacies in the cities. These have to be provided for and such social risks as accidents and unemployment have to be covered by social security schemes. All this is not needed if the economy is based on the technique of small-scale production.

The Drift from the Villages

The modern tendency among the rural educated is to migrate to the towns at the first earliest opportunity. In the interest of the nation we have to check it. How we shall do so? By developing additional economic activities in the country-side and making it prosperous and full of amenities of modern living, the drift from the villages can be checked. Not only the rural educated migrate to the towns, the village craftsman who is a cultivator "by tradition and temperament," also does so out of sheer necessity. Sometimes this causes inefficiency of individual labour.

> "Culture and refinement come to the artisan through his work amidst his kith and kin,"[5] says Dr. R. K. Mukerjee.

If we want to preserve this heritage we should provide productive channels to the rural areas and should enhance the purchasing power of the rural people. The development of cottage industries can serve this end.

The Price Factor

The argument of 'Price factor' is often stated with great force. It is said that with small-scale production technique the cost of an article becomes huge, consequently its price. Let us examine this argument more closely. The cost of production of an article is always low if the article is produced on the basis of large-scale method because of the advantages of the economies emerging out of such technique. We can also reap these advantages in case of small-scale production with the help of co-operatives. Thus we can reduce the cost.

We can also increase the productivity of the village craftsman by equipping him with such small

3. *Ibid*, p. 11.
4. Prof. Wadia and Merchant, p. 504.
5. *Foundations of Indian Economics*, p. 326.

machines, such as, 'Ambar Charkha.' This improved type of spinning wheel provides better technique of spinning yarn. 'Ambar Charkha,' according to the calculations of the Khadi Board, reduces the gap between the prices of mill cloth and Ambar-cloth to only about four annas per yard whereas the present gap is of the order of rupee one and annas four.[6]

The second consideration is of quality. The consumer would not mind to pay a little more if he is assured of the quality of the product. The yarn spun by the help of Ambar Charkha is finer and stronger than that spun by the ordinary spinning wheel. The Sarva-Seva-Sangha has carried out several tests in regard to it. "The handloom weaver requires yarn of different counts and judging by the experiments that have been carried out so far, we find that with certain adjustments in the operation of Charka, we can produce yarn of different counts, on different varieties of cotton grown in different parts of the country."[7]

Likewise many other instruments of production used in the small-scale method can be improved. This is possible when we are determined to do it.

There is a little more consideration. Besides the facts mentioned above, price remains a bit high and the consumer suffers a loss to such an extent. As already stated, the development of large-scale industries displaces labour and thus causes unemployment; one can choose between these two alternatives—unemployment on the one hand and paying a bit high price on the other. Certainly, the consumer will prefer the second one.

We can also avoid competition by disallowing the expansion in the capacity of the large-scale industries and by reserving the production of consumers' goods exclusively to the small-scale and cottage industries.

What more ? If we are determined to wipe off the menace of unemployment from our midst, we shall have to develop small-scale and cottage industries with concerted and systematic efforts. People cannot wait longer; they want the fruits of their freedom soon. One is reminded of Bapu's words, "Salvation of India lies in cottages."

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6. Shri S. N. Agarwala : "Economics of Ambar Charkha" in the *Economic Review* of Dec. 15, 1955.

7. Shri V. L. Mehta : "Ambar Charkha—A Revolution in Hand-spinning," *Economic Review*, Dec. 15, 1955.

THE BASIS OF JUDICIAL REVIEW IN INDIA AND U.S.A.

A Study from the Federal Point of View

By SAILESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.

The distribution of powers is the foundation upon which the pluralistic super-structure is built up. The two pillars which keep the structure erect are generally said to be the amendment and judiciary.

The vesting of the power of altering, modifying, supplementing the constitution both in the Centre and units saves the original distribution from being revised for the benefit of the one to the detriment of the other, but does not provide for the settlement of the controversies and disputes as to the distribution of powers. The constitutional laws cannot provide for all unpredictable circumstances but simply lay down the general principles. Besides, powers are often overlapping by nature. Hence is the necessity of a body independent of the control of the Centre and regions for the settlement of disputes.

I

Legal Supremacy of the Constitution

It has been urged that the power of the judiciary in interpreting the constitution is the outcome of the written character of the constitution. But the essential thing is that the constitution is the fundamental law and legal supremacy of the constitution is essential to the existence of the state. This supremacy of the constitution is clearly laid in the American Constitution in Clause 2 of Article VI:

> "This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land and the Judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

This clause not merely establishes the supremacy of a federal law, duly made, over a state law in the event of a conflict between them, but also establishes the supremacy of the constitution itself over a federal law in case of an inconsistency between the two. Every judge is therefore bound to treat as void every legislative act enacted by the Congress or the state legislatures which is inconsistent with the constitution.

> His duty, as Dicey puts it, "is as clear as that of an English judge called upon to determine the validity of a byelaw made by Great Eastern or other Railway company. The American judge must in giving judgment obey the terms of the constitution, just as his English brother must in giving judgment obey every act of Parliament on the case."

Judicial Review in U.S.A.

Judicial review in America, therefore, arises not out of the written character of the constitution but out of its supreme character: its so-called written nature is only a question of form and follows as a consequence from that supremacy as a matter of expediency. The so-called written character is of a secondary consequence of something which is of primary importance in it, namely its supremacy as law. Confusion must not be made between what is consequential and what is essential. The essence of the situation is that

> "While it is the duty of every institution established under the authority of a constitution to keep within the limits of those powers, it is the duty of the Courts, from the nature of their function, to say what these limits are."[1]

This principle has been laid down in *Marbury* vs. *Madison* by the Chief Justice Marshall. Although Marshall, CJ laid emphasis on the supremacy of the constitution, he was wrong in thinking that the judicial review followed as a consequence from the so-called written character of the constitution mainly for two reasons. Firstly, the constitution does not live in the written text but lives as much in conventions and usages. Secondly, there are countries such as France both under the constitution of the Third Republic and the Fourth Republic which have a so-called written constitution in which the doctrine of judicial review does not operate or does so only partially.

The judicial review arising out of the supreme nature of the constitution gains muster from the doctrine of separation of powers in the United States. The rigid application of the theory debars the American Legislature "to set aside judgements of Courts, compel them to grant new trials, order the discharge of offenders or direct what steps shall be taken in the progress of a judicial enquiry." Coupled with this, "the due process clause" has made the judiciary supreme in American political life. The Fifth Amendment to the constitution of the U.S.A. states that

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

The Fourteenth Amendment imposes similar limitation on the state authorities. These two provisions are called the "due process clause." Under the above clauses the American Judiciary claims to declare a law as void, if it is not in accord with 'due process' even though the legislation may be within the competence of the legislature concerned.

The constitution, however, does not contain a definition of the 'due process clause.' Nor has been the Court consistent in its interpretation of these clauses. Broadly, the Court defines it so liberally as to enable it to invalidate laws which may be supposed to offend against "the spirit of the constitution."

> "Due process has both a procedural and a substantive meaning. Procedural due process means that in dealing with individuals, the government must proceed with settled usages and modes of procedure, *e.g.*, no conviction without a hearing. Substantive due process, on the other hand, means that not only the proper procedure should be followed but the law itself must be reasonable."[2]

Consequently, it means, as Wills and Cooley point out, reasonable law according to the view of the majority of judges holding office at a particular time.

However, it must not be thought that the judiciary in the United States knows no limit and its power is absolute. The Supreme Court itself has laid down certain 'self-limiting rules of interpretation.' (1) It proceeds on the presumption that the impugned legislation is constitutional unless it is satisfactorily rebutted by those who challenge it. (2) If there is any doubt on any point, the benefit of doubt rule shall apply. That means the impugned legislation stands. (3) Where it is possible to avoid the question of constitutionality of an issue without prejudice to the cause of justice it shall be avoided. (4) If an invalid part or section can be separated from other parts or sections which are not open to challenge then the latter remains whereas the invalid part or section only goes. (5) No decision is given on political questions which are left to the judgment or discretion of what are called the political branches of the state, that is, the legislature and the executive. (These rules of interpretation are more or less observed in English and Indian Courts).

Besides, the very function of the judiciary sets limits to its power. The Court can only interpret the fundamental laws contained in the constitutional document. It cannot itself legislate.

> "They have a discretion, but it is a discretion within the law and not above the law. Courts may modify, they cannot replace. They can revise earlier interpretations as new arguments, new points of view are presented; they can shift the dividing line in marginal cases; but there are barriers they cannot pass, definite assigment of powers which they cannot reallocate. They cannot assign to one authority powers explicitly granted to another . . . . And although it may be wise for a court to give the legislature the benefit of doubt, where there is a doubt, it is no part of a court's duty to do for a legislature or for a majority of the electors what a constitution has not done for them."[3]

II

Our Judiciary

But unlike the constitution of the United States, there is nothing in our constitution which expressly

1. Wheare : *Federal Government* (2nd Edition).

2. D. Basu : *A Commentary on the Constitution of India* (2nd Edition), pp. 152-155.

3. Wheare : *Federal Government* (2nd Edition). p. 237.

declares itself to be the supreme law of the land. Nor is there such a declaration in the constitutions of Canada and Australia. But this does not make much difference. For the essence of the situation is more or less the same: both the Union government and the state governments derive their powers from the constitution, and constitution has imposed definite limitations upon each of the organs and any transgression of those limitations would make the act void.

NO SEPARATION THEORY AND DUE PROCESS CLAUSE

Nor is there any rigid application of the theory of separation of powers in our constitution. Apart from the provision vesting the executive power in the President, there is no corresponding provision vesting legislative and judicial powers in the judiciary. It also breaks away from the doctrine "in so far as it engrafts the Englisth Cabinet system upon an elected President." The differentiation of functions of different organs is not the outcome of the doctrine of separation of powers but the express constitutional provisions which prevent the exercise of such powers by any organ other than the one specified. Apart from the two limitations in respect of criminal law such as prescribing judicial punishment with retrospective effect, it is open to our legislature, like the British Parliament, to override the effect of a judicial decision by legislation.

Nor is there any due process clause in our constitution enabling the judiciary, like its American counterpart, "to examine the validity of laws not only from the point of view of the Legislature's competence but also from the broader angle of the inherent goodness of law." The Article 21 of our constitution declares:

> "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

In *Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*,[4] there was an attempt to construe this Article as affording the same protection as the 'due process clause' does in the United States with this difference that in our case the protection is confined to the procedural law and does not cover the substantive law. But the Chief Justice Kania has rightly nipped this in the bud. Normally, the expression producedure established by law must mean procedure prescribed by the state. Here the word 'law' does not mean principles of natural justice. It means *lex, i.e.*, enacted law and not *jus, i.e.*, law in the abstract sense of principles of natural justice. For, there was nothing to prevent the Constituent Assembly to adopt the American constitutional expression. Besides, the rules of natural justice, even as regards procedure, are no where defined and the constitution cannot be read as laying down a vague standard. The expression 'procedure established by law' made the standard specific, and it cannot be specific except by reading the expression as meaning procedure established by the Legislature. Moreover, although the word law in this Part III has different shades of meaning but in no article does it appear to bear the indefinite meaning of natural justice. Besides, this expression in our constitution has been borrowed from the Japanese Constitution and in that constitution, the word law does not mean *jus*.

In absence of the full importation of the doctrine of separation of powers and the due process clause, the position of our judiciary is somewhere in between the courts in England and the United States.

> "Our Constitution, unlike the English constitution, recognises the Court's supremacy over the Legislative authority, but such supremacy is a very limited one, for it is confined to the field where the legislative power is circumscribed by limitations put upon it by the constitution itself. Within this restricted field, the court may, on a scrutiny of the law made by the legislature, declare it void if it is found to have transgressed the constitutional limitations. But our constitution, unlike the American constitution, does not recognise absolute supremacy of the Court over the legislative authority in all respects. For outside the restricted field of constitutional limitations, our Parliament and the State Legislatures are supreme in their respective legislative fields and in that wider field there is no scope for the Court in India to play the role of the Supreme Court of the United States."[5]

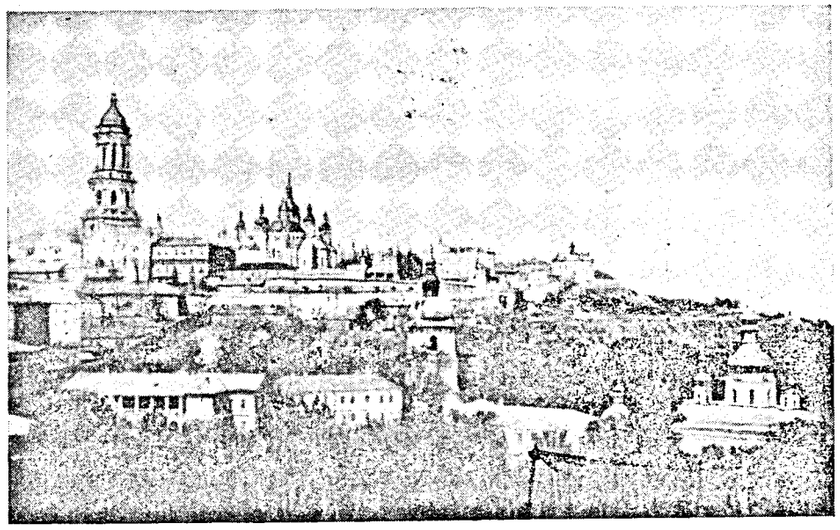
In what has been stated above it is evident that the courts in our country will have no power of judicial review as the Courts in the United States have. But this does not detract in any way from the federal principles. The federal principle demands only that the power of settlement of disputes as to the limits in terms of the constitutional powers of Union Government and those of any State should be confided to an independent body. Nor is it true that this body must be judiciary and judiciary alone. In Switzerland, the Federal Tribunal, the Supreme Court—cannot declare any federal law to be invalid for infringement of some provisions of the constitution. It may annul a Cantonal Law in case it conflicts with the federal or a Cantonal constitution. The Swiss constitution expressly assigns to the federal legislature the right of interpreting both the Federal Constitution itself and laws passed thereunder.

But it should be emphasised that in the absence of provisions to the contrary, it is perfectly logical and necessary for courts to consider and pass an opinion on these questions.*

4. C. Justice Kania: *Supreme Court Reporter* (1950), pp. 418-20.

5. Justice Das in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*, *Supreme Court Reporter* (1950), p. 520.

* This is a portion of my paper entitled "Federalism in Indian Constitution."



The city of Kiev, Ukraine

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

BY NARENDRA DEV

II

THE theatres, ballets, operas, folk songs and folk dances, circuses, cinemas, concerts, etc., proved that in the field of cultural development Soviet Russia was in no way behind the more advanced countries of the West. Every evening we were treated with one or other of these cultural entertainments by our hosts.

We had been to several of their cultural parks, which cover an extensive area of their large and beautiful cities, where theatres, cinemas, lecture-halls, concert pavilions and band-stands as well as more than one swimming pools are provided. Boat races, physical culture exhibitions, and other atheletic sports are regularly held there. Every week agricultural, horticultural and floricultural demonstrations imparting practical education are arranged for the school and university students.

The pioneer camps of Soviet Russia are worth mentioning. Hundreds of boys and girls between the ages of six and sixteen gather in different pioneer camps every year during the summer recess, where they are trained in every branch of vocational education. There the children run their own railways, post offices, banks, stores, amusements, sports, study circles and other departments, knowledge of which subjects are essential to the civilised human society. We saw there the future generation of the Soviet people in the making.

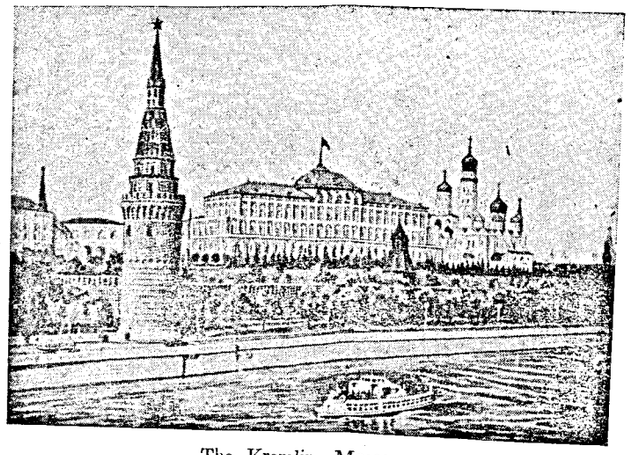
Any country may be proud of the huge libraries, museums, art galleries, and other useful cultural concerns of the big Soviet cities.

The rest-houses for the workers are practically health-resorts, where they get an opportunity of regaining fresh energy and strength. The rest-houses are run by the Trade Unions; and workers can stay there a month for a change and rest with their family free of cost.

The Soviet Union has preserved carefully all the invaluable ancient treasures, gold, silver, jewelleries, ornaments, draperies, dresses, cutleries and crockeries, as symbols of the past glory of the royalties from Peter the Great down to the last Czar. The Summer Palace, the Winter Palace, the Kremlin and other royal Houses as well as the cathedrals, chapels and other ecclesiastical temples of worship with all their episcopal and pastoral possessions have been allowed to remain intact. The abandoned churches are being utilised for serving the educational needs of the nation.

The newly-built thirty-two-storied Moscow University with its splendid halls and gorgeous chandeliers weighing two and a half tons each can be well described as a modern Kremlin Palace. It has an accommodation for the boarding and lodging of ten thousand students, various departmental classes for twenty

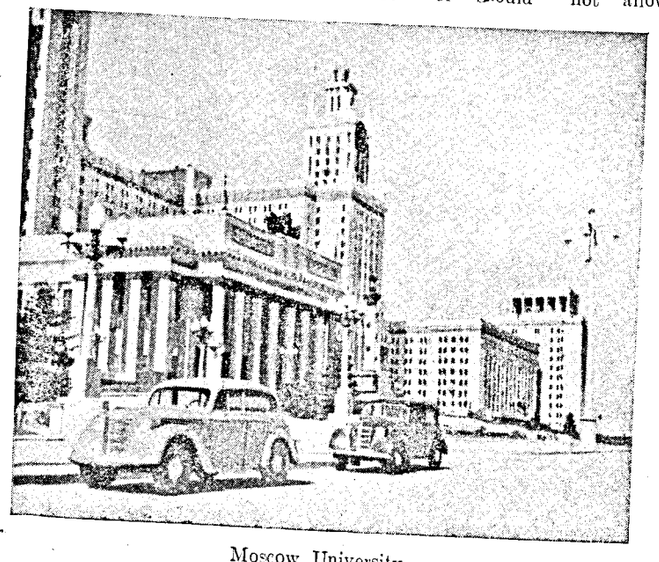
thousand day-scholars, laboratories, libraries, residences for the large staff of professors, teachers and readers, etc. It almost resembles an American sky-scraper with a touch of oriental colour. The all-round knowledge of the University students of Leningrad and Moscow have proved the wonderful success of the



The Kremlin, Moscow

Soviet system of imparting education to the young students from the Nursery to the University. Though the pattern appears to be of a set standard, we found that most of the students there could speak, read and write one or other of the foreign languages. Our guides and interpreters who were composed mostly of University students, were well-versed in Hindi, Urdu, English and Bengali.

Hospitals, Clinics and Nursing Homes which we had the opportunity of visiting, have almost reached perfection. Successful diagnosis and free treatment of acute diseases and wonderful surgical operations won our admiration. Patients are well-cared for in every medical establishment, and they are safe in the hands of experienced specialists, most of whom belong to the other sex.

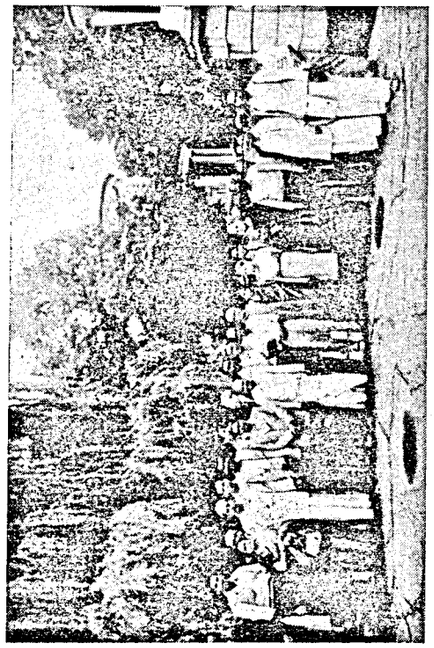


Moscow University

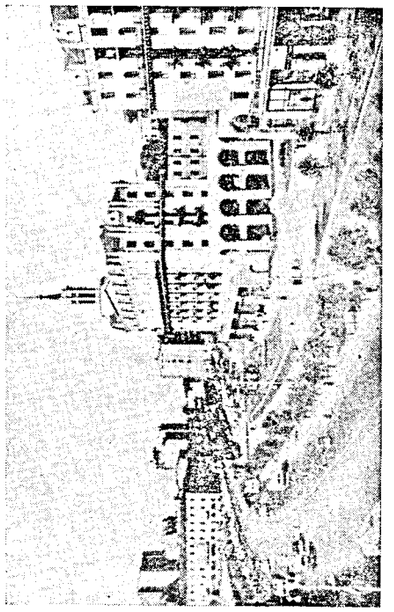
We visited some factories. The turbine, ball-bearing and motor car manufacturing and heavy steel industries appeared to us as gigantic and of very high order. Every factory has got its own coach for higher training of the workers. They provide them with cheap quarters and canteens and with nurseries, cultural homes, libraries, reading-rooms and rest-houses as well as their own factory magazines, and kindergartens for their children.

We met some distinguished members of the Soviet Writers' Union both at Leningrad and Moscow. These Unions formed by the writers themselves are powerful bodies, who exercise a strict control over the writers of the Soviet Russia. The State does not interfere. It is the Union that direct authors as to what they should write and what they should not. This, of course, we failed to appreciate.

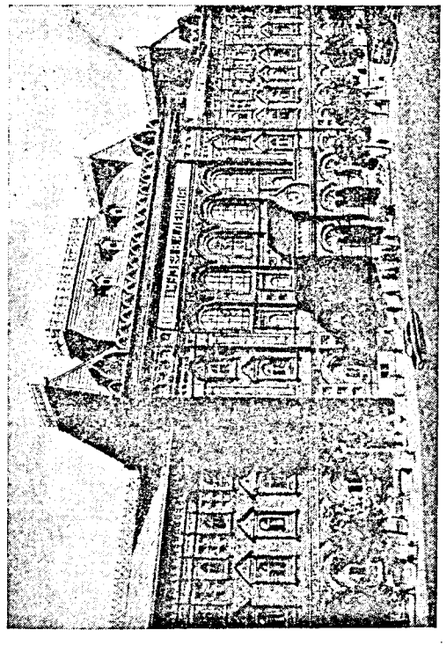
When we brought this charge against them that the Soviet writers appear to have got no individual freedom, they explained that it was a necessary evil. They said, "As Soviet Russia is still in the making, and as the process of transforming it into a full-fledged Socialist State with the help of Marx and Engel's theory of Communistic ideology is yet in its infancy, we are afraid we cannot or should not allow to thwart our national plan by writing anything irresponsible, which might go against it and frustrate our noble cause. We should not during this experimental period dare to allow any one to write anything which might counteract our efforts and endanger our aims and objects or tend to distract in any way the mind



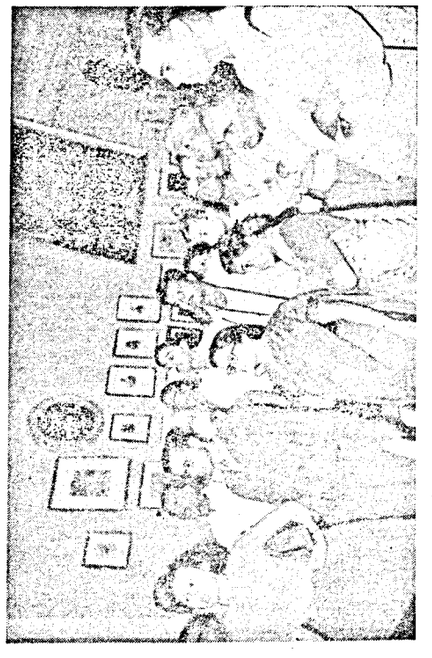
In the Weeping Park, Kiev



A street in Kiev



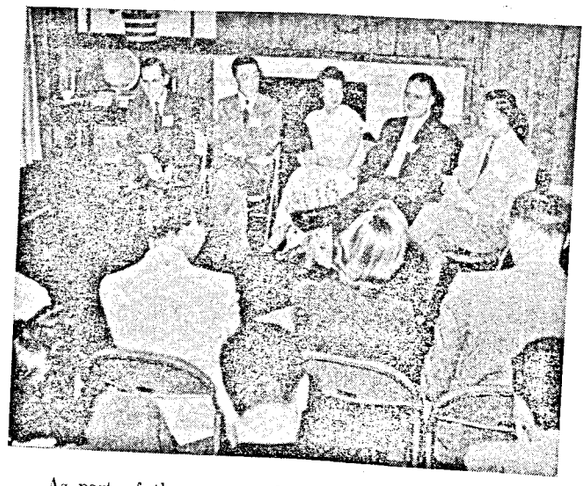
The Lenin Museum and Library, Moscow



In the Sevchenko Memorial Hall, Kiev

EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIOAL RELATIONS

An experiment in international relations, at the grassroots level, at one of America's largest universities has proven so successful that it has become a major annual undertaking.

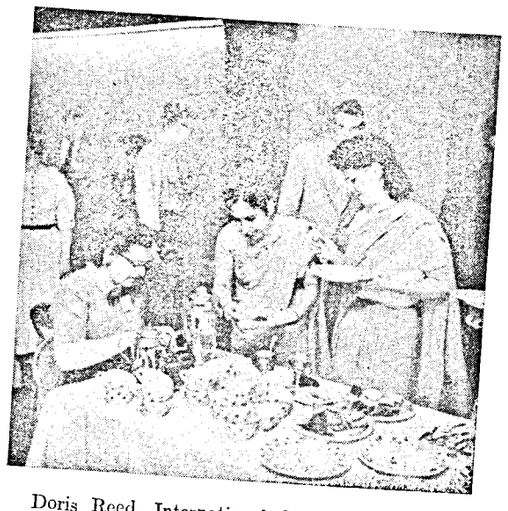


As part of the program during International Student Night at the University of Michigan, visiting students from Jerusalem, Japan, America, Lebanon, and the Philippines, participate in a panel on education

realized their University had the largest enrolment of international students of any educational institution in the United States.

Realizing that home and family life play a crucial role in the lives of most people, Michigan State faculty members and students, with the assistance of the International Student Counsellor, enlisted the co-operation of the local towns-people in planning a year-round social program. One of the events scheduled was an informal dinner, which proved so successful that it has now become an annual affair. At these gatherings students from all over the world have formed friendships which have continued through correspondence long after the students return to their homes. It is also at this event that local families "adopt" students and students "adopt" families. Under this arrangement a student has a home where he feels free to go and take his friends. He very often is invited for a week-end and shares in the family's social life.

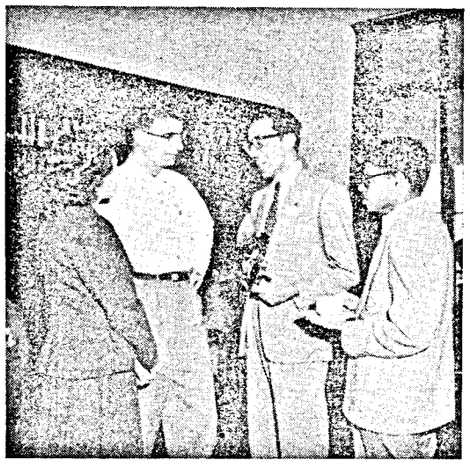
During International Student Night at the University of Michigan, two visiting students from India and Korea have a serious discussion with American students in the school's library



Doris Reed, International Student Counsellor at the University of Michigan, serves cofee to students from India during International Student Night

The project was launched several years ago when faculty members at the University of Michigan realized their University had the largest enrolment of international students of any educational institution in the United States.

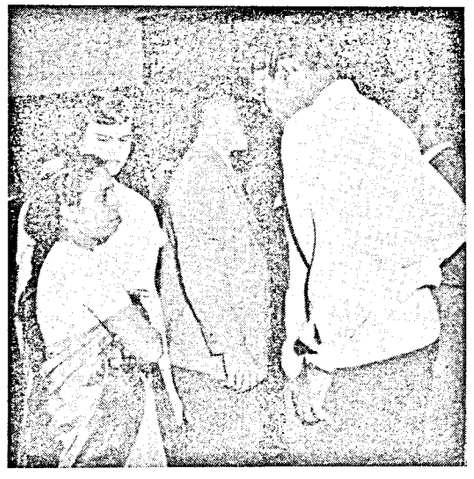
A highlight of the program is International Student Night which has also become an annual affair. Held at the beginning of the school term, it gives the visiting students an opportunity to meet Americans in an informal friendly atmosphere.



During International Student Night at the University of Michigan, a student from India prepares to take a picture of his new friends

A student from Bangalore, India, assists his hostess at International Student Night

During International Student Night, visiting students examine a wire globe which shows the location of their own countries



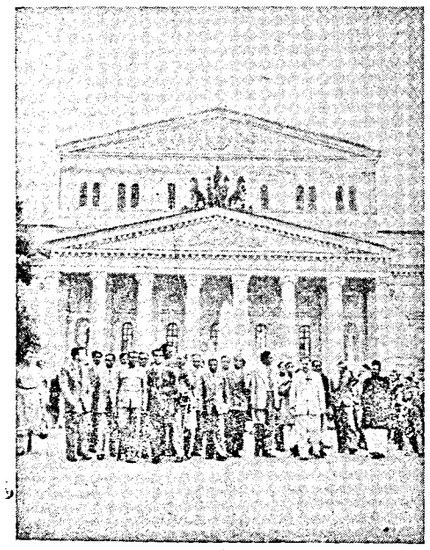
Students from India discuss their plans for the future during International Student Night

Another regular event which is growing in popularity is a series of pilgrimages to several metropolitan centers in the immediate area. One of this year's trips was to Detroit, America's automobile capital, where fifteen students spent a week-end as house guests of several Detroit families. While there, they visited some of Detroit's large manufacturing plants, art museums, religious organizations and were entertained at several informal parties.

The overall program, designed to make visiting students feel among friends while living and studying in a strange country, also includes a series of faculty receptions, informal dinners, student parties, week-end outings and other events which serve to fill the spare time of these students and provide many opportunities to make new and lasting friendships.

of the reading public. Prompted by our patriotism and love for our country, we insist upon all our writers that, whatever they will write, they must wield their pen for the good of the people only and help their State in the hard task of the nation-building efforts. It is to our own people's vital interest that we have adopted certain rules and regulations for the guidance of our writers."

A few copies of the Rules and Regulations framed by the Soviet Writers' Union were distributed to us, still we could not reconcile ourselves to this gagging policy. Considering the fact that, after well-over 36 years of Soviet rule which has now survived a generation, such strict control over writers of the land seemed in our opinion as unnecessary and quite out of date.



The Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow

In spite of Soviet Russia's amazing advance in many essential and utilitarian matters of extreme importance, we must admit frankly that they have not yet been able to remove the poverty of the toiling classes altogether. Slums still exist here and there in the very heart of the metropolis. In the villages, we found many poorly-built cottages with mud-walls and thatched roofs, as well as tottering old huts made of wood and rafters, long uncared-for and unrepaired. We saw many ill-clad workers and cultivators working in their field bare-footed and using such implements that can be described as primitive and obsolete. But, we must admire the young men and girls of Soviet Russia, who are a very well-behaved lot. We never came across any indecency in their conduct, even when they were occupying a solitary bench under cover of a lonely grove at a shady corner of the public park or in a quiet roadside garden, in contrast with what one often notices in London or Paris parks.

The women of Soviet Russia who are very predominant in that country gave us the greatest surprise. They have either discarded or have never adopted the fashion of artificial make-up with a variety of toilette and cosmetics, lip-sticks or nail-polish, snow, powder, cream or rouge. They do not feel shy, rather they are proud to appear in their own natural beauty, and as such they look far more attractive and beautiful than their painted sisters of Western Europe.

Any visitor in Soviet Russia will notice in no time that men are in a minority being greatly outnumbered by the female-folks everywhere. In a factory which work with only 4,000 hands, we found 3,000 of them belong to the softer sex. In all the workshops, hospitals, schools, news-paper offices, agricultural firms, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Banks and departmental stores, wherever you go, you will find women in much greater number than men. This predominance of the weaker-sex in every line, heavy or light, led us to believe that there must be dearth of male-folks in the U.S.S.R. Some of our fellow travellers or rather visitors who were formidable anti-Communists remarked that all the able-bodied men were forced to join the Army training camp on the other side of the Urals or in the far-east of Siberia; if any day the Communist-phobiac Americans with all their dollar-beggar friends dare to jump over Soviet Russia and attack them simultaneously from all their ill-gotten military bases, the two hundred million man-power of the Soviet Union might be easily released for war, without their daily routine of home-work being hampered in any way.

However, one thing in Russia has distressed us much. It is surely a matter of regret for the Indian tourist when visiting any of the cities of the Soviet Union, that he cannot buy anything there which he likes to have. Not because selling of goods to people other than Soviet citizens is prohibited by the State, but because of the prohibitive price of all luxury goods, which stands in the way.

A pair of plain shoes will cost you over two hundred rupees. You cannot get even an ordinary suit at less than sixteen hundred rupees. For a packet of 20 cigarettes you shall have to spend five rupees. Our good hosts provided us with everything we needed there, say, for instance, the replacing of a pair of broken specs with a new one, a set of new teeth in place of your decayed biters, a new vest for your torn one, a cabin trunk for your smashed tin-box, regular supply of cigarettes, with free food and wine, all-day sight-seeing and entertainments every night, accommodation of high-class hotels. This saved us from being financially ruined. You will get there only eleven roubles

and twenty kopeks in exchange of a £1-note. Then you will have to pay about 68 roubles for a piece of silken handkerchief which I bought from Moscow as a souvenir for my daughter. You will realise that it is the Rouble-curtain and not Iron Curtain that stands in the way of a tourist. Visiting the U.S.S.R. I would not have been able to purchase that piece of kerchief, had I not earned a few hundred roubles for a talk which I was invited to broadcast from the Moscow Radio. Would you believe that those printed rayon-things are not worth even five Rupees in India. But we did not mind paying this high price because, not only did we want to take something from the U.S.S.R. as momento of our tour in Eastern Europe, but we had to spend it at the source as roubles are current only within the Soviet Union. These paper-notes are worthless outside Russia. We offered to contribute the whole sum amounting to 650 roubles to the All-India Peace Committee, but the young and handsome secretary with his smiling face thankfully refused to accept it as the rouble-notes would be mere scraps of paper in India and elsewhere.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge that the Soviet people are the best people in Europe. They have impressed us in every way. We found them extremely hospitable, very gentle and noble in nature. They have developed a liberal and cosmopolitan view of the human society full of diversities, that exists in every part of the world. No black or brown people of the tropics are looked down upon by them as niggers and hated as members of an inferior race. All men and women are equally respectable and honourable in their estimation. They never think like the Fascists that the white people are God's privileged race who can claim racial superiority over the coloured people.

Everywhere we received very cordial and friendly treatment from all of them. We have returned home with happy memories of the Asiatic Republics of the

A girls' school, Samarkand

U.S.S.R. We found the Soviet people truly peace-loving by nature. We saw them engaged whole-heartedly in their nation-building activities, repairing carefully all the terrible devastation caused by the last world war, and paving new avenues for the advancement of their country and their people. They stand solidly and sincerely against war and aggression, and are engaged in ushering in a new era of peace and plenty in the world. *(Concluded)*

Two students from India discuss the evening's activities with the program-assistant for International Student Night

An engineering student from India talks with a student from the Philippines during a get-together in Detroit, Michigan

All of this has been called an experiment in furthering understanding among peoples of different ethnic origins, religions and customs—and, judging from appearances, a very successful experiment.—*USIS.*

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THE MASTER OF THE QUEEN'S MUSIC

By FRANK HOWES,

Music Critic of The Times, London

THERE are still a good many offices at the court of the Kings and Queens of England which bear sonorous and venerable titles like the Keeper of the Privy Purse and the Lady of the Bedchamber, and sometimes a new one hardly less picturesque is added to the roll—such is the Master of the Queen's Flight. Among the older offices is that of the Master of the Queen's Music which goes back to 1626.

Long before Nicholas Lanier was designated Master of the Music to King Charles I there had been officials charged with the supervision of the royal musical establishment, which consisted of wind instrument players and minstrels in addition to the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who constituted the monarch's choir for religious services. Such was a 'marshal of the minstrels' at the coronation of Richard III in 1483. But there is no continuous history of such an office until Lanier's appointment of 1626.

The choirs of the Chapels Royal still exist and sing on Sundays but the Master of the Queen's Music is no longer responsible, as Lanier was, for the provision of ceremonial music at court, which is now provided by the service bands of the armed forces. He is an officer without prescribed functions and his office is now what he makes of it. The duties are nominal and the post honorific. If the holder is a composer he may act as the musical equivalent of the Poet Laureate and write to order for state occasions. If he is an executant, as many of the holders of the office have been, he will conduct the King's Band or organize a royal command concert.

FORMAL OBLIGATIONS

Sir Walter Parratt (1893-1924), the organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was the last Master of the Music to conduct the royal band, which was dissolved by King Edward VII. Sir Walford Davies, who held the office from 1934 to 1941 in the reigns of King George V and King George VI, devised a new kind of concert in place of the old state concerts which had been held in Queen Victoria's time.

Neither of these two sovereigns was musical—the House of Hanover, which had in the person of George I employed Handel both in Germany and England and had been musically reconditioned a century later by the Prince Consort, seems somehow to have lost this part of its German inheritance. But Davies's concert for Empire Day consisting of English music sung in the Albert Hall by representative choristers from all parts of the country won the King's approval. This was in 1935—there was another of the same sort to celebrate the Coronation of George VI—and was a literal discharge of an injunction which Davies had received from one of his child listeners to his radio talks, who wrote to him, "I hope you will put good tunes into the King's head."

Putting tunes into the King's head may mean accompanying the sovereign to the opera or to a concert on the rare occasions when he attends such functions, and it always means supervising the music for the Coronation, though in practice the duty is shared with the organists of Westminster Abbey. The Master of the King's (Queen's) Music advises on appointments and honours. He is the Monarch's musical adviser and there his formal obligations now end in return for his small stipend. But in the past during the five centuries of the existence of the post the duties appertaining to it have varied. There have been eighteen holders of the office including its present occupant, Sir Arthur Bliss.

A FAMOUS NAME

In that list the most famous name is that of Edward Elgar who held the post from 1924, when Parratt died, to his own death ten years later. Elgar had been something of Musician Laureate long before the title was officially his. An early cantata bore the title *The Banner of St. George* and his patriotic spirit and feeling for pomp and circumstance had been expressed in the military marches with that name. He had composed occasional music both in peace and war that captured the public imagination. His chief composition as Master of the King's Music was the *Nursery Suite* which he wrote soon after Princess Margaret was born for her and her sister, the present Queen.

His successor, Sir Arnold Bax, devoted his whole life to composition, though he had in addition very considerable literary gifts. He wrote seven symphonies and a good deal of piano music and chamber music all in a late romantic idiom. For the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II he fulfilled his official duties by composing a march that was played in Westminster Abbey, but otherwise there was not much official activity during his tenure which embraced the years of war.

SIR ARTHUR BLISS

Sir Arthur Bliss, who adds to his talents as a composer those of a fine orchestral conductor and of an administrator capable of directing the policy and the activities of the B.B.C., as he did for two years during the war, is anxious to use his new position for the advancement of the art, and has already shown that he does not regard it as a sinecure. He produced a choral piece *A Song of Welcome* for the homecoming of Queen Elizabeth from her world tour in 1954. His best music has been written for the ballets *Checkmate*, *Miracle in the Gorbals*, and *Adam Zero*, but he has one symphony to his credit composed in 1922, and one opera *The Olympians* to a text by J.B. Priestley. His *Music for Strings* and concertos respectively for piano and violin are of spacious design.

Arthur Bliss, musician and composer

Sir Arthur is a man of wide culture and vigorous personality, interested in all the arts, forward-looking though no longer iconoclastic in musical outlook, independent in opinion but quite capable of working with others. He was educated at Rugby School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. His career at the Royal College of Music, where he was for a very short time a pupil of Stanford and Vaughan Williams, was cut short by the war of 1914, in which he served

with distinction in the Grenadier Guards. There is still something of the soldier in his bearing, though in appearance he is a lively intellectual more like a philosopher.

Of his early predecessors in office Maurice Greene (1735-55) and William Boyce (1755-79) were both composers of church music of distinction, John Stanley (1759-86), a blind organist, wrote instrumental music which has recently been rediscovered and admired, and William Shield (1817-29) wrote attractive songs in the light operas of the period, many of which have survived in popular anthologies. The position has never corresponded in importance or scope to the *Kapellmeister* of German courts, but has usually been an additional appointment for a prominent musician of his time who can adorn it and be adorned by it.

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DIGHA

By TUSHAR RANJAN PATRANABIS

Forests of casuarina, stretches of the 'keya' plant, immense sand dunes, a beach wide till the vision ends and a safe surf conjure up a breath-taking view in the world. And this is what the visitor finds at Digha. Digha is West Bengal's only sea-side resort and is reached from either of the two South Eastern Railway stations—Khargpur and Contai Road. The distance to Digha from the former is a little over 75 miles and from the latter about 57 miles. Although train connections for Khargpur are better, the road-way leading from that place is decidedly less comfortable than what one gets from Contai Road some 22 miles farther from Khargpur—on the east coast section of the South Eastern Railway.

The Journey

Leaving Calcutta by the Howrah-Puri Passenger train shortly after 10 in the night the visitor reaches Contai Road—94 miles away—at about 4 on the next morning. He finds several motor-buses waiting at the station and soon his journey begins in the remaining stillness of the night. Piercing the darkness by the headlights the vehicle speeds on in its unhindered journey, for traffic is sparse. As the morning sun appears on the horizon, the visitor is enchanted by the view. He discovers that his journey is flanked on either side by miles of golden sheaves of corn lying motionless in the breezeless morn.

At about half-past-six the visitor reaches the subdivisional town, Contai. The sand-hills he meets on his way to the bus-station reminds the visitor that at one time Contai was itself on the sea. After a two hours' rest (and a warm breakfast) the visitor changes for the Digha bus. Digha is only 22 miles from Contai but the journey takes over two hours because at Pichaboni on the way a canal has yet to be bridged and the motor-bus is ferried across.

Digha—A Discovery

The visitor discovers Digha hidden behind a forest of casuarinas and braving a sparkling sea. He soon realises why for the gently shelving sea, the just-right breakers, the wonderfully firm sand and the excellent air Digha is an obvious choice for one who wants an escape, albeit temporary, from the din and worry of a city life.

There are miles of broad golden sand and a palm-fringed shore at Digha. The beach is backed by pleasing rows of brown sand-dunes with clusters of green 'Keya' bushes sprouting out of the sand. The casuarina plantations started by the West Bengal Government have not only stopped the sands from advancing further inland, but have also imparted a pleasant look to the landscape.

Sea is Warm

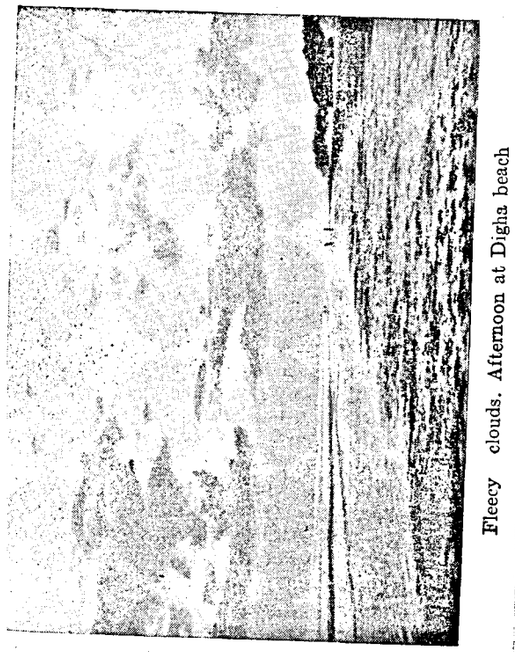
The sea is warm and pleasant and vigorous; yet safe for bathing. The sand on the beach is firm and level; it has been recorded that in the 18th century visitors from Calcutta used to drive their carriage along the beach. Today driving a car, nay, even landing a plane, is possible on the firm sands of the 2½-mile long and over 200 feet wide sea beach at Digha.

Phosphorescent Breakers

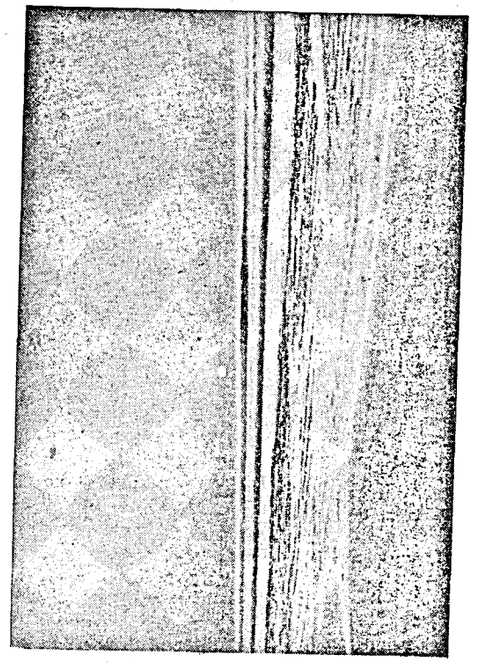
The sea at Digha has a special attraction at night. On the moonless nights in particular, the breakers, outlined with phosphorus, look like frills or the curtain of the sky, for the sea and the sky appear as one, and at twilight the phosphorus-lit breakers look like tiers of dimly-lit huts suspended in nothingness. On moon-lit nights, again, the breakers with their crown of phosphorescence seem as if bouquets of blue-white petals are strewn with a dramatic suddenness to disappear as quickly as they bloom.

Accommodation

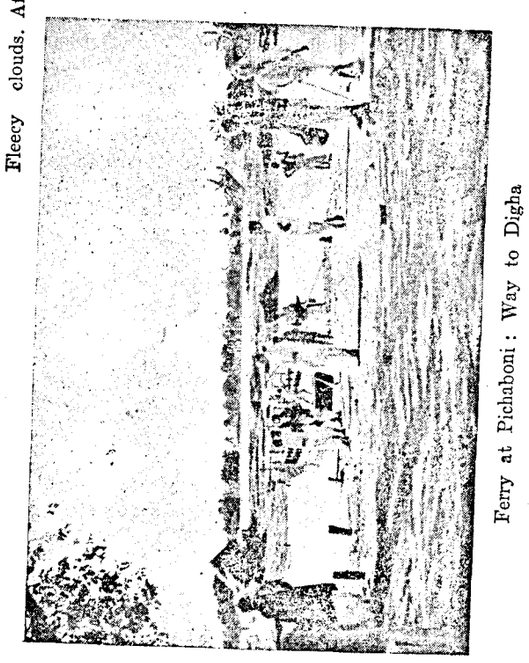
At present there is a Dak Bungalow at Digha and this place, in fact, commands the best view of the sea. For accommodation at this Bungalow prior permission from the Government Engineer at Midnapore (the dis-



Afternoon at Digha beach



Sunrise at Digha



Fleecy clouds. Afternoon at Digha

Ferry at Pichaboni : Way to Digha

trict town of Digha) is necessary. The West Bengal Government have recently built a two-storied hostel where board and lodging are both available. Besides, there are two private hotels in each of which board and lodging for nearly 20 persons are available at rather cheap rates.

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

The Government have an ambitious plan for developing Digha as a sea-side resort. Transport arrangements to and accomodation facilities at Digha are proposed to be improved at an estimatel cost of Rs. 55 lakhs. The improvements are expected to be completed within the first Five-Year Plan period. Already a Government hostel has been opened and a bridge over the Pichaboni canal is being built. A fore-shore road is being laid at Digha. Electricity for street lights has been arranged. Besides, when road-bridges at Bagnan over the Damodar and at Kolaghat over the Rupnarain are built, the entire disance from Calcutta to Digha may be covered by a car in six hours.

Warren Hastings, it is said, liked Digha; but it was 'Bercool,' for the present Digha was then about two miles under the sea. Warren Hastings was so much enamoured of Bercool that not only did he use to frequent the place as often as the State-business would permit, but he also likened Bercool to Brighton. When the present plans for the development of Digha are all implemented, there is no reason why Digha should not bloom out as the 'Brighton of Calcutta.'

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EARLY BACKGROUND OF HUNA HISTORY

BY MISS PUSPA NIYOGI, M.A.

ORIGIN AND CONNECTION OF THE HUNAS WITH THE HIUNG-NU AND OTHER NOMADIC TRIBES

IT is known to all students of history that a race of Asian nomads poured down from the steppes of Central Asia and overran the continents of Asia and Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. That they contributed to the downfall of three great empires of the ancient world, namely, the Roman Empire in the west, the Persian Empire and the Gupta Empire in the East, is also a known fact. These Asian nomads were known by different names in different countries. Thus, to the West they were known as "Huns"; the Persian writers called them 'White Huns or Ephthalites' and by the Indians they were called 'Hunas.' The name 'Huna' is to be found in Indian inscriptions and literary texts.[1] It is admitted that all these different hordes of invaders belonged to one common stock.

Although most historians agree to group the Huns of European writers with the Hunas and White Huns—known to India and Persia respectively, there is a good deal of speculation as to the connection of these Hunas (or Huns) with the Hiung-nu (of Chinese historians) and also their origin.

Majority of historians are of the opinion that the predecessors of these Hunas are the Hiung-nu of Chinese annalists whose activities can be traced to the very beginning of the history of China. Deguignes[2] holds the view that the European Huns were descended from the Hiung-nu of Chinese writers. This is also the opinion of Bury[3] who states that the word 'Huns' is simply a Greek corruption of 'Hiung-nu'. The designation (meaning common slaves) was used by the Chinese for all the Asian nomads. Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar[4] connects the name Huna with the nomads who occupied the North-west corner of China under three variant forms of one and the same name—the Hiun-yu, Hien-yu and Hiung-nu. According to Dr. Hirth[5] also, the Huns were known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. The same view is expressed by the author of the article on the Huns in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,[6] where he states, that the name Huns is given to at least four peoples, whose identity remains obscure. They are (1) the Huns who invaded the Eastern Roman Empire (A.D. 372-453); (2) the Hungarians or Magyars who crossed the Carpathians into Hungary in A.D. 898; (3) the 'White Huns' or Ephthalites who harassed the Persian Empire about 420 to 557 A.D. and (4) the Hunas, who invaded India during the same period.

1. For inscriptional evidences see *Fleet Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III; *Epigraphic Indica*; *Indian Antiquary*. B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*. References also occur in the *Mahabharata*, *Raghuvamsa*, *Harshacharita*, *Nishadacharita*, *Rajatarangini*. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*. My paper entitled 'Later references to the Hunas in India.'—Proc. of the Indian History Congress, 1950.

2. Deguignes: *Historic Generale des Huns*, etc.
3. *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I, p. 101.
4. *I. A.*, XLVIII, p. 65.
5. *Ancient History of China*, p. 13.
6. 14th Edition, Vol. XI, p. 916.

The writer adds, that the last two, *i.e.*, the Ephthalites and the Hunas are identical. In the 1st century A.D. the Chinese drove the Hiung-nu westward and while one division of the Huns remained in Trans-Oxiana and Afghanistan the other pushed further west and rested near the south Urals. It was from this region that they are believed to have invaded Europe.

The name 'Huniscita' in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire, found in the Latin map of St. Hieronymus which was compiled during 376 and 420 A.D. lends some support to the theory that the Huns were the successors of the Hiung-nu and came from the neighbourhood of China. It is marked on the map by 'seres oppidum' surrounded by walls. Scholars believe that this location was due to an alteration made by the Geographer Orosius[7] (c. 400 A.D.), who was a pupil of Hieronymus and whose geography was translated by King Alfred. In the great work of Orosius the folk-name 'Huni-Scythae' occurs as that of a place in the neighbourhood of Ottorokuru (Uttarakuru). According to ancient Indian texts, it is situated on the other side of the Himalayas. The Aiteraya Brahmana[8] located them beyond the Himalayas. The Puranas associated this territory with a legendary people. The Mahabharata[9] refers to them as an earthly people among whom polyandry prevailed in the days of Pandu. On the basis of Indian evidence Prof. Aiyangar[10] locates Uttarakuru in the Tarim Basin in Chinese Turkestan and points out that

> "It is generally believed now that Orosius introduced this correction either from the Latin Map drawn on the wall of Polla Hall in Rome, under the orders of Emperor Augustus in 7 B.C. or from the work Orbis Pictus of Agrippa which was in general use."

From this Kalman Nemati[11] concludes:

> "The Latin writers therefore of the Hiung-nu age had really heard of the Hun under the Chinese Great Wall, although they did not know their history."

All these facts are supposed to lead to the important conclusion that the Hunas are the successors of the Hiung-nu.

The above view that the Hiung-nu were Huns is rejected by Julius Klaproth.[12] He tries to prove from a comparative study of languages that the Hiung-nu were not Huns but Turks because the Huns according to his opinion were a Finnic people.

This theory has been criticised by Kalman Nemati[13], who points out that Klaproth has made a chronological mistake by regarding the history of the Tu-khin (Turks) as identical with that of the Hiung-nu because prior to the 5th century A.D. the Tu-khin (Turk) folk-name did not exist at all.

The third group of scholars on the basis of the above two theories connects the Hunas with the Hiung-nu on the one hand, and group both as possessing 'Turkish nationality' on the other. This theory has been supported by many scholars, chief among them being Deguignes.[14] Vincent Smith[15] describes the Hiung-nu as a tribe of Turki nomads. Dr. Hirth[16] concludes that the 'Hiung-nu' or Huns were actually Turks in a racial sense whatever the other nations may have been.

The contribution of Turki origin to the Hiung-nu-Hun, it is pointed out, is not in accord with the evidence cited above, which shows that the word 'Turk' only came into existence not earlier than the 5th century A.D. The Tuchueh (Turk) of the Chinese derived their descent according to Parker,[17] from the Assena clan of the Hiung-nu. Literary evidence is supported by inscriptions. The decipherment and interpretation of the old Turkish Stone inscription, found on the banks of Brchon and of the Tonjukuk inscription found near Urga shows that the language in which they are written is Turkish. The Turk and Sir-Tardesh whose histories are recorded in these inscriptions were offshoots of the old Hiung-nu, from which it may be assumed that the Turks are descended from the Hiung-nu. It cannot be true that it was from the Turks that the Hiung-nu derived their origin.

There is another theory which may be noticed in this connection. This is the Hiung-nu Mongol theory which was set up by Yakint Bichurin. This has been accepted by Schmidt. Yakint Bichurin states that

> "Hunnu is the old national name of the Mongols, the Chinese used for the transcript of the word Hunnu (*hun*—wicked, *nu*—slave). But the Mongolian Hunnu is a proper name and the Chinese characters have no meaning."

The theory assigning Mongol origin to the Hiung-nu is open to criticism. As Li Ung Bing[18] shows, nothing is known about the early history of the Mongols. They are noticed for the first time in the records relating to the T'ang Dynasty. During

7. *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*. English translation by I. W. Raymond.
8. *Hang's Translation*, VIII, pp. 14 and 23.
9. *Adiparva*, Chap. 128.
10. Aiyanger: *Op. Cit.*, p. 65.
11. "The Historic-Geogmphical Proofs of the Hiung-Hun Identity"—*The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, XXIX (1910) p. 352 *ff*.
12. *Journal Asiatique*, 1925.
13. K. Nemati: *Op. Cit.*, p. 352.
14. *Op. Cit.*
15. *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p. 263.
16. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13 *ff*.
17. Parker: *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, B.K. IV.
18. *Outlines of Chinese History*, p. 197.

the rule of the dynasty they were known as the Hsi Wei, a name vaguely applied by ancient writers to the descendants of the Hiung-nu . . . Under the leadership of Kabul, grandfather of the famous Jenghis Khan, the Mongols took up the side of Talam, a prince of the House of Chin and succeeded in freeing themselves from their subjection. For some years he held his own against the forces led by Uchu, the Chin General, and the Chins were ultimately compelled to recognise him as 'king of Mengfu Kuo.' Instead of Mengfu, Kabul later adopted the name Mengku—thus leading to the appearance of the 'Great Mongol Nation.' The evidence put forward by this scholar, goes, according to him, to support the theory that the Mongols were in fact descended from the Hiung-nu.

Dr. W. Radloff originated the Hiung-nu-On-Uigur theory. This theory has been criticised by Kalman Nemati[19] on the ground that he has mixed up the Hun Ugurs of Hun times mentioned by Greek and Latin writers with the legendary Ten-Ugurs of the Perso-Turkish works composed during the Mongolian period. Radloff is said to have made a serious mistake by identifying the Ugurs living on the banks of River Volga with the Uigar of Central Asia.

From the foregoing discussion it will appear that a strong case has been made out in favour of the view attributing a common origin to such diverse groups of people as the Hiung-nu, Huns, the Turks, the Mongols. As Parker[20] says, they were practically reshuffles of one and the same assemblages of people, the Turks and the Mongols coming into the picture at a later time. Hiung-nu is the genus comprising the different race species of 'Huns, Turks, Mongols' etc., of later days.

The Chinese historical records[21] give the names of some groups of nomads who lived to the north of China. One of these groups was called Rung, another was called Di and the third was known as Hun-Yu. Rung was a common designation applied to them all. Among the Rung tribes were groups which belonged to the Di and Hun-Yu, who are supposed to be closely related. This group is believed to have been the ancestors of the Hiung-nu.

The Hiung-nu and the Dynasty of Hia

The Hiung-nu took their origin from the dynasty of Hia. As the Hunas of later times are supposed to have been connected with the Hiung-Nu the origin of the Hunas is definitely to be traced to the same (Hia) dynasty. According to Li Ung Bing[22] relying on Chinese sources, the Hiung-nu barbarians descended directly from Hiung-Yu, son of Chieh, the last ruler of the house of Hia. He is said to have migrated to the steppes north of the Mongolian Desert, with his father's concubines. This might account for the earlier name of the Hiung-nu.

An account of the Hiung-nu is preserved in the historical annals of Chinese dynasties, *viz.*, contemporary Shi-Ki and Han-shu, where it is recorded that the Hiung-nu dynasty took their origin from the dynasty of Hia, founded by the Emperor Great Yu, the son of the Minister Kun, in 2205 B.C. The 17th ruler of the Hia dynasty, Kieh-kieh was banished in 1766 B.C. After his death his son Shun-wei migrated together with five hundred members of the family of Hia to the northern border district of China. The descendants of these people again became a ruling power under the name of Hia.

Homeland, The Hiung-nu Associated with the Ordos Region

Nearly all scholars locate the homeland of the Hiung-nu in the north of China, north of the Great Walls. It was a dry and barren tract of land in the provinces of Shen Si, Shan Si and Chin Li near about the Ordos region. Dr. Hirth[23] points out that the Chinese historians located the ancient horde of the Hiung-nu, south of the Ordos territory. In another place he states that Wu-Wang (1050. B.C.), duke of the Chou dynasty, relied on the help of the Hiung-nu and overturned the Shang dynasty and that Wu-Wang's army was formed by Kun barbarians or Hiung-nu of the Ordos territory.[24] K. Nemati[25] on the basis of contemporary histories of She Ki and Han Shu states that the Emperor Shih Huang Ji (3rd century B.C.) of the Ch'un dynasty captured all the Ordos desert in the Hwang-Ho river district from the Hiung-nu and for the security of his country built the Great Wall. Eberhard[26] holds a similar view about the connection of the Ordos territory with the Hiung-nu. The rulers of the Ch'in, he says, "had pushed their frontiers far to the north," which practically resulted in the withdrawal of the Hiung-nu from the Ordos region who thus became deprived of their best pasturage.

We hear of the Hiung-nu raids from the Ordos region again during the reign of Emperor Wu Ti. This seems to show that they had again entered Ordos where they became a menace to the capital of China. The Emperor Wu Ti, however, entered upon an active policy against the Hiung-nu and drove them further north and recovered the Ordos region.[27]

19. *Op. Cit.*, p. 253 ff.
20. Parker: *History of China*, Chap. II, p. 16 ff.
21. Trans. by Legge: *The Chinese Classics*, 2 vols.; Shi Ki-Parker, *Chine Review*, Vol. XX.
22. U Ling Bing: *Op. Cit.*, p. 62 ff.
23. Hirth: *Op. Cit.*, p. 68.
24. *Ibid*, p. 69.
25. *Op. Cit.*, p. 352 ff.
26. *History of China*, p. 68.
27. U. Ling Bing: *Op. Cit.*, p. 76.

Light Thrown on Early History by the Mahabharata

From what has been said above it will appear that the Hiung-nu were from a remote time associated with the Ordos region. Curiously enough there is a verse in the Sabhaparvan of the Mahabharata[28] which may be interpreted as containing a reference to the nomads of the Ordos region. The actual significance of the verse has not so far been correctly appreciated. In order that the contents of the verse may be conveniently discussed it is necessary to quote it here:

Chinam Sakams tathach Odran Varvaran
Nanavasitah
Varshneyan Hana-Hunamscha Krishnan
Haimavatanstatha

The occurrence of the expression 'Odran' in this line is curious. Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhuri[29] seems to be right in implying that this cannot refer to the well-known Indian tribe the Odras, after whom the territory occupied by them came to be called (*i.e.* Orissa). He must have been thinking on these lines when he said:

> "The mention of the Odras in this connection is odd. The word, however, known to us from Indian literature is 'Odra*not* Odro' the form in which it is found used in the above-quoted verse. As the expression to the word 'Odran' is curious and inexplicable it has been proposed by him to emend the text and substitute *chadotamacha* for *tathachodran*, 'Chadota' being the name of a territory in Central Asia near Khotan."

I shall not enter into a discussion of the merits of the suggestion, but I may be permitted to point out that the elimination of 'Tatha' will seriously interfere with the sense intended to be carried by the verse, which appears to group the Sakas and the Chinas together under one category separated from those referred to, in the remaining part of the first line of the verse. The emendation groups the Sakas and the Chinas and others, such as the barbarians together, which was probably not the intention of the author of the verse. The use of 'Tatha' meaning 'likewise' should be regarded as of essential importance.

While studying the history of China and Central Asia in their relation to the ancient history of India one may be struck by the repeated use of the word 'Ordo' and its derivatives in Chinese history. This word means a camp such as the Hiung-nu, the Turks and Mongols used. It means a camp where these people resided and which was, for that reason, practically regarded as their home and military base. 'Ordo' as stated by Parker,[30] is frequently used in Turk history in the sense of Turk's encampment, where the chief resided, in his palace Howorth,[31] however, says that the felt tent in which a Mongol lives is called a yurt and that a collection of several yurts is known as Ordu or camp. Elsewhere he mentions that 'Ordu' is a collection of tents or separate palace of the Khan or chief, which is the sense in which Carpini used it.[32] According to Howorth[33] the word 'Ordo' is of Moghol origin meaning a horde. Dr. Hirth[34] while translating the account preserved in Chang Q'ien's record states:

> "In B.C. 123 the King sent Pian-ki general to conquer the western ordu (capital) of the Hiung-nu."

In another place of the same work, he states that

> "Regarding Wu-Sun, Chang K'ien said that the Wu-Sun king was styled K'un-mo, it was a petty state by the side of the Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu ruler attacked and killed his father and the K'un-mo at his birth was cast away in wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a blackbird and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk . . . The Hiung-nu Shan-eu regarded this as a wonder . . . made him a military leader, restored to him the people of his father and made him governor of the western ordu (city or fortified camp)."

From the account of Chang K'ien we find that the word 'Ordu' is used by the Hiung-nu in the sense of their capital, which was a fortified camp, or country. The origin of the word is not definitely known. But it is quite probable that it may have been used by the Hiung-nu and afterwards by the Turks and the Mongols of later days whose connection with the Hiung-nu has been regarded as highly probable by many scholars.

The word not only means in a general way the camp or capital of the nomadic peoples, but also a definite region which is frequently found associated with the history of the Hiung-nu.[35] We have already referred to the connection of the Ordos territory with the Hiung-nu. During the last few centuries of the pre-Christian era the Hiung-nu lived in the Ordos region and carried on their raids from there to the northern frontiers of China. Frequently do we hear of the Hiung-nu being driven away from

28. *Mahabharata*, II, 51, pp. 23-24.
29. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th Edition, p. 628.
30. Parker: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 141, 143, 152, 159; 160; 169; 174, 189, etc.
31. *History of Mongols*, Pt. I, p. 401.
32. *Ibid*, Pt. IV, p. 68.
33. *Ibid*, p. 77.
34. "The Story of Changkien"—Hirth, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVIII (1917), p. 87 ff; (Trans. of Si Gi).
35. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*; Parker, *History of China*; Gibbon, *Downfall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. II; Hirth, *History of China*, p. 70; Li Ung Bing, *Op. Cit.*, p. 76ff; Eberhard, *History of China*; Grosier, *Some Account of the Country of the Ordos* (Ortros).

the Ordos region to further north. And once they had been driven to the north, they tried their best to come down again and settle in the Ordos region.

LATER HISTORY AND THE MAHABHARATA-EVIDENCE

In the first century B.C. (C. 51 B.C.) the Hiung-nu were divided into two groups known as the Northerners and Southerners. The power-loving Hiung-nu lived in the north, whereas the other group surrendered their liberty to the Chinese for their own security. These southerners lived on the north-western border of China and prevented their own kinsmen, the northerners from raiding the frontiers of China. This struggle between the two groups of the same stock continued for a century when the southerners were helped by the Chinese.

In the 1st century A.D. (C. 153 A.D.) the Northerners were finally driven out from China and compelled to migrate towards the west. The Chinese Emperors had for some time used the Southerners (Hiung-nu) to help them in driving away the Northern Hiung-nu who constituted a source of trouble to their dominions. And after they were driven away, their help was not required. In the meantime, the Han dynasty in China collapsed and internal struggle became the order of the day. At that a time a southerner Hiung-nu who traced his descent to the line of Maotun, named Lin Yuan claimed the Imperial throne of China. His line ruled China till the middle of the 4th century A.D. The last ruler of his line was Shi Hu (349 A.D.). After his death in 350 A.D. was the reign of his adopted son, Shi Min. Although he was of Hiung-nu origin, from an early period of his life he had been made to throw in his lot with the Chinese. During his father's rule his identification with the Chinese was so complete that his sympathies were distinctly on the side of the Chinese against the Hiung-nu. A new era in the history of the Hiung-nu started with his accession. He collected a large number of troops from the Chinese and ordered all persons of Hiung-nu blood to be killed. In two weeks time two hundred thousand Hiung-nu were slain, the rest managed to escape and tried to establish their authority over north China but without success. It was only in the barren wastes that some Hiung-nu groups were able to maintain their independent existence. In the next century (C. 400 A.D.) two of these groups succeeded in carving out small principalities for themselves.

One of these petty kingdoms is that which came to be known as the kingdom of the Hia and which had the Ordos as its centre, which was unfit for cultivation. As the Ordos country was ill-suited for agriculture, the Hiung-nu who settled in this area were able to preserve their old nomadic habits uninfluenced by Chinese civilisation. In 407 A.D. the Ordos Hiung-nu found an able protector named, Po Po, who was a direct descendant of one of the last rulers of the southern Hiung-nu kingdom and hence a distant cousin of Lin Yuan, whose history has been discussed. In 418 A.D., he captured Chang-an, but left his son in charge of Chang-an while he himself came back to the Ordos country where he ruled till his death in 425 A.D.

The empire which was built up by Po Po around a small nucleus did not last long, soon broke up after his death by 432 A.D., this empire which was known as the Hia Empire vanished. There is no further history of the Hiung-nu of the Ordos region after this date. It would thus appear that they lost their independence and were totally absorbed by the Tobas.

Thus we find that the Hiung-nu were associated with the Ordos region from a very remote time until the extinction of their rule shortly before the middle of the 5th century A.D. The geographical condition of the place compelled the people to persist in their nomadic habits.

The word *Odran* as used in the Mahabharata verse quoted above may be connected with the word *Odro* which was in common use in Chinese history. In the Mahabharata passage the word may mean those who lived in camps *i.e.*, nomads who had no settled territories of their own, living in movable tents. Or it may be connected with the Ordos territory where the Hiung-nu lived.

On the basis of this interpretation the first line of the verse may be translated as follows:

> "The Sakas, the Chinese and likewise the barbarians (*varvaras*) who live in tents (*ordos*) and in many regions (*nanavisinah*)."

This description will apply to the nomads who are mentioned in Chinese History, as in the above passage they are referred to along with the Chinese. The period to which the passage refers, must be the one when the Sakas were no longer regarded as nomads, as they have been separated from the barbarians (*varvaras*) and grouped with the Chinese. The use of the word *Odran* in the Mahabharata in the same sense in which it is known to have been in use in Chinese history is remarkable since it shows a rather close familiarity of the Indians with the camp-life of the nomads of China and Central Asia. The passage may also be taken as referring to the Ordos territory where the Hiung-nu lived, and not merely to the camps of the Hiung-nu nomads.

14 AUG 1956 MADRAS

ROLE OF PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

BY PROF. A. K. BASU CHOWDHURY, M.A., LL.B.

IT is impossible to point out any definite period in which democracy was first born. But certainly it has a long tradition in ancient India. Today, democracy is at its fullest swing. Man lives and grows in democracy and there are even instances in history when man first sacrificed his life for it. Every country is experimenting on democracy, and the countries which were long under foreign domination are making heroic efforts to establish democratic institutions. The day Britishers quitted India, the leaders had pledged to rebuild the country on a democratic pattern. Subsequently the Republican Constitution reaffirmed this faith when it proclaimed that it established "Sovereign Democratic Republic." When we speak of democracy it *ipso facto* means the existence of party or parties. The importance of party system in democracy is the importance of soul in human body. Just as the absence of soul from body makes it useless, similarly, a democracy without proper functioning of the party system is rendered paltry. Though parties existed in the past yet the organisation and importance of political parties as determining agent of the Governmental affair has been a recent phenomenon.

It is true that without party system democracy degenerates into totalitarianism. But there are instances to show party system offering "political initiative, unity and co-ordinate political activity" and, thus, provides the dynamics of political mechanism to the totalitarian states of Hitler and Mussolini. The thing that has to be taken into consideration is that the relation between the party and the government varies from country to country. In Nazi Germany, the party directed and controlled the Government. Similarly, members of the Grand Council of the Fascists held their position as ex-officio officers of the Government. Hence, it is wrong to say that there is no party system in totalitarian states.

Generally, the writers classified party system into three classes; viz., mono-party, bi-party and multiple-party. In England and in U.S.A., to take prominent examples, there exist bi-party system, whereas in France and in India we have multiple party system. U.S.S.R., however is the typical example of mono-party system. In England at present there are three parties, namely, Labour, Conservative and Liberal. But, in fact, the liberal party is insignificant so far as the final decision of political matters of England are concerned. It has no strength in itself but supports either of the two parties. The writers are greatly divided among themselves with regard to their merits and demerits. It is important here because in the context of this we will view the prospect of the party system in India.

It is a fact that if one has virtues it has also vices. Naturally, it will be our duty to sort out which is the best out of them. The late Professor Laski was the chief advocate of the bi-party system while his contemporary Ramsay Muir opposes the idea vehemently. Mr. Ferry opines emphatically in favour of the multiple-party system. According to Laski it is easier to elect representatives because voters are not lost in the whirlpool of emotions of leaders of different political creeds and political programmes. The voter is definite for whom he is going to vote, as there is only one alternative before him. Secondly, it is very easy to fix the responsibility of the party in power, while in other systems responsibility of many is responsibility of none. Another great advantage of this system is easy execution of policy.

> "There is on the one hand," says MacIver, "a concentration of authority since the party in office is not dependent upon any other, and there is on the other hand, a concentration of responsibility to an easy means of enforcing it—by return of the opposite party."

Similarly, government is also easily formed because one party comes in majority which makes the government, and the other being in minority constitutes opposition. In case of resignation the leader of the opposition takes the former place without any difficulty of choosing members which the leader of the multiple group system has to face. Closely allied to these advantages, it provides both efficiency and responsibility, since under this system governmental party generally have solid support. This is, however, not possible in a Coalition government. It also strengthens the gvernment by giving stability and durability. This feature can easily be tested by drawing the inference of comparison of statistics of the fall of cabinets in England and in France.

But the rose is not without thorns. The bi-party system has also been assailed on many grounds. Ramsay Muir's first charge is that it restricts the choice of candidate and, therefore, it does not function

as a good barometer of the public opinion. Secondly, specially in England, it has paved the way for the cabinet dictatorship which is not a healthy sign in the present democratic set-up. But actually what we find is that these charges are unrealistic.

So far as the multiple-party system is concerned, it is supported on the ground that public opinion cannot be divided into two water-tight compartments. There is less chance of abusing the power invested in the executive, because it would give rise to the insecurity of the Cabinet and which might topple down at any moment. Thus Professor Munro is of opinion that

> "Ministerial responsibility and the two-party system when yoked together makes for a firm, strong and quick acting government, but the combination may readily be used to make a government too strong, too quick acting and lacking in that spirit of compromise which is the essence of a true rtpresentative government."

The multiple-party system has an evil effect on the working of the legislature. The legislature instead of framing the laws, healthy of national development, becomes "an arena of politics where there is everything except deliberations." This is the place where leg-pulling is freely played in order to gain power. Another difficulty is that of the formation of a ministry and this is almost a headache for the Prime Minister, since there is no one party which commands absolute majority. But it is still hard to keep up the team together.

Now, we are in a position when we can safely choose bi-party system as more convenient and better way through which the representative government can function. Though the French people also realize the difficulties caused by it and there had some plan also after the World War II to organize political mechanism properly, yet because French people are diehard traditionalists, they could not be able to get rid of it.

Until recently India was under the British domination. In spite of the fact that there were a number of political parties, there was hardly any distinction in their aims and programmes. All of them had one goal and that was to free India. Naturally, the Indian National Congress—the oldest and the widest of all, took the lead and commanded a greater respect than any other party. In point of fact that was the moment when differences in opinion or action were not required at all. Unity was the keynote of Indian National Movement. But now since our country is free and the honourable members of the Constituent Assembly assured the people to establish healthy democracy, can the mono-party system be pleaded? Does the conception of unity hold good even now at the expense of the healthy growth of party system. Unity does not mean annihilation of freedom of expression. At present the congress is the ruling party, but there is a complete absence of effective opposition in our legislatures. And, therefore, we see the spectacle of one party state in India with all its concomitant evils. The cart of parliamentary democracy needs two wheels to move swiftly, the one is governmental wheel, the other is the opposition. Under the multiple-party system parliamentary government, if it does not completely dwindle down, works very badly. But it cannot work at all in one-party system which is bound to become totalitarian sooner or later. Hence, it would be a travesty of democracy if it comes to mean the regimentation of thought and the suppression of the difference of opinion, on the plea that national unity must be maintained. To use such rustic jargons as "the country is in danger," "National Solidarity," etc., only to maintain the power of the party is doing more harm than good to the country. With the disappearance of the alien rule the need for an artificial unity no longer exists. If the dissidents are able to form opposition outside the congress, so much the better for the congress and for the nascent democracy.

The blank space between the congress and the opposition is so vast that it has often vexed the minds of persons who believed in the principles of democracy, because such conditions are never considered as healthy. Without a powerful alternative party inside the legislature or outside, the people's judgment is apt to be controlled or dependent on the whims of the ruling party which is nothing but a plaything of a single individual. As it is clearly visible that the congress has failed to comply with the wishes of the mass and its members have ceased to be alert or active because there is no one to pull its ear at every step and to set them right. On the other hand the members find one man to do every job for them and thus there is a transformation of the congress party from the people's forum to an exalted person's forum and which the real democracy wants to avert at all costs.

As the situation now stands in our country the issue is quite clear. The index of the first general election indicates that in future congress will have to face multiple-party opposition. It is also, therefore, certain that the opposition can hardly be compact, stable and well-organised. Naturally the legislatures will no longer be a forum of criticism and focus of public opinion, but will become a duelling ground for the members for the satisfaction of the lust for power. Although some might charge me for holding such a pessimistic view about the prospects of Indian democracy, yet as a student of political science, I do not hesitate to hold such an adverse opinion of the Indian party system. Such defects are inherent in a multiple-party system which we have already seen and which France is experiencing bitterly every-day. If India wants a true type of parliamentary

government, it must have only two parties, no more and no less. The reason for this is quite obvious.

This, however, leads us to multifarious problems. Let us take such problems one by one. Firstly, the cause of the growth of multiple-party system. It is due to two-fold reasons: partly psychological but mainly political. The typical Indian character is nothing but emotional and our leaders are pedagogues. We are swept away by feeling and not governed so much by reason. Naturally, after independence there was a race for power, specially the big guns of the congress party who were deprived of the spoils thought to put a stumbling block on the way of the parent body. They formed a distinct body. Thus arose the rift in the ranks and files of the party and the crevices began to increase when there was a tussle between the Congress President and the Prime Minister.

Another factor which gave all encouragement to the disruption of the congress party was the absence of the compromising spirit. The congress could not accommodate the views and ideas of every member, not to talk of putting them into practice. Its natural consequence was the cession of members from the congress fold and preaching from different platforms their own programmes more attractive to the public. The result was that in the last general election there were as many as fourteen different political groups which have been given *ad hoc* recognition as All-India parties. There are other minor parties as well confined to different states only. Some of them have selfish motives and others have patriotic sense in rebuilding the country. This fact is amply borne out by the manifestoes issued by various parties. Practically all of them have incorporated the same aims and objects with a little difference here and there with reference to their means of achievement. Why? Simply because those who look after their own interest cannot remain under the leadership of other men and, therefore, constitute their own party through which they seek opportunity to appropriate power.

One of the most common feature of Indian political parties is unequivocal denouncement of the Indian National Congress. Their progeny as well as their enemy, both frown upon the parent body, vilify it in the most offensive language and thus cast all blame upon it for the economic degeneration and moral retrogression of the country. Since the attainment of independence the party leaders say, "The few rich had become richer and the poor had become poorer." The congress was "now ridden by black-marketeers and profiteers," that the continuance of the congress in office would mean a "perpetuation of hunger, nakedness, black-marketing and corruption." The leaders of the non-congress political parties not only sneered at the congress during the election speeches but also openly declared their incompetency in the party manifestoes.

> "Five years of Congress rule—four of them after the attainment of freedom—have brought our country and our people to the verge of disaster. The production of food, cloth and every necessity of life has declined. Famine rages in Bihar with a crore of people facing slow death. The vast mass of peasants, the bulk of our people continue to groan under the burden of rents, debts and taxes . . . . . In order to uphold this regime of colonial slavery and starvation this joint loot of our people by the British and their allies and friends, the Nehru Government has established a reactionary regime as ferocious and ruthless as any that India had seen even in the days of direct British rule. It has not only resurrected all the lawless laws of the British it has enacted new and worse repressive laws, gagged the press and placed the life and liberty of the people at the tender mercy of the police . . . . . (Thus) the experience of the last four years under Congress rule have completely disillusioned the masses and have suffered from lingering hopes in their minds . . . It is now clear to them that power has come not in the hands of the common men and their representatives, but in the hands of men who act as the agents of the capitalists, landlords, black-marketeers, profiteers and the worst type of vested interests."

Such is the tone of all parties opposing the congress.

On the other hand, Congress also condemned the different parties. So much so that Prime Minister Nehru charged Vir Savarkar of Hindu Mahasabha of being to an extent responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. Although it was not a statesmanlike statement because Savarkar was unequivocally declared not guilty by the highest tribunal of the country. Sri Nehru referring to Communist activities said that their tactics in India had been "utterly disruptionists and injurious." Actually the thing which we have to consider is that these are not healthy signs of democracy. Though the proverbial phrase goes that democracy consists of fools but does the word "fool" connote "vulgarity"? It is the highest point of absurdity when one finds that the national parties of a country are querrelling like beggars' barts exchanging vulgar words among themselves. Democracy never teaches to poison the minds of the people but to enlighten them.

Foreign Policy

Now, let us briefly discuss the main points of the different parties by which they pledge to make the country progressive. Under this topic let us start with the foreign policy. On matters of foreign policy all the parties agree for the maintenance of world peace, mutual understanding and co-existence. The country will have no imperialistic designs and

will resist it directly or indirectly on the part of others. Some of the parties have doubted the neutrality of the Nehru Government and accused it for helping Anglo-American imperialism. All the major parties unequivocally demanded Kashmir as an integral part of India. The opposition parties held the present government responsible for burgling the matter and creating the present situation of Kashmir. They are all dissatisfied with the step of the Government by taking the matter to U.N.O. unnecessarily and thus paving the way for the machinations of the Imperialists who have created a most dangerous situation of tension between India and Pakistan. Another cause of dissatisfaction for the non-congress party is the acceptance of the congress government to remain as a part and parcel of the British Commonwealth. Hence, their demand is the complete severance both from U.N.O. on Kashmir issue and from the British Commonwealth which is nothing but humiliation and economic subservience to Great Britain.

Home Policy

With regard to the distribution of land, the opposition parties are not satisfied with the methods of the congress party, since it provided for the compensation to zamindars after the abolition of zamindari. According to the financial proposition of abolition it is ruinous. In the name of zamindari abolition it has hatched plans to pay the feudal parasites, the sworn enemies of our people and traditional agents of British Imperialists, the stupendous sum of four crores of rupees as compensation and has created another class of zamindars known as bhumidars who are becoming more dangerous. In their aims and objects, thus, the opposition parties are all unanimous when they lay down in their respective manifestoes that the land shall belong to the tillers of the soil. Side by side they also promised to give all encouragement to cottage industries and in modernising the agricultural industry on the western pattern.

Rehabilitation of the Uprooted

The Refugee problem is essentially the consequence of the partition of the country. It was the most unstatesmanlike proposal of the congress to accept the division of the country, thereby endangering the life of the millions of people. It is these people who have paid the highest price for freedom but the return which they received is insecurity of life in Pakistan and unemployment and unstability in India. The question of such displaced persons naturally affected our economy adversely. Though the opposition parties criticised the Government for unsuccessfully handling the refugee problem, their manifestoes also do not lay any more concrete programme for their rehabilitation than what congress has done. Merely giving top priority to such a thorny problem does not itself solve the question.

Education

The importance of education is realised by all the parties. They also realised that the real progress of the country is essentially based on a true type of education. In order to impart true education many things have to be done. Firstly, imparting compulsory primary education freely to all children up to tht age of 15 years. Secondly, education should not be such as to equip his mental faculty only without making him fit for facing the practical problems of life. "Practical education through fruitful co-operation, work and activity and the development of the artistic sense will enhance the intellectual capacity of the pupil and make it less theoretical and formal." Co-operative work is the best training for moral education. It will be related to the practical needs of the life of the country. It is no exaggeration if each party believes that without proper education no democracy can thrive. Illiteracy, therefore, must be wiped out as soon as possible.

Industrial Policy

There is another sphere where we find almost similar aims and objects of almost all the major political parties, *i.e.*, with regard to industrial policy and in favour of decentralisation. They believe that all key industries, such as, electricity, railway, coal, steel, transport and defence industries should be nationalised. As for remaining industries, state ownership is not a good economic proposition. Some are of the opinion that "unlimited state capitalism may lead to totalitarianism." The parties, therefore, also believe in the encouragement of private sector in the interest of consumers and producers alike. They will also strive for securing equitable distribution of profits between workers and enterprisers without being detrimental to consumers' interests. Cottage industries will have to be encouraged independently supplementary to large-scale industries.

Another thing which merits our attention is the role of the Independent members. They fared considerably well in the last election, being the largest winners of seats after the congress in the Lok Sabha. Naturally one may tend to ask what was the reason of their grand success. Undoubtedly it was personal success. The general masses were so much annoyed and dissatisfied both with the ruling party as well as the opposition that they thought rightly, too, that their salvation lies only in men of integrity and honesty. Many persons who genuinely wanted to serve the country withdrew themselves from the congress and did not join any party but remained aloof from all party quibbles and fought independently. That is why the congress party—the strongest of all parties—secured only 44.85 per cent of total votes which is less than the total votes polled for other parties combined. But the independents polled more votes singly than any other party. From this it is clearly visible that people have no faith in party system but in individuals. That is so because people have suffered much and gained nothing.

Taking all these things into consideration democracy seems to be abortive. Hence the prospect of party system is also not very bright. Leadership here means not to lead the followers but to hold them as mercenary forces which can be used anywhere and everywhere and for whatever purposes by the topmen. It is a game of "searching golden opportunity" which as a rule should not be missed.

On the other hand, the majority party is governing and ruling the country. The opposition —whatever it may be—is completely curbed down. Had there been not so many parties, the opposition would have been far more puissant than what it is today. There have been cases when not only the followers but their headmen are leaving one party and joining another for the satisfaction of their venal mind. Such perfidious character, indeed, presents an excruciating picture for future generation. If democracy is to be a means, then there is no end of it. But it is an end in itself, let not means be vicious and impure. If the country is to be properly served, let not there be cheap leadership devoid of all decency and morality. Let not "gain" be the guiding force, but "service above self" be the motive. Prejudice is harmful but co-operation is the way to success. The country is for all and above all. But the strongest possible opposition is the efficient "barometer" of public opinion. If democracy is to thrive and if party-system is to exist, let not our leaders forget that without such guiding principles of the true representative institution the future of Indian democracy is dark.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Sir,

I am quoting verbatim the following extract from an article, "Public Enterprises in India," written by Prof. Prakash Chandra Tripathi, M.Com., LL.B. and published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1956, on page 373:

> ". . . The National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited, which is mainly a Madhya Pradesh Government and Government of India's venture, has started producing newsprint of an acceptable quality. The mill has been producing about 400 tons of newsprint per month. The newsprint manufactured by the Mill consists of 65 per cent mechanical pulp obtained from Sabai collected from the nearby forests of Madhya Pradesh. For its chemical pulp, it will be using bamboo sulphate. The mill's present production meets about 30 per cent of the country's annual requirements of newsprint and by the end of this year it would be able to meet 45 per cent of the total present requirements of India."

The purpose is to point out some mis-statement of facts.

No mechanical pulp is made from Sabai grass. Such pulp is manufactured from some varieties of wood only. Monthly production of 400 tons, *i.e.*, annual production of 4,800 tons, cannot meet 30 per cent of the country's requirement which is above 12,000 tons annually at present. So present production in Nepa Mill can meet only 5 per cent of country's demand. The present capacity of the Mill is only 30,000 tons annually. So even when the Mill goes into full production, it can only supply 30/32 per cent of the country's requirements provided the consumption does not increase by that time. Obviously, to meet higher percentage of the demand the Mill will have to be extended. The chemical pulp manufactured from bamboo by the sulphate process cannot be called "bamboo sulphate." Technically this is a wrong term.

So you will find some serious mis-statement of facts in this portion of the article. For the enlightenment of the readers of your esteemed journal, I hope, you will announce necessary corrections in the next issue of your magazine.

K. C. Sen

EGYPTIAN ART AND CULTURE

By Dr. Miss INDIRA SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)

Egyptian art and culture developed in the valley of the Nile and in the valley of the Euphrates about 6000 years ago. The scene of old oriental history lies in the middle of the desert, which traverses the whole of North Africa, beginning from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean and spreading deep into the heart of Asia. These two big valleys intersect the desert. In Asia we have the Euphrates and the Tigris and in Africa the valley of the Nile. The influences which arose from these two highly developed but very different forms of culture are clearly noticeable. Both of them contributed to the foundation of a civilisation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe.

The valley of the Nile, the homeland of Egyptian art and culture is a small oasis, one thousand kilometers long and only a few kilometers wide. The position of the valley is very exceptional, because it is isolated. There are wide stretches of desert on both sides. In the north, we have the coastline of the delta, which is without a harbour. In the south there is the rocky boundary of the cataract of the Nile. This river is the main source of wealth of the land. The climate of Egypt is almost without rain. The only reason for the fertility of the soil is due to the inundation of the country by the floods of the Nile, which occur due to the melting of the snows and the spring-rains. Rich with mud the water of the stream irrigates the whole of Egypt. When the water declines below the level of the fields, then the canals have to be fed in an artificial manner.

The generous and pretentious soil of Egypt demands a high grade of skill. The great fertility of such a cultivated land nourishes a large population. In the Roman period, there were seven million people, now there are twenty-eight million. The density of population of Egypt is far greater than that of Europe This is, in short, the scene in which the people of the Nile valley developed themselves. The culture of this nation had already bloomed at a time when the Europeans were just beginning to create a culture of their own. Nowhere in the world can we find such a large number of remnants of such a high civilisation, as on the shores of the Nile. Every one is greatly impressed by the richness and wealth of Egyptian culture. Nowhere in the world have such powerful stone-monuments been erected. The peculiar climate of Egypt, *viz.*, dry atmosphere and complete lack of rain, have helped to preserve such a wealth of noble works of art. Many of these monuments have preserved their full glory right into the classical period of European culture. For many centuries, Southern Europe came under the strong influence of Egyptian culture.

The Egyptians occupy one of the first ranks in history. From very few other nations do we know anything more ancient than from this one. We know what took place in this country 5,000 years ago and we know the language and the literature of this period. Only India seems to supply us with more ancient monuments. In most of the other lands our information begins many centuries later. This applies especially to European countries in general. At the time when the Homeric heroes were fighting for Troy, then the old Egyptians had already completed their development and found themselves in full decay.

In other countries too there must have been such old cultures. Let us recall the newly discovered highly developed Etruscan art and culture. But most of them have disappeared without leaving any traces behind them. But from ancient Egypt, a great wealth of monuments have been preserved, which almost seems inexhaustible. One of the most typical examples of preservation is to be found in the wheat-grains, that have been excavated from old tombs. Even 5,000 years later, these grains have preserved their germinating capacity. We should remember that the Egyptians were greatly influenced by religion. They were very careful about the durability and the rich equipment of their tombs. While most of the nations belonging to the same level of culture were satisfied with simple tombs, the Egyptians erected powerful monuments for their dead. The rich jewelry found in the graves, gives us a good insight into their life. This enables us to study many millenniums of Egyptian culture. This insight into the darkest antiquity, shows us that the Egyptians of 5,000 years ago, were in no way different to the people of the present day. The same eternal laws that had reigned in those days are still governing the world today. The spiritual progress of mankind has not undergone any change since those ancient days. The change has taken place only in the scientific and material plane.

From the time of King Snofru up to the conquest of Alexander the Great, we find an uninterruped chain of monuments and writings in Egypt. From here we can learn the conditions of the country, as well as the religion, language and culture of the people of those days. It is quite clear that in the later period, Egypt had active trade with her neighbouring countries. Egyptian influence spread even to Greece.

We have three principal sources at our disposal for obtaining information about the culture of ancient Egypt. The first one we get from the existing monuments. Papyrus rolls, old libraries and archives offer us the second source of information. The third we get from numerous objects of daily life, which were buried along with the dead.

It is interesting to note that it was Napoleon, who brought Egypt into the limelight. It was intellectual urge which compelled Napoleon to send scientists to Egypt. These people carried out their work brilliantly. Even today we owe most of our information about Egypt to the book entitled *Description d'Egypte* (Descriptions of Egypt). With one stroke, the mysteries of hieroglyphs were solved. Francois Champollion was the man to solve the great riddle of hieroglyphs. He shattered the common conception that hieroglyphs were symbols of complete ideas. The Egyptian script is not a symbolical but a phonetical one, like all those in Europe. It is a denotation of sounds and not of ideas. Champollion gave an alphabet to each hieroglyph. By the time he died in 1832, he had succeeded in deciphering the very complicated script-system of hieroglyphs. He deciphered the contents of complete inscriptions and papyrus rolls. He laid the foundation of a grammar for this old language and this introduced a whole nation into world history. His work has remained unsurpassable for a long time.

Hieroglyphs are mostly to be found in the various Egyptian tombs. At Luxor there are many colossal temples with huge pillars, that are most bewildering due to their huge circumference and height. The Egyptian builder of these temples and high pillars had succeeded to give full shape to the concept of Egyptian religion. How small and miserable does man appear before such a temple! These huge monuments lose their proportions *vis a vis* human beings. They also do not possess the harmony of a beautiful architectural building like the Greek temples. The latter never lose their proportions. They never give one the idea of hugeness. In the temple of Abydos, we find the inner walls richly decorated with hieroglyphs and wall-paintings. These representations on the walls enable us to study the life of ancient Egypt right into the smallest detail. In the National Museum at Cairo, we find the oldest hieroglyphic documents on papyrus-rolls, carefully preserved.

Wall-paintings decorate the interior of tombs. Some of these wall-paintings are very beautiful. In the tombs of Theben one of the pictures represents elegant ladies having tea in a garden. We can see how nicely the Egyptians knew how to dress themselves. Another wall-painting represents the daughter of a hunter returning home with lotus-flowers that she had plucked. The conquest of the enemy by King Thutmosis is seen in another wall painting. The enemies are kneeling under his outstretched arm. In his fist he is holding the hair of his conquered subjects. This painting is to be found in Carnak. The tomb of Ti in Sakkara is very famous. Here we find a nice wall-painting. It represents two shepherds who are crossing a river with their cattle. The first shepherd to the right is carrying a calf on his shoulders, which does not know how to swim. The calf has raised its tail and is turning to its mother in a troubled manner. The contrast between the serenity of the young animals and the dumb dialogue between mother and calf is near to life and full of sentiment. The inscription below heightens the poetry of the picture. It runs as follows: "Your child is being looked after, mother!" Here we have one of the best pictures of Egyptian art, which dates back to about 2,000 B.C. The wall-paintings are so numerous that they would fill up art galleries in all capital cities of Europe. The pictures are very beautiful and exhibit a high standard of form. Yet it is pathetic that the name of the painters will never be known to us. It will always remain a mystery, for no picture has ever been signed.

One of the oldest paintings is an extract from a famous fresco entitled "The Geese of Medun." It is a painting on Stucco which covered the tiled-walls in the grave of Itet in Medun and it is the oldest painting that we possess in Egyptian and Occidental culture. The geese are true to life and beautifully painted in white, brown and red colours. We all know that wall-paintings dating back to the period between the last two glacial epochs may be older to this Egyptian painting. From the style of painting of birds and animals we learn, that Egyptian art had formulated its rules and forms at a very early stage. We find symmetry of composition, authority in the lines and presentation in profile executed in most of the magnificent paintings.

The great epoch of Egyptian painting dates back to 1500-1100 B.C. During the rule of Thutmosis the Third, we find that the Theben artists produced a series of first-class works of art. The pallet of the painter is very simple. He makes use of water-colours. He finds pigments in nature. He crushes them, dilutes them and adds a bit of resin in order to make them stick to the stone-wall. The ochre colours are dominant like red, brown, yellow. They are diluted whenever necessary. As a rule they resemble human flesh colour. The next colour of importance is chalk-white, especially used to portray clothes. According to the number of layers of the chalk-white colour do we get the impression of transparency or untransparency. White mixed with the red ochre portrays the tender pink of the colour of the skin of Egyptian ladies. Blue and green are also used frequently. Green is the colour of the foliage of the trees, papyrus thickets, plants and flowers. The colours are represented in closed large patches and are selected according to the caprice of the painter, which is not always very decorative. The Egyptian painter does care to imitate nature. The colour composition which he prefers and which he uses to a great extent is more suggestive than real. The Egyptian artist had freed himself from naturalism at a very early stage and had turned

towards abstract art, which we are encountering again, in the new tendencies of modern painting.

In another tomb we find a beautiful wall-painting representing a king at a hunt in a papyrus thicket. It shows the complete scale of colours which the Egyptian painter uses. The background is grey-blue in tone and the dark blue of the hieroglyphs match very nicely to the painting. The red ochre of the bodies, the spotless white of the clothes, the black of the hair, the green of the papyrus thickets, the blue of the water complete the colour-scale. Behind the king we find his sister, who was higher in rank to his wife, sitting at the feet of the king. The maid-servants are always represented in Egyptian art in simple clothes. In the right corner of the wall, there are a flock of ducks, frightened by the hunters. Two ducks guard the nest. They do not take notice of the hunter. They have more important work to do, *viz.*, *protect* their eggs. The Egyptians are great artists in immortalising human sentiments in their wall-paintings.

Every picture is decorated with hieroglyphs. The inscriptions are a real joy to the eye, whether they be written in a vertical or horizontal way. It does not matter if the writing is wrong. The most important thing is that the script has to be beautifully written, with care and patience.

The Egyptians are masters in representing sentimental forms of expression in the faces of their figures. One wall-painting represents women in mourning. These women are expressing their grief in schematic lines and gesticulating with their arms. There is a small twist in the underlip and tears in the eyes of the women. One woman throws herself on the ground, another raises her hand to heaven, a third strikes her forehead and a fourth holds her head in both her hands. All these movements are painted with simplicity of contour and colour. The clothes are brown and the hair black. The hairs hanging down the backs of the women and the tears rolling down their cheeks give the picture the necessary atmosphere of sadness. Burial processions are also represented true to life. In the grave of Ramose there is a wonderful painting. Here we see the dead body being carried in procession. A chest of gifts is given to the dead man for the journey to eternity. This is buried in the grave with him. The heads of mourning women are portrayed in three rows, one above the other giving the impression of a crowd. Some boys in the background are carrying the household articles of the dead man. Every detail in the picture is clear and well-defined.

Very often we find paintings representing a young couple. The wife usually holds her arm around the shoulder of her husband in a light and tender manner. The position of women in Egypt was very much held in honour. She was a companion to her husband and not his slave and was highly respected. She took interest in his life, accompanied him in his fishing expeditions, hunting-trips and inspected the house with him. An old Egyptian book of wisdom states: "A man who builds a house and loves his wife is a wise man." The Egyptians knew what was important in the life of an individual and they tried to live up to their principles.

Some wall-paintings in the graves represent festivals and entertainment. Musicians are always invited to feasts, to entertain the audience with music and singing. The guests are eating and drinking. The musicians and dancers are performing before them. At every function, the guests are welcomed into the house and garlanded with flowers and besmeared with sweet-smelling ointments. Lotus-flowers are often offered to the guests. The black hair of the ladies is usually adorned with lotus-flowers.

Bas-reliefs and reliefs-en-creux are also found in the walls of Egyptian tombs. In the grave of Ramose we find the finest and the most delicate reliefs. In order to see these reliefs, after the lapse of so many years, we have to use an electronic flash-light. The slim limbs of tender-formed bodies are shown in fine lines. The garments are decorated with embroidery and fine pleats. The elegant expression in the faces of the men and women show that they must have belonged to an aristocratic society. The eyes and the eye-brows are painted black. The hair-style of the ladies is varied. The people had more time to spend on hair decorations. Flowers and wreaths of leaves are also used for hair ornamentation. Sometimes the long hair of the ladies are falling down in loose locks, interwoven with golden threads.

One of the richest and finest monuments of art to be found in the whole world is the tomb of Tut-ench-Amun. The coffins are of pure gold and exceptionally beautiful. They are two metres long and four to six c.m. high, inlaid with precious stones. The sarcophagus is made of pure gold. The head of the king is decorated with a viper and a hawk, both holy to the Egyptian. In his hand he is holding a sceptre fan. There is a huge golden chain around his neck.

When we see Egyptians' paintings and reliefs and study the interior of the graves, then we are deeply moved. The reason is that these works of art are products of human beings. These people had their own griefs and hopes like us. They were fond of pleasure and also deeply religious too. They dreamed of being reborn again in order to live life and partake of earthly pleasures. They could not decide to renounce them. They were human beings like us who were thirsting for the Divine.

SOME MODERN SANSKRIT BOOKS

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

It may not generally be known that even in the present age a large number of works are produced in the Sanskrit language every year. They cover various subjects including different branches of Sanskrit literature. We have translations as well as original compositions. There are even a number of periodicals published in different parts of India. It must, however, have to be confessed that these enterprises of ardent and almost selfless lovers of Sanskrit have to face utter neglect from all quarters—students of Sanskrit literature as well as the ordinary people. There is scarcely any one who takes a serious notice of these things. Thus no systematic account—nay no record—of them is available. It is not known how much justice to this item will be made in the bibliography of the literary output of the country undertaken by the Sahitya Akademi.

Numbers of modern Sanskrit works have been noticed in these pages from time to time representing only a small cross-section of a huge mass. Among a host not noticed here but published during the last quarter of a century or so mention may be made of the following few: *Manameyarahasyaslokavartika* (Mysore, 1925) and *Darsanodaya* (Mysore, 1933) of Srinivasacharya seek to discuss and summarise the views of different philosophical systems of India; commentary on the Rigveda entitled *Siddhanjana* by T. V. Kapaly Sastry interprets the Rigveda in accordance with the views of Sri Aurobinda; Life of Mahatma Gandhi in three volumes entitled *Bharataparijata, Parijatapaharana* and *Parijatasaurabha* of 25, 29 and 21 cantos respectively by Swami Sri Bhagavadacharya; selections from the Vedas with the titles *Rigvedasamhitopanisatchataka, Suklayajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* by Swami Maheswaranandagiri Mahamandaleswara. These selections are accompanied by lucid interpretations by the Swamiji called *Adhyatmajyotsnaviviriti* which draw special attention to the monistic ideals of the Vedas and the basic moral and ethical principles referred to therein. Rather interesting, though of little use, is the translation into Sanskrit of the Constitution of the Indian Union.

Besides these there are quite a good number of smaller works, *e.g.*, poems, dramas and the like. One of the latest works of this type is the *Kathamuktavali*[1] of Pandita Kshama Row who was reputed as the author of a good many poems pertaining to different topics. 'Her Sanskrit works,' it is stated, 'include seven one-act plays, four biographies of saints in verse, a life of Gandhiji in three volumes, thirty-five short stories, her father's biography, essays, letters and travel notes.' *Kathamuktavali* which is a posthumous publication is a collection of 15 short stories of the writer. Short story is unknown in traditional Sanskrit literature. And few modern writers have ventured to introduce it in Sanskrit, so that Pandita Row is almost a pioneer in the line and a successful pioneer I should say. The stories generally provide good reading.

Mahalinga Shastri is another poet of modern times. He hails from South India and traces his descent from the well-known Appaya Dikshita and Tyagaraja Makhim, who though not as much known was a more or less famous writer. He is the author of a good many poems of which a fair number have been published in book-form. His *Kinkinimala*[2], 'a collection of shorter poems' was published as early as the year 1934. We have here among other poems a few which are translations of fine pieces from English literature. His original poems deal with various topics including a few rather heterdox ones like the cock and the owl. The *Dravidaryasubhasitasaptati*[3] (1952) gives Sanskrit renderings of Aurvai's poems *Nalvazhi* and *Vakkundam* in Tamil. Several new metres not known to Sanskrit prosody have been used in the work. The *Byajoktiratnavali*[4] (1953) is a collection of 125 verses written on different subjects which appear to have bearing on various incidents of life, though no reference thereto is made in the English translations of the verses that accompany the text. *Bhramarasandesha*[5] (1954) written in imitation of Kalidasa's Meghaduta or Meghasandesha describes in 110 verses how Indra on one occasion sent a message to Sachi, his consort, through a bee of Indra's garden in heaven that had followed him to the earth. *Vanalata*[6] (1955) is a romantic poem in five cantos describing the story of a Yaksha and his wife who were separated by the curse of Kuvera which transformed the wife into a creeper. He is also reported to have composed two more poetical works named the *Shambhusaparyopadesha* and the *Deshikendrastavanjali* as well as two dramas, the *Kaundinyaprahasana* and the *Kalipradurbhava*. On the whole, the author is a good writer and his poems are beautiful and interesting. But the learned poet is painfully aware of the fact—already hinted by me—that 'original literary efforts in Sanskrit of a contemporary writer when sought to be brought to light can scarcely ever attract the attention of even professed lovers and votaries of Sanskrit who do not, however, fail to acclaim her immortal and almighty on the platforms.' And this perhaps, is the sad experience of all modern writers of Sanskrit.

1. N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Price Rs. 4-8.

2. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 2.

3. Sahityachandrasala, Tiruvalangadu, Tanjore District. Price Re. 1.

4. *Ibid.* Price Rs. 2.

5. *Ibid.* Price Re. 1-8.

6. *Ibid.* Price Re. 1.

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

STUDIES IN EPICS AND PURANAS OF INDIA: *By A. D. Pusalker. Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. lxviii + 224. Price Re. 1-12, Cloth-bound Rs. 3.*

This is a collection of papers contributed by the author in past years to various journals and collective works, which have been revised for the purpose of the present publication. Introducing his work the author observes with characteristic modesty that it is intended to serve as an introduction to Epic and Pauranic studies. It consists of six chapters with a long Introduction added here for the first time. The Introduction dealing successively with the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and the Puranas, discusses a number of fundamental points regarding the age and composition of these works with frequent references to the orthodox views as well as the opinions of modern scholars on the subject. Chapter I traces the history of cosmogonic ideas in India from the Rig-Veda down to the Puranas so as to assess the indebtedness of the latter to the past and their own contribution in the same field. In Chapter II, the author gives his reasons for rejecting Pargiter's well-known theory to the effect that the Puranas in contrast with the Vedas contain Kshatriya historical tradition and that they were originally written in Prakrit. In Chapter III, the author discussing the conflicting claims of the Vayu and the Siva Puranas decides in favour of including the former in the list of Mahapuranas. Chapter IV seeks to show that Kuru Sravana, a king mentioned in Rig-Veda X.32.9; 33.4, appears in the Mahabharata and the Puranas as Kuru, son of Samvarana. In Chapter V, the author discusses the Krishna problem under five heads, firstly, whether Krishna was a human being or a divinity at the beginning, secondly, whether there was one Krishna or there were several Krishnas, thirdly, the life of Krishna collected from all sources, fourthly, the period of his career and, fifthly, a discussion of the various theories regarding the Krishna problem. The sixth and the longest chapter which deals exhaustively with the progress of Epic and Pauranic studies in India and abroad brings up-to-date the author's previous publication on the subject in the work, *Progress of Indic Studies* (1917-42), published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

The above brief analysis will help to give the reader an idea of the rich and varied intellectual fare provided by this work. The author throughout gives ample evidence of his deep erudition based on first-hand study of the original material as well as the researches of English, French, German, American and Indian scholars. His methods of clear analysis and lucid exposition are of a high standard. Though one may differ from him on points of detail (such as his date for the Mahabharata war) his judgments as a rule are marked by sobriety and good sense. His high intellectual honesty (which unfortunately he does not share with some well-known Indian scholars of our time) makes him scrupulously acknowledge his indebtedness to his teachers as well as other scholars. The merits of the work are enhanced by a good Index. Altogether the *Studies in Epics and Puranas* of India will be indispensable for all future workers in the field.

The book is singularly free from printing or other mistakes, but Gorrossio on page xxxviii requires correction. On page 198, G. C. Bose is a slip for G. S. Bose.

U. N. GHOSHAL

METAPHYSICAL JOURNAL: *By Gabriel Marcel. Published by the Rockliff Publishing Corporation Ltd., London. Price 30s. net.*

The book under review is a well-written exposition of the way of thinking known as 'existentialism' all over the world. Gabriel Marcel is one of those modern French philosophers who found a place in the minds of the English-reading public. His philosophical views were given a tremendous ovation in a certain section of the press and the public. 'Being cannot be objectivised,' 'value is polymorphous' and all such dicta had a careful reassessment at the hands of Marcel. He is opposed to Sartre as regards the concept of value. At places he agrees with Heidegger's views on language. We must remember that Marcel's analytic method required the exactitude and precision of language, as we found in Moore's *Principia Ethica*. It is really gratifying to note that Marcel and his translator Bernard Wall both rose equal to the occasion. The finer shades of meaning as we find in the different types of human experience were well-suggested by the proper use of appropriate words and terms. Moreover, Marcel's style negated all possibilities of monotony and boredom. It is wonderfully refreshing. It stimulates thinking. Marcel does not believe in the acceptance of dogmas unexamined. He subjects all concepts and notions to severe logical test and scrutinises their innate worth. He is a believer in heuristic principle.

Marcel does not like to be branded 'existentialist.' It has been rightly pointed out by the author that existentialism is a slippery concept and we would do well to brand his philosophy 'neo-Socratism.' This is author's own choice. His reputation as a Christian existentialist did not forbid him to denounce the name 'existentialism.' Existentialism, it is true, gave out much misunderstanding. That is why he preferred to be called a 'Neo-Socratist.' This name amply brings out the author's 'attitude of interrogation' so evident throughout the book under review.

Metaphysical Journal virtually sums up the philosophical position of Marcel, expounded in his earlier writings. The reader would find it profitable to read the Appendix on existence and objectivity. It will clear up many of the muddled ideas of the reader because the author, in this appendix, avowedly undertook to disentangle many of the fundamental themes of the *Journal*. The reader would be reassured of the firm conviction of the author in 'existence' and that existence is the bed-rock of Marcel's philosophy. Here he brooks no doubt and asserts: "If the negation of existence is a decree or fiat, for my part I choose the contrary decree and have no hesitation in declaring that for me existence is beyond all doubt" (p. 322). This faith is not dogmatic and it has been sought to be rationalised. The rationale of this faith may be found in the book under review.

We wholeheartedly recommend this book to the students of philosophy here in India. It will stimulate and inspire original thinking either in the reasoned acceptance or rejection of the main philosophical doctrines of the *Journal*.

The Rockliff Publishing Corporation Ltd. deserves a word of praise for introducing this brilliant book to the English-knowing people of the world. The printing and get-up of the book are satisfactory.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

1. PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL. Vol. 7, 1953; 2. Vol. 8, 1954; 3. Vol. 9, 1955; 4. Vol. 10, 1955: *Editor-in-Chief, K. Ahmad, Principal, Patna College. Published by the Assistant Registrar, Patna University, Patna-5. Price Rs. 2 each.*

The volumes under review represent the co-operative effort and zeal of the Patna University teachers to extend the bounds of knowledge in the respective fields assigned to their charge.

The first volume, complete in 150 pages (including the twenty-five-page note on the MSS, Sanskrit and Persian, acquired for the University Library), is enriched with learned contributions, such as, the Recent Price-recession in India, the Problem of Form in Fiction, Aryabhatta, and Democracy. In the last paper, Dr. Philip enters into a discussion of the theories of Hobhouse, Lindsay and Collingwood, the suitability of this form of government for developing the personality of the Individual and a criticism of Laski's view that Russian society is more democratic than that of the British, though the government is not.

Volume 8, complete in 112 pages (including the two-page note on the MSS, acquired for the University Library), contains eleven papers of which four relate to Indian history; the fifth deals with Foreign-Policy-making in the U.S.A.; the sixth discusses the Sociological Theories of Emile Durkheim while other papers, *e.g.*, (7) Psychological Study of Catastrophes, (8) the Industrial Regions of Bihar, (9) Ego Defences in Self-Judgment, (10) Classification of Fishes of the Patna District, (11) Relation between the Union and States in India, bear out the activity of the respective departments.

Among the historical papers, one throws new light on a notable figure of the Sepoy Mutiny, Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur, Shahabad district; the other entitled *Ideological Basis of Research on Ancient Indian Polity*, makes a plea for an objective treatment of the Ancient history of India. The writer points out that nationalist ideology inspired research on the ancient civilization of the land, and that eminent men like Bhagwanlal Indraji, R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajendralal Mitra and B. G. Tilak, took up their pen to refute Maxmuller's contention expressed in the words, "To the Greek, existence is full of life and beauty, to the Hindu it is a dream and delusion." He adds weight to his argument by pointing out how a prolific literature on 'Ancient Indian Polity,' such as, (1) *Public Administration in Ancient India* by P. N. Banerji, 1916, (2) *Corporate Life in Ancient India* by R. C. Majumdar, 1918, (3) *Local Government in Ancient India* by R. K. Mukherji, 1920, (4) *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* by N. N. Law, 1921, (5) *Hindu Political Theories* by U. N. Ghoshal, 1923, (6) *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* by D. R. Bhandarkar, 1925, (7) *Hindu Polity* by K. P. Jaysawal, 1925, (8) *Hindu Administrative Institutions* by V. R. Dikshitar, 1927, (9) *Development of Hindu Political Theories of Kautilya* by N. C. Banerji, 1927, (10) *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* by S. K. Aiyanger, 1931, (11) *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* by B. K. Sarkar (written about 1922, published in 1939) and treatises like (12) *International Law and Custom in Ancient India* by P. N. Banerji, 1920, (13) *International Law in Ancient India* by S. V. Visvanath, synchronised with the starting of the Home Rule Movement in 1916. According to him, they were written with a purpose intended to bring grist to the nationalist mill (p. 89). In conclusion, he makes a plea for "scientific methodology of research" and ends his paper by asking the students of Ancient Indian history to judge how far K. A. Nilkantha Sastri's view (started in the Oriental Conference at Lucknow, 1951) of "Apastamba and Manu" having provided for a Welfare State was correct! How far such an approach opened up further lines of research" (p. 90).

Volume 9 is devoted exclusively to Science. All the articles are highly specialized. Research in Chemistry is represented by such papers as (*i*) Geometrical Isomerism in quadricovalent complexes of Bivalent copper and silver, (*ii*) the Chemistry of Brazilin and Hoematoxylin, (*iii*) Internal pressure of liquid Inert Gases and their latent Heats and Entropies of evaporation, (*iv*) the Reactions between Ferric Chloride and Salts of some organic acids. Interest in medical science and the treatment of disease and the study on statistics is reflected in a number of papers, while Physics, Zoology, Mathematics and Geology have each a contribution to their credit in this volume of 113 pages.

Volume 10 claims attention on account of the inclusion of papers in six languages. Sanskrit and Hindi in the Devanagari script, Arabic, Persian and Urdu in Arabic script, while two papers in Bengali, (*i*) *Durganujar Mahatmya Ebong Bangalir Jibane Tahar Prabhab* by Anima Sen Gupta of the Magadha Women's College, (*ii*) *Bangala Sahitye Krishnabhakti Vishayini Rachana-shakha* by Aruna Haldar of the Patna Women's College, act as a sort of hyphen between the papers in the Devanagari script in the beginning and those in the Arabic script at the end.

The University of Patna has not yet passed the adolescent stage, but the contributions of the learned team of teachers hold out great hopes for the future.

N. B. ROY

LECTURES IN AMERICA AND OTHER PAPERS: *By P. C. Mozoomdar. Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshub Chunder Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. xiv + 319. Price Rs. 4.*

We should, at the outset, congratulate the Committee on the publication of so handy a volume at such a moderate price. Protap Chunder Mozoomder was hailed in the West as a "Prophet of the glowing East." He was fortunate enough to gain considerable first-hand knowledge and experience of the progressive countries in the East and the West, during his four tours in 1874, 1883, 1893 and 1900. But his mind was ever concentred in India, his Motherland, and he utilized his kowledge and experience to the full in enriching his country and countrymen. A close associate of Keshub Chunder Sen and a prominent member of the Brahmo Samaj, Protap Chunder took an active part in most of the reform movements of his day. Besides his activities in the Brahmo Samaj, he always thought and worked for the good of his people. The modern University Institute, Calcutta, owed its origin and development to Protap Chunder to a large extent.

The present volume, as its caption indicates, contains Mr. Mozoomdar's lectures delivered in America in different capacities, as a delegate to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and as a lecturer to the Lowell Institute, Boston, as well as letters of sympathy written to him by notable persons, from home and abroad, and a summary of the Report of world's first Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. This Parliament of Religions has a special fascination for the Indians as it was here that the Indian Monk Swami Vivekananda made his first public appearance and delivered an eloquent speech which won him repeated applause from the select audience in the Parliament. Much has been said and written of this memorable incident. But the part played by Protap Chunder Mozoomder in introducing the Swami to the authorities of the Parliament, and in the actual proceedings of the Parliament in its plenary and select committee sessions is little known to us. The compiler has done us a service by summarising the Report from which we are enabled not only to make a correct estimate of the works of the Parliament but also the important part played by Mr. Mozoomder. His lectures in the Parliament and at the Lowell Institute show his profundity of knowledge in ancient Indian thought, culture, religion and social system. A true patriot that he was, he dwelt at length on the fundamentals of our religion, thought and culture and proved beyond doubt the West's indebtedness to Asia in these respects. We find Protap Chunder in his best in these pages. In Protap Chunder was blended an ardent patriot, a profound scholar and a master-artist. The book will be useful to the students of Indology as well.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

PRICE CONTROLS IN INDIA SINCE 1947: *By Dr. Ram Gopal Agrawal, M.A., D.Phil. Published from 28, Feroz Shah Road, New Delhi. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Price control had its origin in the Second World War because of the necessity of the State and also for the protection of consumers' interest in an atmosphere of rising prices because of scarcity of goods and also as effects of monetary inflation. The subject is a burning one and its importance has not yet ceased in the new planned economy which India is pursuing since attainment of freedom. The author has divided his book in several chapters, *viz.*, Price Cotrol—Theoretical Background, Objectives and Techniques of Price Control, Evolution of Price Control in India, Price Control and the Producer, Price Control and the Distributor, Price Control and the Consumer, Price Control Administrations, Price Control and Fiscal and Monetary Policy, Price Control and Trade and Tariff Policy and the Future of Price Control. Notes on Index number of wholesale prices and constitutional provisions relating to Control have been given in the Appendices.

From the division of the subjects dealt with it will be seen that the author has spared no pains in discussing this important subject from different points of view to get at a correct picture. Controls affect all classes of people in different ways and in a socialistic economy which India has for its ideal, its importance cannot be overemphasised. Thus the book will be of more than passing interest to students of Indian economics. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry, has written a foreword of the book which has been approved as a thesis for the D.Phil. Degree of the Allahabad University.

A. B. DUTTA

THE WAY TO PEACE, POWER AND LONG LIFE: *By Swami Narayanananda. Published by Messrs. N. K. Prasad and Co., Rishikesh, U.P. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author of this enlarged and revised book in its second edition is an educated Hindu monk and an enthusiastic votary of the ideal of continence. In this small volume, he presents impressively his considered views on the necessity of continence, the meaning and means of Brahmacharya as the foundation of life. His statements are supported by authoritative opinions of great men like Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi. They are furthermore enriched by substantial quotations from our ancient scriptures. The language of the book is simple and the arguments put forward are convincing. It is only through the strict observance of continence that the individual can accomplish peace and longevity as well as maintain an unbroken health. In these days of materialistic epidemic when the lamentable lack of incontinence breeding ill-health and immorality is a common feature, this book appears to note a timely warning and suggest a simple solution to the incontinent majority of our society.

The booklet should be studied widely and its instructions put into practice in daily life by those who want to enjoy a peaceful and healthy life.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

HE WHO RIDES A TIGER: *By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 243. Price Rs. 2.*

Bhabani Bhattacharya is one of those very few Indian writers who have made their mark in the international literary scene in recent times. His novels, glowing in their colourful Indian setting, have been translated into almost all the important languages of the world and have won for him countless admirers in distant lands.

In the present novel, Mr. Bhattacharya gives evidence of his unmistakable gift of story-telling as also of a deeply sensitive mind. The novel revolves round a strange assortment of people whom fate prompted to try out, evolve and assiduously practise for some time, a daring social experiment. The experiment itself was largely fraudulent in nature and based on the pet theme of the sullen rage and hostility that the socially backward some times appear to feel towards his better-placed neighbours. The theme, exploited by many, undoubtedly helps the story to flow smoothly, and crystallize and sustain the reader's interest. Eventually, the burden of the fraud, which grows in volume like a snowball, becomes such as its perpetrators can bear no more and when, in the end, the mask falls off after a measure of anxious heart-searching there follows quickly a series of emotional disentanglements.

Bhabani Bhattacharya has infused his narrative with a curious power and sense of bitterness—power generated from the vortex of the abysmal calamity that befell Bengal in the early 1940's when a famine of unparalleled magnitude stalked that land and carried off thousands in its grisly trail. Mr. Bhattacharya has captured something of the bestialities, the crass cruelties, and of the utter negation of morals and of human values enveloping a whole nation writhing in the clutches of a pitiless disaster. His documentation is irreproachable and it is largely this quality, more than any other, that stamps this novel with a distinction and authority all its own.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

SPRING IN WINTER: *By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. Atmaram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 7-8.*

As a poet Harindranath needs no introduction. He is one of those few Indian writers whose English verses do not betray the effort of a foreigner. Graceful and musical they flow with ease and communicate perfectly the sentiments of the poet. The book under review contains 208 simple and charming love-lyrics. Sincerity and not cleverness is their strongest point.

"How sweet it is
To watch, you know,
The parent sparrows
Come and go
In their small beaks
Bearing a load
Which goes to build
A cosy abode."

Lines like these strike a nice homely note. The get-up of the book is excellent.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MODERN INDIA: *By Ramananda Chatterjee. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price eight annas.*

This monograph, originally written as an introduction to the second edition of the English works of Raja Rammohun Roy, first appeared in the form of a separate booklet in 1918. This is a partially revised reprint of the same. Rammohun is undoubtedly one of the greatest makers of modern India. In this brochure the learned author has described the manifold aspects of his personality—as a social reformer, as an educationist, as a writer, as a political thinker and as an economist.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

BASANTA BAHAR: *By Gopal Bhaumik. Grantha Jagat, 7-J, Panditiya Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1-8.*

The poems are expressly romantic. They represent the spirit of Spring—the charm and intoxication of youth. Here and there one might blush at the exhibition on an unconventional attitude or dislike an unpoetic expression, but most of these light, deftly composed poems are expected to delight the readers in their moments of leisure. Even in our modern city life, the poet has found occasions for many a dream.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

JHANKAR: *Edited by Raghupati Sahay "Firaq". Hindusthani Culture Society, Allahabad. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 3.*

Here are seventy-two facets of Urdu poetry written during the last decade or more in Devanagari script. These facets, however, reveal an over-all revolutionary urge and objective in the economic, social and political life of the people. Poets like 'Josh', 'Wajd', 'Sahir', 'Makhmur', 'Kanwal', 'Swami', 'Firaq' and their comrades desire to pull down, with the thunder of their vision and voice, walls which have divided mankind into classes, as if each of the classes were exclusive in order and in interest. Most of the poems naturally keep close to the ground, for the poets seem to believe that before the kingdom of Heaven can be brought on earth, the earth has first to be cleared of the debris and the dunghills with which it is littered. *Jhankar* fills one with divine discontent with things as they are. But is not a vision of Heaven also necessary to cheer up the crusader?

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHRIMAD RAJCHANDRA ARDHA SHATABDI SMARAK GRANTHA: *Published by Shrimad Rajchandra Mumukshu Mandal, Agas* (via *Anand*). *Printed at the Shivaji Printing Press, Surat. 1951. Cloth-bound. Profusely illustrated. Pp. 167. Unpriced.*

Shrimad Rajchandra, the *guru* and guide of Mahatma Gandhi, though he lived the life of a householder, was a saint. He died early in life, but he has left so much religious literature behind him and had secured so many followers by his propaganda, that his memory is being kept alive by various Mandals, Memorial Halls, and Books, so that it is difficult to forget him. This magnificent volume in memory of his death called Half a Century Memorial gives every particular of his own life, that of his relatives, friends and admirers and thus perpetuates his commendable life-work.

MANISHA: *By Minoo Desai and Raman Shah. Printed at the Pratap Printing, Bombay. 1951. Cloth-bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the collection of sonnets written by about 70 writers, all of them modern and all of them first class. One of the publishers, Minoo Desai, though a Parsi by birth, is a well-known writer of cultural Gujarati verse, and one of his compositions is included in the collection. The best that is in the sonnet literature of modern Gujarati is to be found here. Its Introductions trace the history of this branch of literature, which is produced in imitation of its form in English, and explanatory notes at the end make it very useful for students of the subject.

K. M. J.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Issued to commemorate the first Birth Centenary of Sri Sarada Devi—the Holy Mother, the illustrious spiritual consort of Sri Ramakrishna

Editors

SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

Introduction by

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

"The position of women in any society is a true index of its cultural and spiritual level."

"THIS VOLUME, which commemorates the Birth Centenary of a Great Woman of our time, is an attempt, the first of its kind, to survey the position and prospect of women in Indian society during the last five thousand years, and to present a kaleidoscopic picture of their dreams and visions, hopes and aspirations, through an illustrative study of the lives and achievements of the more outstanding among them.... Quite a fascinating picture unfolds itself in the pages of this book. It is a long procession, through the ages, of Indian women who attained greatness in various spheres of life and culture—political and aesthetic, moral and spiritual," says Dr. Radhakrishnan in his Introduction.

THE VOLUME is divided into two main sections. The first gives a general survey of the ideals and position of Indian womanhood in different spheres of life, both in the past and in the present, together with a chapter on the evolution of Mother worship in India. The second section is a study of the lives of great women in India—not only those who actually lived and died, but also many others who are known only from literary sources such as the Vedas, Epics, Puranas, and classical Sanskrit literature.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Assam and her Culture

Sudhansu Mohan Banerjee writes in *The Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*:

Before we discuss Assam and her culture, it is wise to state certain fundamental implications of any culture or civilization, which are often forgotten. No civilization, in its widest sense, is autochthonous, nor can it flourish within a cloistered shelter. Any particular type of human behaviour is the complex product of an impact, an inter-play, of different forces. History, as the late Henry Ford declared, might be 'bunk,' but it is the expression of a collective mind, the creation and emergence of new concepts, of new ideas and ideals. The phenomenon of the group influencing another is not a mere historical accident, but a natural fact and a sociological necessity. Ancient Egyptians may have been influenced by proto-Sumerians, but they, in their turn, influenced Babylon and Assyria and the Near East. The Cretans influenced the Greek, and Greece influenced Rome and Persia; and Greece, again, was influenced by the Mycenaeans. Roman law, codes, and ideas are at the root of the modern western civilization, though Byzantine Greece was also sufficiently coloured by the East.

Thus, when we talk of Assamese culture, Marathi language, Bengali literature, Tamil art, or Telugu sculpture, we have to recognize that a narrow territorial patriotism is out of court, and that we are in a sphere where we have to give as well as to take. This very general proposition has to be restated, because in our eagerness to prove a particular thesis, we lose sight of a basic principle. But, at the same time, it is obvious that every civilization creates a style of its own, and has its distinctive features. As Dr. Radhakrishnan has pointed out, civilization is based on a dream. Its codes and conventions, its ways of life and habits of mind are poised on a dream. When the dream prevails, civilization advances; when the dream fails, civilization goes down. "If we are attempting to ascertain the limits of any given civilization," as Professor Toynbee says, "either spatial or temporal, we find, as a matter of fact, that the aesthetic taste is the surest as well as the subtlest. It speaks in clearer accents than either politics or economics." Further, a study of history and culture is not merely a *resume* of the story of monarchs and generals, but a study in the evolution of literature, language, art, ethnology, and religion, and its reaction on the social structure and the body politic.

To a vast majority of Indians, Assam is just a land of jungles and tea gardens, black magic and witchcraft, violent earthquakes and raging rivers. Her flora and fauna, her tribals and their customs, mighty rhinos and wild elephants, dancing Lusheis and hunting Nagas excite the curiosity of the outside world. A Gait, a Grison, or a Gordon would write about her: anthropologists rush to regain a paradise lost; and geologists go thither to track the trail of a wealth sheltered in the womb of mother earth. But the fact remains that Assam and her pattern of life and her attempt to evolve a composite culture are not known beyond the historian's den or the scientist's ken. Few realize that, apart from Assam's political and strategic value, a great human integration is slowly taking place there.

The Racial Background

Assam is a land of contrasts, where diverse races, castes, and creeds have met at different levels of its civilization in different ages. Each of them has contributed its own share to the common national heritage behind which lurk the race-memories of past traditions. Even nature here adds to the amazing diversity. Yet there is an inner unifying force which is at work in an assimilative process. The vehicles through which a group-mind primarily integrates are language, literature, manners and customs, religious beliefs, and ethical values. In Assam, this process of racial and cultural synthesis first began in the Brahmaputra valley, the rich alluvial tracts of which attracted newcomers from the north and north-east, *i.e.*, from Tibet, China, and Burma, who gradually pushed the older inhabitants into the hills. The first to arrive in Assam, after the wave of Negritos had passed leaving behind some traces of their race, were the Austric-speaking proto-Australoids, the Khasis and Jaintias being their modern representatives. The matrilineal structure of their society, the Bihu and Nongkrim dances, the terraced cultivation called Zhum, and the stone megaliths are still the remnants of the archaic origin. They have also handed down an embryonic oral literature, mainly songs and poems, preserving memories of race-movement of a primitive pastoral society. The Dravidians and the Kiratas or Mongoloids, such as the Bodos, came subsequently. They have left their impress on the social body of Assam.

Then came the Aryans, whose influence has shaped the Assamese culture. Kamarupa and Pragjyotisa were known in the days of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Kamarupa is mentioned in Raghu's *digvijaya*. We hear in the *Mahabharata* the names of Naraka and Bhagadatta, Bana, Usha, Aniruddha, Ulupi' Babhruvahan, Hidimba, and Ghatotkacha, all of whom hailed from this region. With the coming of the Aryans, Assam passed into the main current of Indian history. There is a story in the *Satapatha Brahmana* of the carrying of the sacrificial fire from Sarasvati towards the east. The name Pragjyotisha was probably derived from *Pragjyotis, i.e.*, the dawn. Their earliest eastern settlement was the region of Videha or Mithila. There are reasons to believe that there was direct contact between Mithila and Kamarupa. Kamarupa thus became an outpost of Aryan infiltration in the east and, perhaps, culturally developed even before Pundra (North Bengal) and Magadha (South Bihar), though the Nandas and the Mauryas were lords of the Prachyas and the

Gangaradhas. The *Aitareya Brahmana* mentions even Pundras as *daśyus*, and Baudhayana treats them as *sankirnayoni* (of mixed birth) and therefore outside the pale of Vedic culture. In *Kalika Purana*, it is said that Naraka was brought up in Videha, conquered Pragjyotisha, and killed King Gholaka. Assam's subsequent history is the story of her gradual Aryanization, particularly of Kamarupa, *i.e.*, the present Brahmaputra valley, from the borders of Sadiya right up to a portion of North Bengal.

THE AGE OF BHASKARAVARMAN

Some say that the Bodos, *i.e.*, the Mongoloids of Tibeto-Burman origin, were the founders of Kamarupa. According to Padmanatha Vidyavinod, the inscriptions of Bhaskaravarman (seventh century A.D.) show that, from about the fifth or sixth century A.D., there were many Brahmanas and Kayasthas in Kamarupa. In a single village of Kamarupa, there were two hundred Brahmanas, Hiuen-Tsang saw hundreds of *deva* temples in the country. He remarked that the language spoken in Kamarupa, though dissimilar in many points, bore some similarity with that spoken in Mithila. Bhaskaravarman, who was the contemporary of Harsa and Sasanka, was a great lover of learning. In the Nidhanpur copperplate inscriptions, Bhaskaravarman is stated to be the revealer of Aryan religion by dispelling the accumulated darkness of *kaliyuga*, by the judicious use of his revenues.

The nature of the Kamarupa culture of that age may be best judged by Bhaskaravarman's gifts to Harsavardhana, which consisted of a Halali silk coat, a well-tanned soft skin, an umbrella decorated with jewels, a book written on polished bark, fragrant *aguru* wood, musk, a mat with fine and coloured cane laths, fine molasses in an earthen jar, a pair of Bamini ducks in a gold embroidered cage, a quantity of finely spun yarn and Muga silk, jack-fruit, and cocoanut.

After the Varmans, the Mlecchas and the Palas (different from the Palas of Bengal) ruled. Tantricism and Saivism gained ground, as also the Sahajiya Natha cult. Matsyendranatha and Abhinavagupta became respected names. A number of images of Ganesha, Durga, and Siva, engraved on rocks, have been found. Several specimens of architecture, supposed to have been executed in the days of Bhaskaravarman, and also perhaps earlier, in the sixth century, show, according to R. D. Benerjee, that the outlines of the plinth bear the same motifs and figures as those found in the northern provinces. Some of their ornamentations are similar to those of the temples of Orissa. There was also the *chaitya* window pattern.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Both in legend and history, Siva-worship appears to have been the most popular form of religion in early times in Assam. Fifteen places were sacred to Siva, as against five to Devi and five to Vishnu. According to the Buranjis (historical chronicles of the Ahoms), Siva-worship was first introduced by Jalpesvara, a king of Jalpaiguri. Bana was a Siva-worshipper. It is held by many that Siva was, at first, a non-Aryan god associated with phallic worship. Keith believes that Vedic Rudra was really a syncretic deity and that Tamil Siva indicated a red man. The sage Upamatyu propagated the worship of the joint symbols of the divine male and female creative principles of the universe. As Gopinath Rao points out, the male and female principles are inseparable and are ever found together in cosmic evolution, and the real import of the concept of Ardhanarisvara is the worship of the dual principle of Siva and Sakti in the shape of *linga* and *yoni*. The worship of the *yoni* aspect of the Mother Goddess or Sakti, seen in Kamarupa, was probably prevalent among the Australoids, and the famous Kamakhya temple enshrines perhaps an old Austric deity in a new setting. This goddess was later identified with Tripura Bala or Tripura Sundari of the later Tantras.

There was also, side by side, a growth of the Vasistha cult. Buddhism had, by this time, through Kalachakrayana, Vajrayana, Mantrayana, and Sahajayana, degenerated into a Tantric ritualism. Lama Taranatha speaks of many Buddhists taking shelter in Khasi, Jaintia, and Kuki kingdoms. A debased form of Mother cult and memories of animism, devil-worship, and snake cults added to the catalogue of beliefs.

THE AHOMS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

It was at this time that a great event occurred in Assam, which influenced powerfully its future course of history and shaped its culture. We refer to the advent of the Ahoms, who gave their name to Assam. Akin to Shans and Thais, they were an immigrant race-group who invaded Assam seven centuries ago and settled there. The name Assam is a phonetic vagary. Robinson and Gait took it to mean unrivalled or unequalled or peerless. The people perhaps used to regard the Ahoms as such. But the conquerors soon became the conquered. They were completely Aryanized. Their kings became Hindu kings and claimed descent from Indra. They added the title '*svargadeva*' to their names. A study of the Buranjis—about which Grierson writes, "The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient"—reveals the story of a great cultural impact and a mighty absorption. The language that developed, as a result of this impact, was predominantly Aryan in origin, with a strong leaven of a non-Aryan Ahomia element.

Modern Assamese is the direct descendant of the old Prachya-Magadhi Apabhramsa, and is closely agnate to Bengali. Even today, the spoken language of North Bengal and West Assam seems to form one dialect group. It is also necessary to remember that Assamese is the language of only a small part of the territory of Asasm, as defined today. More precisely the present Assamese is the language of Kamarupa, which in ancient times comprised a portion of North Bengal, the Brahamaputra valley, and a few other districts of Assam. The Assamese language, under independent kings and in the context of an entirely self-contained social life, became a separate speech, according to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, though the sister dialect in North Bengal accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengali.

Th script adopted for the Assamese is also the same *kutila-lipi*. Some of the verses of *Dakervachan*, *Charyapada*, *Sunya Parana*, and *Mayanamatirgan* as also the works of the earlier poets like Rudra Kandali, Hema Sarasvati, Mankara, Durgavara, and Pitambara show two distinct trends, namely, choral songs, such as '*oja-pali*' and *mantras*, and translations and adaptations of stories from the epics and the Puranas. In this connection, it is worth remembering Madhava Kandali who, basking in the patronage of Varahiraja Sri Mhamanikya and Kamta kings, retold, in simple vernacular, the story of the *Ramayana* to an appreciative audience.

SANKARA DEVA'S CONTRIBUTION

The advent of Sankara Deva and Madhava Deva heralded a new age. The former placed before Assam the doctrine of Ekasarana, a democratic monotheistic creed not divorced from old Indian moorings, but with the promise of a new life and spirit, with a literature of its own. It can be safely asserted that Assam's mediaeval Vaishnava literature, little known in the rest of India, is in no way inferior to that which developed in other parts of the country. Sankara Deva's contribution to Assam's cultural life is so overwhelming that it may be said that his was the creative genius of a saviour. He was a saviour not with the sword, but with spirit. He was a saint, pholosopher, poet, prophet, and God-intoxicated man, with ideas far ahead of his times. Sankara Deva reintroduced the old dramatic performances such as *ankia-nat*, *yatra*, *jhumur*, and folk dances and songs such as *dhulia*, acrobatics, and mask-dances.

There is one point, however, which should not be missed in a history of the cultural impact of this period, *i.e.*, the remarkable growth of a common medium which developed among the Vanishnava devotees all over North India as a vehicle of ecstatic expression. It is a mixed dialect of Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Hindi, Rajasthani, and local dialects, and is known as Brajabuli.

Though Sankara Deva is claimed to be the originator of Assamese prose, his *ankia-nats*, on which this claim is based, are nothing but a combination of songs and lyrics put in a dramatic form. Actually, Assamese prose developed from the *mantra* texts and *charit-putis*. Bhatta Deva mas the first great prose-writer. Later on, the Buranjis and diplomatic correspondence gave rise to mongrel prose. Assam is lucky in that it has an immense historical literature in the shape of records called Buranjis. These Buranjis are important sources of information, but they are full of local colour and have to be critically sifted. In this respect, a great pioneering work has been done by Dr. S. K. Bhuiyan, whose edition of the Buranjis is a national asset.

INDIA IN MINIATURE

It is not possible within the orbit of this short review to do justice to all the cultural trends that developed in Assam during the last five hundred years, but a critical study of its culture points to one basic fact that it is a story of integration and assimilation. That is its inward trend, its vitality, and its challenge. Though, in the outward context of yesterday, even geographical unity was not considered a reality, the urge of history has been to coalesce, to unite. Today, it is more than a necessity.

Assam covers sixty thousand square miles, of which twenty thousand comprise the plains and forty thousand the hills. Two-thirds of her people, however, live in the plains and one-third in the hills. One sees here contrasts in extremes—contrasts in cultural outlook, in thought, habits, and ways of life. One finds different ethnic types and cultural backgrounds, a mixture of extremes from old Austric to the most modern, brought about, successively, through Tibeto-Mongolian, Dravido-Aryan, Islamic, and western infiltration. Here are the Nagas, the Lusheis, the Mizos, the Khasis, the Garos, the Mikirs, the Hindus, the Mohammedans, and the Christians, all contributing their quota to the present-day life and culture of this ancient picturesque land.

The historian should build up the living picture of the people's movements, the conflict and assimilation of ideas and ideals, of customs and prejudices, and of beliefs and rituals. Here, the attempt should be to take history away from racial or territorial grooves and conceive it as something related to an integrated human movement. In India, Assam is the best place for such a study. It is India in miniature, a cross-section of Indian civilization, a fine piece of its cultural mosaic. The problem today, as it has been for centuries in Assam as well as in India as a whole, is the problem of integration—cultural, social, political, and administrative. Assam's history is a pointer and a guide in this respect.

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CALCUTTA 1.

Education in England

Prof. Austin A. D'Souza, writes in *The Indian Review*:

"Upon the Edacation of this country the future of this country depends." These words of Disraeli form the inspiring opening sentence of the preamble of the 1944 Education Act which re-organized the educational system of England, and was hailed as the corner-stone in the edifice of social reconstruction by which the British Government aimed to transform post-war Britain. The Act was actually passed under the war-time Coalition Government but it received the unqualified support of all parties in the House, and of all those interested in the future of English education outside it. By an accident or chance it fell to a Conservative President of the Board of Education, Mr. "Rab" Butler, to pilot the Act through Parliament; but he was ably supported by his Labour Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, and it was to a Labour Minister of Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who first had to shoulder the task of putting the Act into operation.

The passing of the comprehensive, revolutionary and forward-looking Education Act at a time when England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival was no mere act of bravado, or wishful planning. It was the sober, if somewhat belated, recognition of a fact that had been slowly but surely impressing itself on public consciousness, ever since the passing of the first major Education Act in 1870, which made education free, compulsory, and universal in England.

This fact may be simply stated. A true democracy demands an educated electorate; education in a democratic society is not a luxury, or an ornament, but an absalute necessity for its continued progress and prosperity, and for the happiness and well-being of its individual citizens, and of the community as a whole. True education is not the imposition of standard pattern of knowledge, habits and beliefs on every one alike, but the drawing out and development of their individual differences and potentalities. Hence for a man to be truly educated he must be given an education as far as possible suited to his age, ability and aptitudes. Every citizen in a democracy has a right to such an education irrespective of his social class or his ability to pay for it; and it is the duty of a modern State to provide suitable and varied opportunities for the proper education and training of all its citizens.

"Equality of educational opportunity," this must be the educational ideal of all true social democracies. There should be no place in a truly democratic scheme of education for privilege, whether based on social status or on the power of the purse. Equality of opportunity, it must be clearly understood, does not mean identity of opportunity, or that all children should be given exactly the same amount, and the same type of education. Children, by virtue of innate individual differences, and differences of home environment and early training, differ in their abilities and aptitudes; their education, to be fruitful, must be so planned as to take these vital individual differences into account. Equality of educational opportunity merely means that no child shall be debarred, for any reason whatsoever, from getting the type and quality of education suited to her or his individual talents, make-up, and personality; and that the education he receives should be such as to develop fully all his capacities so that his personality can blossom forth in all its fullness, and he can make the best contribution to the progress and welfare of the community in the State in which he lives, of which he is capable.

Such a notion of what education in a democracy connotes is, at least in theory, generally accepted today in Britain. But it has taken over seventy-five years of popular education to bring about what amounts to a revolution in English life and thought, for Disraeli's "Two Nations" were, till recently, so firmly established in the traditional, social and educational structure of England that the idea of "privilege," of different kinds of education for the elite and for the masses, was almost taken for granted.

Professor Joad, speaking of the pre-war educational system in England, compared it to a ladder. On the top rung, breathing the pure air of Helicon, were the children of the rich ruling-class elite who passed, as a matter of course, from expensive Preparatory Schools to the still more expensive and exclusive Public Schools; from the Public Schools the majority went on the still more expensive, but, perhaps, slightly less exclusive "older" Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A large percentage of whose eagerly sought-after places were reserved for Public School entrants, whether they had the brains to profit by them or not; and finally, out into the world at large where they had monopolized the higher posts in the Professions, and in the Civil and Foreign Services of the country, wielding an influence over the conduct of public affairs out of all proportion to their relatively small numbers. The system of the "Education of the Elite" was virtually a "closed shop," and only a few extraordinary clever or rich children from the "lower orders" ever succeeded in gate-crashing into it.

The second rung of ladder was occupied by clever children from the middle classes who had won in public competition coveted places in the comparatively few first-rate State or privately-run Secondary Grammar Schools. These children, after matriculating generally passed on to the newer provincial universities; and after graduation became teachers, doctors, or lawyers, or occupied the lower grade in the Civil Services.

Finally on the lowest rungs of ladder jostled together the mass of English children, belonging mostly to the working classes. These attended the elementary schools from the age of 5 to 13 or 14, when they left to apprentice themselves to the various trades and professions.

There were thus "three nations" among the children of the country. They attended different schools, divided by rigid social and educational barriers, with little contact or interchange between them, and grew up in comparative ignorance of, and isolation from, one another. Had the type of education given to each of these three groups been suited to their various abilities and aptitudes, things would not have been so bad. But, unfortunately, because the educational administrators were mostly Public School men, they made the Secondary Grammar and Elementary Schools pale and ineffective copies of the Public Schools, supplying a purely "literary" type of education, with deplorable results. And what was worse was the inflexibility of the system, and its injustice for the type of education a child received, which determined his whole future, was decided very largely by the accident of birth or by the bank balance of his parents. Hence thousands of poor but extremely able children were doomed to frustration in the Elementary Schools, while their rich "cousins," often completely lacking in the ability of the intelligence to profit from it, were enjoying the excellent and expensive education provided in the Public Schools.

Two World Wars and the consequent social upheaval in English life and thought made the people aware, not only of the injustice of this system of privilege but of its danger to the continued welfare and the progress of the country. They made the English people realize that the youth of the country was its most precious passession, the richest of its potential resources, for in the hands of her youth lay the destiny of Britain. The flower of her youth had laid down their lives in defence of their country, creating a gap in the country's available man-power which it would be impossible to fill. Statesmen, thinkers, and educationists were not slow to realize that, unless Britain made the fullest possible use of the remainder of her limited youth potential, she was doomed to be a C3 nation. This explains why at the darkest period of her history Britain turnd with hope to her youth, and set about putting her educational house in order to ensure to every boy and girl in the country his or her birth-right to an education suited to their age, abilities and aptitudes.

The 1944 Education Act, like everything British, while marketing a significant step forward, was not a complete break with the past. It was rather the gathering up, and putting into an ordered whole, of educational ideas, beliefs, and practices which had been fermenting in England ever since the Great War and which had found their best expression in the historic Hadow and Spens Reports which set forth the pattern for future educational reforms. Education, as defined by the Act, is a continuous process of development from the cradle to the grave. Though this process represents a continuous thread of development, it may be divided into three major stages—the primary stage from 5—11, secondary stage from 11—15 or 17, and the stage of further education stretching from the time the child left school till the day of his death. At each of these stages, the Act imposed on the Local Education Authorities, which organise and control the schools in their area, the duty of supplying to all children wide and varied opportunities for an education suited to their age, abilities and aptitudes. The old "Elementary Schools" with their disagreeable associations of meanness and cheapness, were scrapped, and it was hoped in future to give to all State schools parity of status, equipment, staffing, etc. Education, according to the Act, was not some thing given only at School or at College, its completion marked by the obtaining of a certificate or diploma; it was co-terminous with life and, besides formal schooling, included all those influences such as Clubs, Recreation Centre, the Cinema, Radio and Press, Libraries and Youth centres which often exert a far greater influence on the opinions, beliefs, and character of the child than the short period he spends at School, learning Latin and Algebra.

This continuous process of education was divided into three broad stages—Primary, Secondary and Further. Though the framers of the Act hoped ultimately to provide enough of the new, vital, and very desirable "Nursery Schools" for children from 2—5, and they recognized such schools would normally start their education at 5, the compulsory school-going age. For the first two years they would be in Infant Schools or Classes employing, as far as possible, the Play-way and Activity methods, then they would enter the Junior School. Here Infant Schools methods and the "learning by doing" approach would be continued, but formal lessons would also begin, and the children taught the Elements of the 3's. At 11 there would be a "clean-cut," and children would pass from the Primary School to the Secondary School.

The most novel feature of the Act was its definition of Secondary education not as a new type of education meant only for a few clever children, as it was formerly, but as an essential stage in the education of all children. Hence the Act is chiefly famous for its ideal of "Secondary Education for All." This would not mean that all children would get the same type of Secondary Education—the literary and bookish education of the old Secondary Grammar Schools—they would "with due regard to the wishes of their parents be given a Secondary education suited to their age, ability and aptitude." The framers of the Act distinguished three broad type of Secondary Education—Secondary Grammar (Education meant for the literary and abstract type of child); Secondary Technical (Education meant for those with a practical intelligence) and Secondary Modern Education, or "general education with a realistic bias" for the rest. These three types of Secondary education were to have parity of status as far as teachers, equipment and buildings go and could be given in separate schools, or in one Multilateral School with three "sides" to it. Secondary Grammar Schools would lead naturally to the Universities, and from there to the learned Pro-

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fessions and the Civil Services. The Secondary Technical Schools would lead to polytechnics, and other specialized higher technological institutions, and from them into the upper grades of Industry and Commerce. The Secondary Modern Schools will lead to those apprenticeships which are in England the normal mode of entry to the lower grades of trade, industry, and commerce.

Further Education will cover the period after leaving School and will cater mainly for those whose education ended at the age of 15, which means 75 per cent of the School-going population. It will consist of compulsory part-time continued education of a general and vocational nature till 18, followed by voluntary adult education. Both these divisions of Further Education will take the form of a wide and rich variety of opportunities for formal and informal education of all types; it will include not only cultural and vocational education to suit all tastes, temperaments, and talents, but physical education, education of citizenship, and education for leisure; and it will be given not only in "County Colleges," specially, planned to help the young workers to "learn while earning," and formal Adult Education centres but through Scouting and Guiding Associations, Juvenile Clubs, Games Associations, Women's Institutes, Village Institutes, in fact through every available channel, including the Press, Cinema, and Radio.

Such in outline was the comprehensive scheme designed by Britain's educational reformers to provide equality of educational opportunity for all the citizens of Britain, irrespective of their age, abilities, aptitudes, social status, or Bank balance. Once the scheme is in full operation, no child in England will be debarred from obtaining the finest and most complete education to which his talents and abilities entitle him. And with a fully educated people, England can well be optimistic of the future, for as the Chinese Proverb has it:

"If you wish to plan for one year, plant grain.
"If you wish to plan for ten years, plant trees.
"If you wish to plan for hundred years, plant men."

Britain has shown the way. When will India set about, in a way suited to her circumstances and national genius, be ready to tread the same path towards equality of educational opportunity for all in India?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tilak: "Maker of Modern India"

Theodore L. Shay writes in the *American Reporter*, July 18, 1956:

On July 23, 1856, one of India's greatest sons, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was born in the Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. This year his nation is celebrating the centenary of his birth. This celebration is a fitting homage to a man whose life, work and sacrifice were all dedicated to India and have become a part of the people's heritage. But it is not enough to merely revere the memory of this leader of the independence movement. It is not enough to think of him as only a historical figure. If Tilak deserves the accolade of greatness, then the lessons of his struggle should have continuing importance, his thought and teaching should have an applicability in the world of 1956 as well as 1896 or 1916. Put in another way, a great man leaves a legacy of wisdom and inspiration that transcends his purely historical importance. This is eminently true of Lokamanya Tilak, the only Lokamanya of India.

The legacy of the Lokamanya has been summed up in one word—Swaraj. His life was dedicated to this great goal. He endured hardships and privations far exceeding most of the leaders of India of his day, and he endured them willingly in the hope that they might advance the cause of India's freedom. He did not live to see the independence of India achieved. This became Gandhiji's privilege. But Tilak did demark the goal of India's struggle, and it was he who named it Swaraj.

In the early days of the conscious awakening of India's political life, it was Tilak who brought the awareness of the necessity and the promise of Swaraj to the people; it was Tilak who first devised the techniques of struggle, *i.e.*, boycott, swadeshi, national education, popular, united non-violent political action, that helped to bring about the realization of the goal; it was Tilak who remade the Indian National Congress into the vanguard of the movement for Swaraj; and it was Tilak who provided the broad outlines of the political philosophy of both the independence movement and potentially, the free nation which would be born with Swaraj.

Vision Made Reality

The Congress and the nation, under the leadership of Gandhiji, made his vision of Swaraj a reality. It is freely granted that Gandhiji resynthesized his techniques of struggle, broadened the scope of the nation's endeavour, and implanted his own character on the independence movement. But the foundation upon which he was able to build had been laid by Lokamanya Tilak. This is why Gandhiji recognized him as the "Maker of Modern India."

Tilak's legacy of Swaraj has at times been mistakenly interpreted as merely Indian nationalism, an Indian variation of the same nationalism that swept through Europe and Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is a mistaken interpretation, because Swaraj for India meant more than just the assertion of a nationalistic desire for self-determination. Swaraj rested upon the foundation of a political philosophy that was distinctly Indian in its inspiration. It was based on the philosophy of life of the Indian civilization, and Tilak was the bridge between that classical philosophy and the realities of the modern political scene.

Certainly, Tilak and his fellow Nationalists were not political philosophers in the academic sense. Yet, out of the realities of their political battles, they developed a body of thought to guide the movement which they led, and this was of sufficient importance that it must be called an Indian political philosophy. These men became convinced that self-rule for India was not just expediently desirable but rather that it had a moral justification in the value system of their own Indian civilization. They taught that Swaraj was necessary, not because nationalism was to be desired and imitated on the basis of the European example, but rather because Swaraj was an imperative, a moral imperative, of India's total philosophy of life. Upon this determination Tilak and the Nationalists developed the board outlines of an Indian political philosophy for free India.

Perhaps the first concern of any political philosophy is the consideration of the purpose of the state, the source and justification of its powers, and the relation of the individual and society to the state. These issues were comprehensively dealt with in the classical-political literature of India. The state exists "only to protect and promote the *Dharma*, justice and freedom, the ultimate moral or spiritual purposefulness of the universe.

Source Of Power

The source of authority or power is twofold: the ethical necessity of performing its function and the consent of people to the way in which this function is executed. But the power of the state was also limited by the co-existence and interdependence of the individual, the family, the group or village and the society, which were considered the primary unity of the political community. And it was further limited by and ultimately justified by the rule of *Dharma*, *Dharmarajya*. It was *Dharmarajya* that co-ordinated the whole of the political community into a co-operative commonwealth, and it was the rule of *Dharma* that could not be challenged or abridged by the state. In other words, the state existed as an agent of the people to assist them in fulfilling the moral purposefulness of life, and to provide the stability, peace and progress necessary to that fulfilment.

This is briefly the basis of the political philosophy which Tilak and his fellow Nationalists developed and endeavoured to apply in the twentieth century. Because, in Tilak's words, "it is for the *Dharma* and by the *Dharma* that we work." Swaraj became a moral imperative. Only the self-ruling political community could perform the functions that are morally necessary in terms of this philosophy. No alien state, no alien political philosophy, however beneficent, could ever protect and promote the *Dharma* of India.

This did not preclude India's learning from other

cultures. But it made inevitable Tilak's rejection of both Western-liberal and Marxian-Communist political philosophy for India. To Tilak's mind, India has a rich store-house of political wisdom in her own civilization. It was this wealth that India must rely upon, both for guidance in the independence struggle and for inspiration after Swaraj was achieved.

In the final result, there may be similarities and parallels between the Indian and the Western liberal philosophy of politics (the concept of the state existing under Natural Law and limited by the Natural Rights of its citizens, the cardinal principles of the American Declaration of Independence, is amazingly similar to the concept of *Dharma*), but India must follow her own way. Nor, Tilak would argue, is this purely selfish. A free India, developing along her own independent lines working for stability, peace and progress in her own way, would be a great positive force for good in the world. Though Tilak spent his life working for the first objective, Swaraj, he often reminded his people that "Swaraj is the foundation and not the heights of our future prosperity."

Tilak was a practical man and a political realist. He knew that Free India would be called upon to face many challenges, but he had faith that his country could meet and successfully overcome her difficulties. Like Gandhiji, he developed a constructive programme, advocated social and educational reform, and urged that an economic programme for raising the standard of living of the people was the first prerequisite. He differed with Gandhiji on the issue of modern technology and industrialization, but on virtually all other points there is common agreement as to the necessary objectives to be realized. He continually stressed the unity of India, and the need for united, co-operative effort on the part of all her people. This, he believed, was a part of the essential *Dharma* of India.

He was a tireless worker for the independence of his country, and, therefore, had little cause to devote his time to questions of foreign policy. He did believe, however, that India could "become a *guru* to the world," a source of strength, material and moral, an example of higher purposefulness in he world. Tilak always maintained the moral position as the position of strength. As he opposed imperialism from his basis, he would also oppose aggression and totalitarianism, whether Fascist or Communist, as basically immoral.

Perhaps Tilak's view of the role of Free India in the world can best be summed up by himself. In 1919, he wrote to President Woodrow Wilson and the other world leaders then assembled at Versailles: "From the point of view of the peace of Asia and the world, it is absolutely necessary that India be self-governed and made a bulwark of liberty in the East." It was thus that India would become that source of strength, material and moral, in which Tilak believed. This was a part of his vision of Free India, and this was a part of his legacy to his nation.

Greenery in Soviet Towns

By the end of the sixth five-year period not less than 30 per cent of Leningrad's area will be under greenery. A 60-kilometre wide belt of woods and parks is being created around the town, and inside the city are to be laid out 20 more gardens with decorative and fruit trees, some 60 public gardens, 23 boulevards and four parks. Over half of the green tracts will be in the new housing construction areas.

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In Tbilisi, fruit orchards are being planned on factory grounds. Workers employed in the factories and other people who are gardening devotees will help the regular gardeners care for the plantations during their leisure hours.

The buildings of the woollen mills in the city located on the Kura River are buried in dense greenery, the whole of the vacant grounds looking like a regular orchard. The mills also have their own conservatory, and flowers and decorative shrubs from it adorn the shops and workers' homes. In the orchard, apple, peach, pear and apricot trees are grown. Among other factories extending their orchards are the tea-packing factory, weaving mill and spinning and knitting mills.

In all, the area of Tbilisi's factory grounds on which fruit trees grow now reaches 3,000 hectares.

Baku, which lies in a semi-desert climatic zone, has become a garden-city in Soviet yards. Its greenery area exceeds 800 hectares.

This spring 300,000 trees and a million and a half flowers are to be planted in the city.

In Alma-Ata, capital of the Kazakh Republic, spring tree-planting, which has become a tradition, is coming to a close. More than 7,000 seedlings have been planted, among them lime, oak, elm and maple. A new green hedge of blossoming shrubbery, jasmine and lilac, ten kilometres long in all, has appeared on the principal streets.

Flower-beds will take up 40,000 square metres.

Spring planting of trees and shrubs is under way in Volzhsky, the young city of builders of the Stalingrad hydro-development. The city has grown markedly during the winter. At present young poplar, maple and acacia trees are being planted in its streets. Before summer comes, 60,000 trees and shrubs and a lot of flowers will have been planted in Volzhsky.—*News and Views from The Soviet Union.*

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Ethnography and the Cinema

Enrico Fulchignoni, Department of Mass Communication, writes in the *Unesco Courier*, May 1956:

The cinema has broadened man's horizon considerably. At a time when the era of territorial discovery was drawing to a close, the progress made in the cinema revolutionnized the very concept of 'space' and made it possible for the average man to acquaint himself with regions which were formerly inaccessible.

Exploration has never been regarded as a purely personal undertaking; the explorer has always been guided by the interests of a community. It was therefore very important that he should be able, on his return from an expedition, to communicate the results of his investigations. Yet a verbal or written account of his travels frequently proved to be inadequate; no form of words—except perhaps some stale, nackneyed fomula—existed for an explanation of the new facts discovered, the new sights seen. Only a picture could enable people to grasp things with which they were unfamiliar, and satisfy their increasing thirst for detail.

Thus the explorer did his best to bring back pictures. At first, these were original drawings, reproduced in the form of engravings or lithographs. Such drawings, which were sometimes of real artistic merit, steadily gained in scientific value owing to constant improvement in reproduction techniques. However, photography slowly but surely replaced this type of documentation. The last stage was the cinema, which has the double advantage of making observation more detailed and presenting the public with an eye witness account of the efforts and achievements of the traveller or explorer.

The Picture Replaces the Written Word

At the present time, travel films comprise, on the one hand, scientific production and, on the other, documentaries intended for the layman. This distinction, however, especially in the case of films made in the course of one expedition, is less sharp than might be imagined; it is the use to which the films are put, later on, that divides them into categories. Sometimes they are mere 'moving' snapshots', filmed as the occasion arises; at other times, the film is a serious contribution to the study of a given ethnographical problem. The producer may be a scientist who has gone into the field in search of new material, organ explorer of the classical type—although, as the unexplored areas of the globe become fewer and fewer, the exlporer tends more and more towards the scientific approach. The ethnographical film—by virtue of its realism, dynamism, continuity, ubiquity, diversity and selectiveness—contributes to the development of the human sciences and permits of enormous progress, inconceivable 50 years ago, in study and research. Yet such a film is no mere record, destined simply to perpetuate observations or authenticate discoveries; it has, in addition, considerable educational value.

The vast strides taken by the picture—and especially by the moving picture—have brought into being a directly visual type of culture. Although the man-in-the-street may not nowadays have read more than a dozen books between the time he left school and the time he reaches 40, he has certainly seen more than 300 films, even if he visits a cinema only once a month. And if he knows—as Epstein has remarked—anything about the existence of Father de Foucauld, the customs of the Eskimoes or the marriage ceremonies of nomadic Berber tribes, he has acquired this knowledge, not by reading abstract words arranged in accordance with logical syntax, but through the cinema, through a series of simply juxtaposed pictures which, while bringing his intuition into play, give him a more exact and synthetic image of reality.

After reading a book or listening to a lecture on Father de Foucauld, one remembers for a while a name, a date, an itinerary or a quotation; but a film on the same subject supplies an unforgettable picture of a hermit's dwelling lost in the wastes of sand, a gaunt, inspired face and a feverish, saintly expression. It would be easy to adduce further examples, showing to what extent, within the framework of the average man's general culture, the picture tends to replace the written or spoken word—thanks mainly to the cinema. In this context, the word 'culture' means, of course, not the erudition which small, specialized groups acquire as a result of long study, but the stock of heterogeneous knowledge which each mind assimilates almost unconsciously through the exercise of the simplest faculties, and which gives each epoch its special character.

An International Collection of Ethnographical Films

Unesco has not failed to take an interest in these matters. It is generally agreed that the film is a working document of great value to ethnographers and ethnologists. The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences accordingly set up an Ethnographical Film Committee, with the task of assembling the fullest possible documentation on films produced so far. The Committee began by examining French films: during the period 1952-54, 106 of these films were shown and analysed. The results of this inquiry are contained in the catalogue published in the series *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, Clearing House, Department of Mass Communication, Unesco. The verdict delivered on each film is based strictly on its ethnographical value, all other criteria being excluded. Films are regarded as being of ethnographical interest when they are made in a spirit of complete objectivity and constitute documents which could be used by experts in the same way as information collected in the field in the course of an investigation. Although most of the films catalogued were not made with any scientific aim in view, many of them, despite their fragmentary nature, are of clear documentary value. A second catalogue, to be published shortly, will include ethnographical films made by British, American, Swiss and other specialists.

Thus, aided by Unesco, the Committee is continuing its work of establishing an international catalogue intended to serve not only research and education, but also mass communication; for newsreels and television programmes devote an ever-increasing amount of attention to the customs, beliefs and daily lives of unknown or little-known peoples. At the beginning of cinema history, Lumiere, Gaumont and Pathe cameramen had already realized the interest of 'picture-hunting' in the most 'mysterious' parts of the globe; and exoticism in the cinema dates back to those pioneers. They, however, were more interested in what was picturesque and sensational than in strict scientific truth. Nowadays, the producers of ethnological films are not usually led astray by the more brilliant aspects of people and things, which they know to be frequently false; they therefore do all they can, by means of the picture, to turn curiosity into understanding and understanding into brotherhood.

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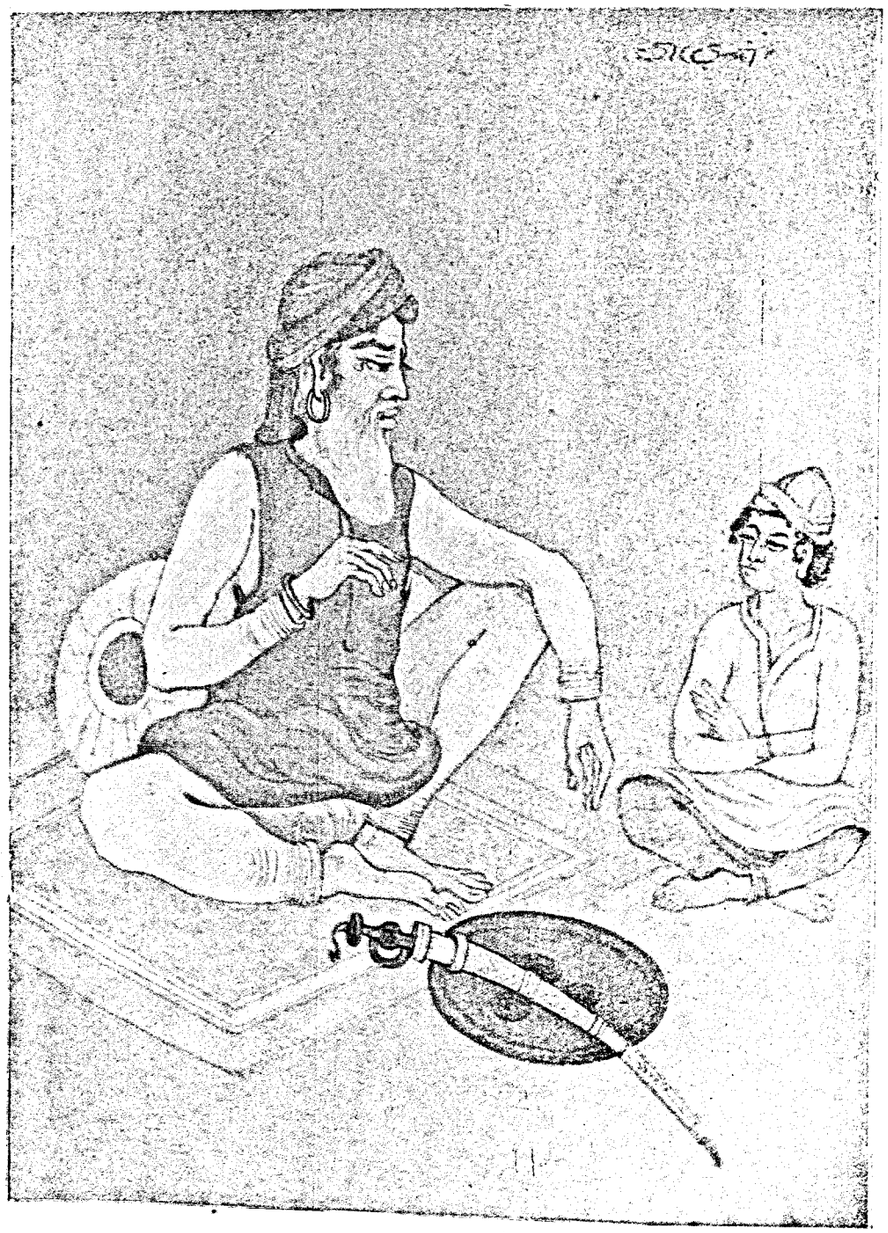
Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Born: July 23, 1856 Died: August 1, 1920



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THE LAST LESSON
By Bireshchandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1956

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NOTES

The Month in Review

At home and abroad the month of August last has been exceptionally full of disturbances. Here at home, we are back to the humdrum everyday problems, but abroad the signs of a lull is not yet seen.

The five statesmen, led by Mr. Menzies of Australia, who are out on a forlorn hope mission of negotiation with President Nasser of Egypt, cannot hope to arrive at a solution of the Suez *impasse*, in view of the diametrically opposed ideology of the two groups. The Western group and their satellites are pressing for an "international" control of the Suez Canal, in order that the world has an unbroken right of the way through the Canal, come war come peace. Much has been made of the Egyptian embargo on Israeli ships and chartered bottoms with cargoes meant for Israel. But not a word has been said regarding the British record, during the Turco-Italian War over Tripoli, and during the two World Wars. We are unable to make any fine distinction between that chapter of British Imperialism and what is now proposed by Mr. Dulles, unless it is in the U.S. participation in that colonial procedure.

The British have reverted to the time-dishonoured practice, so well-known to us, of repression in preference to conciliation, in Cyprus. The results would be the same as it always has been in all history. Further the landing of French troops in Cyprus, in preparation for the Suez debacle, has given a particularly vicious mediaeval tone to the entire situation.

In Central Europe, there is a mild outbreak of "cold-war" as between the Soviets and the West German Government at Bonn. It started with the indictment of the Communist Party of West Germany as being an illegal body. Since then the Soviet Ambassador to Bonn, V. A. Zorin, has been recalled, and the relations between the two countries have deteriorated very considerably.

Between the last-ditch stand of the old colonial powers, and the reversion to the Communist witch-hunt in West Germany, by the enforcement of the legal issues in a five-year old case, the balance between war and peace was rendered somewhat precarious in the past month.

At home the phase of rabid parochialism has, perhaps, come to an end after the quietening of the masses in Ahmedabad. The most curious fact that has emanated during the investigation of the causative factors in the outbreaks of violence in Ahmedabad, is the complicity of the rich land-speculators of the city, who had banked on the possibility of a steep rise in land values, if Ahmedabad became the capital of Guzerat. It should be an eye-opener to those who prate about the "Will of the people" and "Student movement," in and out of season, on the slightest provocation. Ahmedabad has shown how shallow and thoughtless mob-psychology can drive both Labour and Student bodies to a frenzy, when skilfully guided for ulterior motives, by brainy scoundrels.

Luckily the situation has remained normal in other parts of India affected by boundary re-adjustments.

Price Increases and Government Policy

There has been countrywide anxiety over the steep rise in the prices of essential goods during the past few months. The increase covered both industrial and agricultural growths. While a part of the rise in the prices of agricultural commodities might be looked upon as corrective to the steep fall in 1954-55 it did not explain the abnormal rise. The anxiety was reflected in questions in the Parliament. In reply to a question in Rajya Sabha, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture admitted that the rise was in part due to the effects of deficit financing. Among other reasons the Minister listed short production of *kharif* coarse grains this year leading to greater pressure on wheat and rice; the speculative activities of hoarders and the failure of rice crop in East Pakistan and consequent pressure on supplies in the border States of Assam, West Bengal and Tripura.

But from a careful reading of the Minister's statement it would reveal that the most important factor of price increase was deficit financing. Otherwise how could the rise in prices in the South, where production of rice had risen by ten lakh tons, be explained? The Minister's statement, as reported by *PTI* runs thus: "Mr. Jain said that during the second half of 1955 the prices of foodgrains began to rise and it was rather sharp towards the end of the year. This rise in prices persisted in the South even after the paddy harvest in January-February, 1956, although the production of rice this year had been one million tons more than that of last year."

Shri Jain added that Government had already adopted certain measures to check the rising tendency of foodgrain prices. Those measures included: (*a*) Total ban on export of rice and other foodgrains; (*b*) Stoppage of purchases of foodgrains by the Government in internal markets; (*c*) Issue of rice and wheat through fair price shops set up by the State Governments; (*d*) Issue of wheat freely from central stocks in important centres; and (*e*) Restrictions on advances by scheduled banks against stocks of rice and paddy.

Three days later the Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Shri Arun Chandra Guha, gave the Lok Sabha almost the same reasons for the rise in prices with the difference that he clearly tried to minimise the effects of deficit financing in this regard.

The tendency of official pronouncements to lay stress only on the aspect of price increases of agricultural commodities to the exclusion of manufactured goods and the difference of emphasis on the relative importance of the vigorous factors for such increase in prices disclosed a lack of proper appreciation of the problem and a lot of confused thinking. The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial article on the subject criticizes the lack of a positive price policy on the part of Government. Anti-social activities on the part of traders were to a great extent responsible for the rise in prices. Government had threatened action against those who would indulge in malpractices. "But," the *Chronicle* points out, "repeated warnings of other kinds in the past and periodical action have not been able to bring down prices to a level which is desirable or to obviate the risks of renewed upward trends in the future."

Referring to the official policies the newspaper writes:

"Ministers have been known to speak in different voices about the gravity of the price position and about the causes which have contributed to its creation. The need for a rise is sometimes justified and at other times questioned implicitly or explicitly. It may be argued that the maintenance of fair level of prices and their stabilisation are largely a psychological matter in a free economy. But even from this point of view, periodical official utterances are not calculated to inspire confidence. It is time the Government made up its mind to have a positive price policy to avoid any more complications during the crucial Second Plan period."

Increase in Cloth Duty

There goes the saying in Bengali that he who goes to Lanka (Ceylon) turns to be Ravana. This has made no exception even in the case of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari who has recently been elevated to the Finance portfolio of the Union Government. Hitherto Mr. Krishnamachari was the champion of the mill industries, so it came as a great surprise that immediately on his assumption of the new portfolio, he is following the footsteps of his predecessor. A Bill has been passed by the Lok Sabha authorising the

imposition of an excise duty of 6 as. per square yard on fine and superfine cloth and 4 as. per square yard on coarse and medium cloth. The increase in cloth duty has come into effect from September 1, and it will bring an additional revenue of Rs. 17.5 crores during the current financial year.

Mr. Krishnamachari justified the increase on the dual ground that it would check any more rise in prices of cotton cloth and that it would mop up excess profits when all available financial resources have to be mobilized for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. It is just incomprehensible to us how these two objectives could be achieved by raising the cloth duty. The statement of the objects and reasons of the Bill does not claim that the measure is intended to or can control prices. The measure is reminiscent of the Quixotic adventure in trying to give relief to a boy who was being whipped by his master and the result was that following Don's intervention, the boy was administered double the stripes which he would have originally received had not Don intervened. Similar will be the result with the increase in the cloth duty. Not to speak of lowering the prices, a boy of five can realise that the increase in the duty will forthwith raise the prices of cotton textiles and actually that has been the case. We wonder whether the new Finance Minister has been bereft of the normal senses which even a boy of five does possess. Further, how the higher duty on cloth will curtail the rate of excess of profits? This is plain commonsense, which seems to be an uncommon thing to the Finance Minister, that such a measure of taxation is an indirect levy on consumption and the incidence will be shifted to the consumers. The result will be that the cloth prices will inevitably go up and the dealers will continue to earn a higher rate of profits over cloth deals. The price of cotton textiles will go up as a result of the rise in duty, not in the same proportion of the increase in duty, but at a much higher rate.

In other words, the measure is intended to secure to the dealers windfall profits at the cost of the consumers, though the Minister pretends that the effect would be otherwise. The measure is well timed, just on the eve of the Pujas when the cotton textiles will have large demands. Ever since the budget of the current year, the last budget of Mr. Deshmukh, the prices are progressively on the increase. The budgetary measures have cast a spell of economic disaster with an allround rise in price level. The main cause of Mr. Deshmukh's resignation is his last budget which is the epitome of blunders in economic thinking. Mr. Krishnamachari seems to have learnt nothing from the example of his predecessor and he indulges in the same unrealistic attitude.

Mr. Krishnamachari is reported to have said that the former Finance Minister had observed while enhancing the excise duty on cloth in his budget proposals that the steadily expanding demand for mill cloth had resulted in substantial reduction in cloth stocks in the mills and with dealers. The former Finance Minister also referred to the rise in the prices of agricultural commodities. These trends have continued during the post-budget period and prices have risen even beyond the limits justified by the increase in the duty. Mr. Krishnamachari explains that in the Second Plan encouragement to the handloom sector in the interests of larger rural employment has resulted in the adoption of some restrictive policy in regard to any increase in production in the mill sector. This is another factor which has resulted in the demand for mill cloth running ahead of its supply.

It is a great folly of the authorities to restrict the production of mill-made cloth by direct and indirect deterrents. Had the Finance Minister thought about the good of the people, certainly he could not have imposed such a discriminatory duty whose effect will be adverse on the consumers. It is just as clear as daylight that in the face of ever-increasing deficit financing, increased supply of consumer goods is an inevitable necessity. The authorities are just following a reverse course, the result being higher cost of production following higher cost of living.

Vaulting ambition overleaps itself and the power-drunk mind brings its own downfall by resorting to arbitrary measures. The rising cost of living will be the main plank of opposition parties against the Congress Party in the next general election. Such measures of economic disasters will act as hidden rocks on which many a ship of the Congress Party will founder during the election. Instead of raising the cloth duty, the dealers and producers should have been subjected to a higher direct taxation.

Indian Economic Policies

The World Bank Mission that recently visited India has submitted a report to the Government of India on the economic programmes and policies under the Second Five-Year Plan. The Mission has many good things to say on the Government policies. The Mission entertains substantial doubts about some parts of the Government's programme relating to cottage and small-scale industries. It fully endorses the Government's effort to raise the efficiency and standards of these industries and also appreciates the practical necessity of providing moderate subsidies to enable these industries to compete with factory enterprise, at least until modern industrialisation has made greater advances in India. At the same time, however, the Mission thinks that the difficulties inherent in an effective expansion of small enterprise are considerably underestimated, that the impact of the programme will be slow in manifesting itself and that, therefore, the contribution to national income expected from small-scale and village industries under the Plan is probably substantially overestimated. The Mission questions the wisdom of insisting on so-called common production programmes whereby the required increase in output of more or less essential consumer goods is allocated between the factory and non-factory sector, thus involving excessive reliance on the unproved ability of the non-factory industries to meet the necesary demand.

The Mission has rightly criticised the Government of India's textile policy. It has serious misgivings about the recently announced compromise for meeting the expected increased demand for cotton textiles. It believes that this compromise will prove largely unworkable and in its judgment, the compromise greatly underestimates the practical difficulties of installing and getting into operation the requisite number of Ambar Charkhas and powerlooms on a decentralised basis. It doubts the feasibility of making the installation of automatic looms in the mill sector conditional on the allocation of the output of these looms to exports and of making the failure to meet this condition subject to a penalty, the nature of which appears to be unspecified. The Mission is inclined to doubt that the mills will have adequate incentive to instal the additional spindles necessary to supply a much greater quantity of yarn to the handloom sector, in view of the uncertainty that the handloom sector will really be capable of producing the increased production expected of it; the fact that the existing quota for spindles has apparently not been taken up in full appears to bear out its misgivings.

The Government is prepared to review this programme if experience indicates that the hand-spinning and decentralised weaving sector does not live up to expectations, but the Mission fears that the necessary remedial action might well come too late in view of the time required to procure and instal mill machinery and to reach a concensus that the programme has really been a failure. The Mission, therefore believes that the current programme will either jeopardise the supply of an essential consumer item at reasonable prices on the domestic market or bringing about a serious curtailment of exports at a time when prospective export earnings appear already far short of what is required. It remains unconvinced that sufficient attention is really being given in the Plan to the promotion of exports. Quite apart from the harm which may be done to exports by restrictions on the output of cotton textiles, more could and should be done actively to assist exports in other fields.

The Mission gathers the impression, for instance, that tea exports are being adversely affected by inadequate facilities for transport to Calcutta, by shortage of coal on the tea estates, by constant pressure for higher wages, bonuses and improved social amenities and, on some of the more progressive estates, by the restrictions on replanting. These are small matters which can in varying degrees be influenced by the Government and the Mission feels that the Government has not always used its influence in the way best calculated to foster the competitive power of this vital export industry. The Mission urges too that greater emphasis be placed on the production of other cash crops for export, particularly, vegetable oils and cotton. In this connection the Mission suggests that the policy of imposing restrictions on exports of commodities such as groundnut oil, in order to conserve supplies for domestic consumption, is generally a misguided one, and that it will usually be in the best interest of economy to allow producers to export whatever they can.

The Mission believes that the Second Five-Year Plan is somewhat too ambitious. The Plan seems too large in relation both to the administrative and technical resources and to the financial resources likely to be available on even the most sanguine assumptions. Having, however, now committed itself to the Plan and targets in it, the Government must henceforth concentrate on widening the administrative, technical and financial bottlenecks, on the one hand, and prepare itself to make such timely adjustments in the programme as circumstances may require.

The Bank Mission appreciates the emphasis laid on flexibility in the Plan and on the need for year-by-year programming within the broad framework of the Plan in the light of changing circumstances. It stresses that in advance planning, a distinction would obviously have to be made between the adjustments required by a shortfall in foreign exchange resources and those made necessary by a failure to mobilise sufficient domestic resources. The need for flexibility in planning is all the greater in an economy which is still largely agricultural, and where marked fluctuations in the agricultural output, owing to variation in the incidence and distribution of rainfall, are bound to recur. Past experience and particularly experience in the last year, has demonstrated that even small changes in the harvest produce disproportionately large changes in the availability of food to the market sector of the economy and correspondingly large fluctuations in food prices and in imports. In this connection the Mission suggests that it would be appropriate for the Government to consider raising the target of foodgrain buffer stocks which are necessary to keep the price of food more stable in the interest of avoiding urban unrest.

The Mission is deeply concerned about the transport situation. It is impressed again by the inability of the railways to cope with the existing traffic, and by the congestion in the ports, which was itself partly due to inadequate rail facilities. While the Second Five-Year Plan contemplates a substantial increase in railway investment, and port congestion is being relieved to some extent by expansion of physical facilities and the introduction of incentive schemes for stevedoring labour, the Mission is by no means fully assured of the adequacy of the measures. It urges that the Government should review its whole transport policy and programme with a view to maximizing transport by all available means—by rail, roads, coastal shipping and inland waterways. The Mission considers it important that both the level and structure of railway rates be revised promptly so as to provide more incentive for the utilisation of other means of transport. It is inclined to discount the objection that an upward revision of rates would impose an excessive burden on the economy, because there is no justification for maintaining rates at economically unrealistic levels, particularly if these result in a transport bottleneck which would make it impossible to achieve the production targets of the Plan. Nor is the Mission impressed by the fact that, on the present system of accounting, the railways are already earning a substantial profit; it is clear that, the Mission says, the provision made for depreciation in the past has been quite inadequate to meet replacement needs in full and the railways ought to be financing a much larger proportion of their current development programme out of their own resources. As additional measures to overcome transport difficulties, the Mission suggests that the Government consider: (a) more energetic measures to remove State and inter-State restrictions on road transport; and to reduce tax rates bearing on road transport; (b) greater emphasis on the use of special wagons for the movement of coal and ore and on the establishment of fully mechanised loading and unloading facilities, in order to reduce the time during which such capital-incentive facilities as railway wagons and ships are kept immobilised; (c) the possibility of changes in the present system of allocating coal wagons to the collieries on a day-a-day basis; (d) examination of the feasibility of a fully mechanised coal and ore port on the West bank of the lower Hooghly, in order to relieve congestion in Calcutta and as a possible alternative to the plan for the expansion of ore exports through Visakhapatnam; and (e) lifting; at least for a time, the prohibition on the chartering of coastal vessels so as to increase the carrying capacity of the coastal fleet.

In this connection we regret that the Government policy over the extension of port facility is unfortunate in so far as it has failed to develop a second port in the Calcutta area to relieve the congestion in the Calcutta port. Geonkhalli, lying at the confluence of the Ganges and the Rupnarayan, will be a suitable port for the

export of iron ores and other minerals. The Government of India's indifference in developing a second port in the lower reaches of the Ganges in the vicinity of Calcutta still remains inexplicable. Calcutta is still the biggest port in India and the hinterland facilities available here should be encouraged and utilised by establishing a second port. Instead, the Government of India are rushing to develop another port in Cochin the economic prospects of which are still unknown. A mechanical port will be best suited and utilised in Geonkhalli and for the administration of that port, the experience of the Calcutta port authorities will be available. With the mechanical loading and unloading of ships, a much more swifter turn-round of vessels will be possible. Further, Geonkhalli is situated at a much nearer distance to the iron-ore belts; and it has the advantage of level terrain area. It could be developed into a coal bunkering station and this will be a welcome proposal to the shippers. The new railway track that is required to be laid down will not exceed 25 miles. During the Second Five-Year Plan cargoes destined for Calcutta from its hinterland will rise considerably and for that purpose Geonkhalli should be given the top priority for opening up port facilities. Geonkhalli offers the facility of being turned into a two-way port.

In the financial sphere, the Mission urges (a) considerable caution in resorting to deficit financing, (b) a greater emphasis on raising more revenues through the adoption of more realistic pricing policies for the services and benefits rendered by Government to the people, and (c) care in raising the additional taxation required to avoid such increases as might seriously impair the incentives of, and the resources available to, private business. While it recognises that a certain measure of deficit financing may well be necessary to make money supply fully responsive to the needs of an expanding economy, the measure of such financing proposed in the Plan will produce an expansion of money supply considerably exceeding the requirements of the economy. Quite apart from the possibility of raising more tax revenue, the Mission believes that there is still considerable scope for increasing Government income by raising railway rate, charges for power and water and, in some cases, port charges. In view of the great need to capture a considerable portion of the rise in national income for reinvestment, it is necessary to make certain Government enterprises, particularly those in the field of power, irrigation and transport, earn larger surpluses. In raising more taxes, the Mission thinks it important that the Government avoid an all-out effort to increase direct taxation just for the purpose of achieving public investment targets, if this can be accomplished only at the risk of substantially impairing the resources and incentives of the private sector; for the latter is still expected to contribute the lion's share of the anticipated rise in national income.

Banking Statistics

The Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India, 1955, a publication just issued by the Reserve Bank of India, contains a wealth of statistical data pertaining to individual banks and the banking system as a whole based on their balance sheets. The report on the "Trend and Progress of Banking in India in 1955," which was published early in June by the Reserve Bank contained a review of banking mainly based on the various statements submitted by the banks under the Banking Companies Act. Thus the two publications together will provide a full picture of the progress of banking during 1955.

This publication on statistical tables contains comprehensive data on the working of Indian and foreign banks operating in the Indian Union as well as the more important items of the balance sheet in respect of each individual bank. Besides, information in regard to the addresses of agents or correspondents abroad of Indian scheduled banks including those in London is also given. The rising level of economic activity in the country was fully reflected in the growth of bank deposits, on the one hand, and of advances and investments, on the other. Over the year, the total deposits of joint stock banks increased by Rs. 92 crores. The rise was largely accounted for by the scheduled banks (Rs. 87 crores), deposits of non-scheduled banks having risen by only Rs. 5 crores. The total deposits of Indian scheduled banks both within and outside the Indian Union rose by Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 887 crores. The expansion in deposits in 1955, though similar in magnitude to that in 1954, differed markedly in certain directions. In 1954, current deposits had shown a larger rise of Rs. 38 crores than fixed deposits (Rs. 34 crores), whereas in the year under review, the expansion of fixed deposits by Rs. 53 crores was substantially higher than in current deposits (Rs. 22 crores). Deposits of co-operative banks having paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over maintained the uptrend and rose by Rs. 16 crores, the rise being significantly greater than that in the deposits of non-scheduled banks.

Over the year, bank credit rose nearly as much as the rise in deposit resources (Rs. 92 crores). The investment portfolio of the joint stock banks was strengthened by Rs. 42 crores, of which more than Rs. 39 crores represented investment in Government securities. The additional gilt-edged investment was entirely accounted for by the Indian scheduled banks. During the year, the number of offices of joint stock banks in India recorded a significant increase of 63 as compared with that of 21 in 1954, despite a reduction of 24 in the number of banks. The number of offices of scheduled banks expanded by as many as 93 while those of non-scheduled banks declined by 30. The number of banks as well as the number of offices of co-operative banks rose during the year, continuing the trend of expansion in co-operative banking. There was one office for every 11,121 of the population served by banks and on an average, there was one banking office for about 70,000 of the total population. As usual, abut 54 per cent of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000 whereas in the case of non-scheduled banks, the corresponding proportion was hardly 33 per cent.

Offices of Indian joint stock banks outside the Indian Union numbered 106. As compared to 1954 there was a reduction of 1 despite an increase of 2 in the number of offices of the scheduled banks. Deposits and credit (including money at call and short notice and bills purchased and discounted) extended by the Indian banks outside the Indian Union declined by Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 8 crores each as compared with rise of about Rs. 1 crore each in 1954.

The current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks increased by Rs. 4.2 crores over 1954 while their current operating expenses increased by Rs. 3.9 crores with the result that their net profits before taxes (after taking into account recoveries and depreciation in assets) increased by about Rs. 33 lakhs. The rise of Rs. 58 lakhs in net profits of exchange banks was contributed by a rise in earnings of Rs. 1.9 crores offset partly by a rise of Rs. 1.4 crores in current operating expenses. The ratio of current operating expenses to current operating earnings of Indian scheduled banks stood higher at around 82 per cent. For exchange banks, this ratio was somewhat steady at 77 per cent.

Life Insurance Corporation

The Life Insurance Corporation of India comes into being on September 1. Its headquarters will be in Bombay. It will have five regional head offices in Calcutta, Kanpur, Delhi, Madras and Bombay; thirty-three divisional offices and about one hundred and eighty branch offices.

Life Insurance thus becomes a State-undertaking. But the inauguration of the new Corporation has not been hailed with the same enthusiasm as was the case at the time of the promulgation of the ordinance eight months ago.

Apart from questions of general policy, grave misgivings have been expressed about the employment policy of the Corporation and several speakers in the Parliament have successfully asked for a full discussion on the matter. Work in all the offices have deteriorated as a result of the great feeling of uncertainty among the employees about their future status and pays. Then there are the large number of *pro rata* field workers whose case is yet to get a just consideration from the Corporation. Unless the Corporation can find out a solution satisfactory to its employees the prospects of nationalized life insurance are bleak indeed.

London Discussions on Suez

An international conference was held in London between August 16 and August 23 to consider the issues arising out of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt. The conference was proposed on August 2 by the U.S.A., U.K. and France jointly after five days' consultations. Of the 24 countries invited to attend the London conference, two—Egypt and Greece—did not participate in it. The countries which took part in the conference were: France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain,

Turkey, Britain, USSR, Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Ethiopia, Western Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Sweden and the USA.

India's acceptance of the invitation to join the conference was announced by Shri Nehru on August 8 after clarifications had been obtained from the British Government that participation in the London conference would not injure the interests or the sovereign rights of Egypt. Pandit Nehru said that Egypt could not or would not take part in such a conference and added that the Government of India was well aware that the conference could not reach any final decision "for that requires the agreement of Egypt." He criticized the list of invitees prepared by Britain, USA and France and referred in particular to the omission of Burma and Yugoslavia.

Pandit Nehru declared that India could not join any conference which bound its participants beforehand. Neither could she be a party to any arrangements for war preparations. India had agreed to join the conference only after she had received satisfactory clarifications from Britain, Shri Nehru said.

The Egyptian rejection of the invitation to attend the London conference was announced by President Nasser at a Press Conference in Cairo on August 12. He said: "The Egyptian Government cannot consider the proposed London conference, with all the attendant circumstances, as an international conference competent to take decisions".

At the same time, however, President Nasser indicated Egypt's willingness to reach a peaceful settlement as he said that Egypt was prepared with all the signatories of the 1888 Constantinople Convention (*i.e.*, Britain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia and Turkey) to sponsor any international conference to which other Governments whose ships used the Canal would be invited.

The London conference began on August 16 as scheduled. The day was marked by widespread strike in the Arab countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Egyptians stood five minutes in silence at noon—the time the conference met—as a further protest.

On the opening day Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State, presented the conference with the American plan. Mr. Dulles laid down that the recognition of four principles were essential for an equitable solution. Those principles were: "First, the Canal should be operated efficiently as a free, secure, international waterway in accordance with the principles of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888;

"Second, the operation should be divorced from the influence of national politics, from whatever source derived;

"Third, there should be recognition and satisfaction of all legitimate rights and interests of Egypt in the Canal and its operation, including an equitable and fair return;

"Fourth, provision should be made for the payment of fair compensation to the Universal Suez Canal Company."

Accordingly Mr. Dulles put forward the following four-point plan for the consideration of the conference:

First, the operation of the Suez Canal would be entrusted to an international board to be established by treaty and associated with the United Nations. Egypt would also have her representative in such a board which would be free from domination by any one single power.

Secondly, "Egypt would, by appropriate arrangement, have the right to an equitable return which will take into account all legitimate Egyptians' rights and sovereignty."

Thirdly, the nationalized Suez Canal Company would be paid "fair compensation."

Finally, "differences on the last two points, that is, the right of Egypt to an equitable return, and fair compensation to the company, would be settled by an arbitral commission to be named by the International Court of Justice."

Such a plan did not infringe upon Egyptian sovereignty which "is, and always has been, qualified by the treaty of 1888 which makes of the Canal an international—not an Egyptian —waterway," Mr. Dulles added.

The four-point plan presented by Mr. Dulles was the slightly amended version of the statement of general aims agreed upon by the three sponsoring powers earlier and circulated to the nations invited to participate in the conference.

The Soviet Foreign Minister opposed the Dulles plan because it "unfortunately, takes into account neither the real situation nor the legitimate national requirements of Egypt."

Mr. Dmitri Shepilov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, said that the establishment of an international authority would contradict the provisions of UN Charter and of international law as it would amount to interference in domestic affairs and "would actually mean the restoration of the former Suez Canal Company, but under a new signboard and with the participation of some other States."

He particularly warned against the dangers of the use of force for any solution of the Suez problem and said that armed conflict, once started, could not possibly be restricted to the Middle East. Such a situation could not be desirable to anyone and the Soviet Union therefore stressed upon the need for a peaceful solution.

Mr. Shepilov said: "There are two aspects of the Suez Canal question: that of nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and that of the free navigation of the Canal." Egypt's competence to nationalize the Company was beyond question. Only the second aspect—free navigation was a matter for international concern. With this end in view M. Shepilov suggested the conclusion of a new agreement "taking into account new circumstances in line with the spirit of the times" in place of the existing Convention of 1888 or of an agreement supplementary to the Convention of 1888

The Soviet plan, as detailed by the Foreign Minister, contained the following points: There should be no resort to arms. Egypt's inalienable rights to the Suez Canal should be recognized as well as "the importance in international commerce and for world communications of the Canal, used by many States interested in the maintenance of free navigation in it." The Canal should always be free and open to the vessels of all countries on equal terms. Egypt would ensure such freedom of navigation by all means. Tariffs and charges would be fixed by discussion between Egypt and the interested countries. The parties should undertake to guarantee the inviolability of the Canal under all circumstances and not to make it a theatre of war, not to subject it to any kind of blocade. The form of international co-operation to achieve these aims could be arrived at after discussions with Egypt. For such discussions the Soviet Government endorsed the Egyptian proposal of August 12 for a broader 46-nation conference, and suggested that USA, UK, USSR, India, Egypt and France might act as convenors for that conference.

The British Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, opposed the Soviet proposal for a wider conference. He urged for the formulation of a declaration of principles resulting from the discussions and expressed the hope that unanimity might be reached. Accordingly a draft declaration was formulated by the Western Powers and circulated among the delegates.

On August 20 Shri Krishna Menon, leader of the Indian Delegation, opposed the Western Plan and presented instead a five-point proposal which received the support of Egypt and the USSR. The Indian Plan said:

"(1) That the Constantinople Convention of 1888 governing the operation of the Suez Canal be reviewed to reaffirm its principles and to make such revisions as are necessary today and, more particularly, incorporating provisions in regard to just and equitable tolls and charges and the maintenance of the Canal.

"The Canal should be maintained on the basis of tolls and charges being just and equitable, and facilities of the Canal being available to all nations without discrimination. The Canal should be maintained at all times in a proper condition and in accordance with modern technical requirements relating to navigation.

"(2) That all steps, not excluding a conference of the representatives of the signatories of the 1888 Convention and all user nations of the Canal, for the purpose mentioned in proposal one, be considered.

"(3) That consideration be given, without prejudice to Egyptian ownership and operation, to association between international interests using the Canal and 'the Egyptian Corporation for the Suez Canal.'

"(4) That a consultative body of user interests be formed on the basis of geographical representation and interests charged with advisory, consultative and liaison functions.

"(5) That the Government of Egypt transmit to the U.N. the annual report of the Egyptian Corporation for the Suez Canal."

The plan was formulated on the basis of "(1) recognition of the sovereign rights of Egypt; (2) recognition of the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt and as a waterway of international importance; (3) free and uninterrupted navigation for all nations in accordance with the Convention of Constantinople of 1888; (4) the tolls and charges being just and equitable and the facilities of the Canal being available to all nations without discrimination; (5) the Canal being maintained at all times in proper condition and in accordance with modern technical requirements relating to navigation; (6) the interests of the users of the Canal receiving due recognition."

The Indian plan was, however, opposed by the Western Powers. As a last concession to Asian feelings they accepted a minor Pakistani amendment which sought to ensure that the status of "Suez Canal Board" mentioned in the Dulles plan would be defined in the Convention which the tripartite (USA-UK-France) proposals hoped to establish.

On August 22, Krishna Menon made a last-minute appeal to the conference not to endorse the American-sponsored proposals as they would bar the door to negotiations with Egypt. At his suggestion the conference adjourned for a day to enable delegates to receive instructions from their respective governments as to the manner in which the conclusions of the conference would be put to Egypt.

New Zealand, with the support of Western powers, introduced a resolution that a number of delegates should be chosen from the supporters of the Dulles plan "to approach Egypt to place the United States statement before it" and to find out whether Egypt would agree to negotiate a Convention on that basis.

Shri Krishna Menon, supported by Indonesia, Ceylon and Russian delegates, opposed the New Zealand proposal. He asked how the U.S. plan which represented a part of the views in the conference, could be presented to Egypt as the decisions of the conference.

New Zealand subsequently withdrew the controversial resolution and instead made a statement on behalf of the Western powers that they had requested Australia, Iran, Ethiopia, Sweden and the USA to negotiate with Egypt under the chairmanship of the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies.

A French proposal requesting the chairman of the conference, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to communicate to Egypt a document comprising the entire proceedings of the conference was also adopted without much discussion. Thus ended the conference on August 23.

The British Attitude

The following editorial, which appeared in a May issue of the *New York Times* throw a lot of light on the why and wherefore of the "Die-hard, last-ditch" attitude of the present British ministry.

This was written before the Suez Canal *impasse*, and before the messing up of the E.O.K.A. offer in Cyprus. But taken as an indication of the predisposition factors, it serves very well to show why and wherefore.

In passing it should be remarked that "relinquished" is a queer word to use in connection with the ending of British Imperialism in the East. The record of black-treachery in the acquisition and the long-drawn struggle for independence against organised force that continued over five decades, can hardly be described by that graceful term:

"In a mood in which the pride of Victorian days is giving way to a justifiable sense of achievement in another direction, the British people prepare to celebrate on Thursday this week a traditional holiday—Empire Day.

"This holiday used to be a day to pay homage to what, in the age of universally pursued power politics, was a most amazing but also most enlightened consummation of valor and statesmanship—The British Empire. For almost a century it was the guardian of world peace, if not always of local peace. But beginning with the First World War and at a vastly accelerated pace since the Second World War, the British Empire has transformed itself in the spirit of the new age into what is now predominantly a Commonwealth of free nations over which the sun still never sets and which forms an inspiring contrast to the Communist slave empire in which, as has been said, the sun never rises.

"The extent of this transformation is evidenced by the fact that since the Second World War Britain has relinquished colonial control over Asian and African regions totaling 2,813,000 square miles and possessing a combined population of 472,000,000.

"Excepting Egypt and the Sudan, which were never real colonies, only Burma has severed its ties with Britain completely. The rest, including in particular India, Pakistan and Ceylon, have remained within the Commonwealth and empire, which now embraces not only people of all races, colors and creeds but also virtually all forms of government, from the monarchical to the republican, and from the strictly colonial to various transitional orders on the way toward self-government. That process is still under way in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, and in the Caribbean, where new nations or new federations and associations are emerging. This is an accomplishment which justifies a new pride that may be symbolized by changing the name of Empire Day into Commonwealth Day.

"But the transformation of the empire into a loose association of free nations has also precipitated new problems which are emphasized by trouble in various key spots that guard the communication lines of the Commonwealth, which would be in danger of falling apart without them.

"These key spots are Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Aden and Singapore, to which some would add Hong Kong. Gibraltar is under pressure from Spain for its return, Malta is attaining a new status and Hong Kong is quiescent for the present. But Cyprus and Singapore, and now Aden, have generated powerful movements for self-determination, independence or change of sovereignty which have reached a particularly dangerous form in Cyprus but may also engulf Singapore.

"Foreign Secretary Lloyd has just declared that Britain is determined to retain these 'positions of strength' at any cost because of their vital strategic importance, and nobody could expect or wish Britain to give them up in the present-day world in which their surrender would precipitate a major world-political upheaval. But this still leaves room for an adjustment between British strategic interests and the desire for self-government voiced by the people in these strongholds in line with the freedoms granted by Britain to other former parts of the empire. The British public and press are growing increasingly aware of the need for such an adjustment and there is every reason to expect that the British Government will in due time act accordingly."

Russo-Japanese Peace

Technically Japan and Russia are still at war. Very recently the negotiations for a formal declaration of peace has been started. The most important item in it happens to be the demarcation of territorial boundaries, on which depends the vital fishery industry of Japan.

The following news report was released on the eve of the Suez talks in London:

Tokyo, August 12.—"Russia has given Japan until tomorrow to accept her terms for a peace treaty—which include a definition of territorial boundaries with which Japan has refused to agree—or else suspend the current peace talks.

"A Japanese emergency Cabinet meeting decided here tonight however that it could not accept the Soviet proposals with regard to the territorial and boundary clauses. But rather than reject a treaty outright it would advise Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, at present in Moscow, to suspend the Japanese-Soviet peace treaty negotiations pending the return of Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov from the London international talks on Suez.

"At yesterday's session of the Moscow talks Mr. Shigemitsu was reluctant to agree to Russia's proposal for the territorial boundaries. Mr. Shigemitsu was said by Japanese sources to have given up his claims for the return of the islands of Kunashiri and Iturup but to have felt acceptance of the boundaries proposed by Russia would imply that the claims could never be raised again.

"The boundary line the Russians want incorporated in the peace treaty—the two nations are still technically at war—would be the strait between Kunashiri and Japan's northern island of Hokkaido and not Sukes between Iturup and the island of Shikotan which, according to the sources, Russia will agree to return together with the Hasomai Island group.

"Under the peace treaty Japan would obtain confirmation of important fishing concessions for Japanese salmon trawlers as well as the release of Japanese war criminals still in the Soviet Union."

"N. Y. Times" and Apartheid

The *New York Times* views the latest developments in South Africa with "malancholy and foreboding," as is set forth in the editorial quoted below. These comments have a special significance when they are compared with the comments that appear on Communist actions. For example, in the same issue of August 27, there is an editorial on China and Burma:

"It is difficult for the foreign observer to view current events in South Africa with anything but a sense of melancholy and foreboding for the future. The Government of South Africa, supported by only part of the white population there and by only a small minority of the total population of the country, is now engaged in a massive effort to impose segregation upon that country's people. In Johannesburg alone over 100,000 Negroes, Indians and other non-whites have been ordered to leave their homes within the next year or two, resettle in other areas and make way for whites to live and work where these people live now. Among those affected are persons who have lived in these areas for many years, as well as owners of shops and other business who must expect substantial losses when they try to sell their property within the time limit inexorably set before them.

That such a racist policy should be carried out in the year 1956 is a terrible anachronism of the most obvious sort. No world problem today exceeds in importance that of establishing a *modus vivendi* of mutual respect and mutual consideration among the peoples of the world, of all colors, religions and races. The old colonial empires which held so many non-whites in thrall for centuries have dissolved before our eyes this past decade, and the newly freed colored peoples are daily assuming a more important and more responsible world role. Against this massive trend, which must rejoice every believer in the dignity and equality of man, the South African effort to impose a new variety of white supremacy and a new era of segregation appears like an effort to turn back the clock of history, an effort which must surely fail.

As the full implications of this segregation policy becomes clearer more and more South African voices, white and non-white alike, are being heard in protest. This at least is a good sign. For the basic problem in South Africa, as in many other world areas—our own included—is for people of different backgrounds to learn to live with each other in peace and in harmony, rather than in conditions of hatred and discrimination. The policy of enforced segregation in South Africa is not only political and economic madness, but may well be the sowing of a future whirlwind whose consequences tomorrow may be dire indeed."

Red China and Burma

Late last month came reports about some acute boundary disputes between China and Burma. The *New York Times* of August 27th carried the following editorial on that occurrence:

"Because of geographical factors reports of the latest Red Chinese incursions in northern Burma take on more significance than those that have gone before. The threat is more clearly pointed up and the Red Chinese action is apparently more reckless.

"The first 'occupation,' by a small force, was in a completely 'tribal' area in which there was at least some question of what national boundary existed and where it was. That is wild country, of course, and movement of any sort might be dictated by local conditions without much thought of consequences.

"This more recently reported incursion and blockhouse building is of a different sort. It is presumably taking place in an area where there is no boundary question. It is an area of relatively good communication—although the relative factor should be emphasized—and it lies close to other main channels of communication. This Myitkina area was considered to be really 'strategic' by our own forces in the Burma campaign. The jump to the old 'Burma Road' into—and out of—China is a short one.

"Burma's anxiety about this situation will naturally be heightened by the developments affecting another neighbor on her eastern border, Laos. This least populous of the states that were formerly Indo-China has been under heavy Communist pressure, especially since the Geneva conference of two years ago. Two northern areas were left in Communist control, and 'coalition' was advocated.

"Now Laos has apparently felt Red Chinese pressure to the extent that a state visit to Peiping has been regarded as necessary. Out of that visit has come the declaration of the full 'neutrality' of Laos and the commitment against the existence of any 'foreign bases' on the soil of the country. This means, of course, any bases of the free world and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Red China has had and has kept its base through the Pathet Lao from the beginning.

"Burma will obviously recognize the pattern of pressure all along those northern borders both on herself and on her neighbors. Burma has had to fight the Communists at home. Burma, like Laos, is not yet free from continuous pressure from abroad. For this reason 'border incidents' must be taken seriously and the most recently reported incursion held to be genuinely alarming."

U.S. Government and the Press

On August 6, the Chinese Communist Government invited twenty-two American newspaper and radio correspondents to visit China. The United States Department of State immediately announced (on Aug. 7) that it would not allow any American newspapermen to visit Communist China, first, because the U. S. Government could not extend the protection traditionally given to holders of United States passports into China with which the U.S.A. had no diplomatic relations; and secondly, because trips to Communist China could not be approved while American citizens remained imprisoned there.

Several Ameriran newspaper and radio correspondents had at first decided with the tacit support of their employers to disregard the State Department ban and were prepared to go to Communist China even at the risk of punishment on return. However, the employers retracted their previous approval when it was made known later on that the State Department ban had the complete backing of President Eisenhower.

Frank H. Bartholomew, president of the *United Press* of America, said in San Francisco that although he believed that American public should be given access to the reports of American newsmen in China he had ordered its correspondent not to make the trip.

The *New York Herald Tribune* said that it would respect the State Department's view although it did not accept the policy.

In an editorial article entitled "Reporting Red China" the *New York Times*, International Edition, questions the wisdom of the State Department on restrictions on the gathering of news and President Eisenhower's action in upholding those restrictions. The newspaper writes: "The people of this country (USA) are entitled to as much truth about the world as they can get. It is the business of newspapers, news agencies and broadcasters to bring it to them. There is a serious constitutional question involved as to whether the State Department has the right to deny the public the right to read about certain subjects and to listen to discussions about them. The whole truth may sometimes be strong meat but it is not for the Government to decide how much of the whole truth we are to have."

About the prospects of getting objective and truthful information within Communist China, Greg MacGregor, Hong Kong correspondent of the *New York Times*, quotes French and British newspapermen, who had been in China during the last eighteen months, as saying that the Chinese Government had all but removed restrictions that usually hampered the press in totalitarian countries. According to those correspondents some of whom had been both to China and the Soviet Union, Mr. MacGregor writes, "China was a newsman's utopia compared with the Soviet Union."

Soviet-Chinese Co-operation

China and the USSR recently concluded an agreement for the joint development of the electric power and navigation potential of the basins of the Amur, Agun and Ussuri rivers which formed the river boundary between the two countries, writes Harry Schwartz in the *New York Times*. The plan agreed upon by the two countries envisaged the establishment of hydro-electric plants which would have an ultimate capacity of 13 million kilowatts with an annual production of 70,000 million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy. China's prospective share of this planned power production would exceed her total electricity production in 1955 which had been 12,100 million kilowatt-hours.

The increased supply of electric power would help the development of industries on both sides of the border and would augment the power supplies of such Chinese cities as Peking, Ashan, Munden and Harbin. On the Soviet side Chita and Amur provinces, Birobidzhan, and part of the Khabarovsk Territory would benefit from the power supplies. Power for the

scheduled electrification of the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Irkutsk to Vladivostok would also be taken from this project.

Mr. Schwartz points out that the difficulties of navigation in the Amur River lay in its relative shallowness and in the fact that the Amur Estuary, where the Amur joined the Pacific Ocean, remained frozen much of the year. A new outlet channel was proposed to be constructed under the Sino-Soviet agreement.

According to Mr. Schwartz three possible channels for the Amur River were under consideration, two of them passing through Soviet territory and one through Chinese territory. "The shorter Soviet channel would reach the sea at De-Kastri south of the present Amur Estuary. A longer outlet would make use of the Ussuri River and reach the Pacific near Vladivostok."

"The Chinese alternative would traverse all of Manchuria by way of the Sungari and Liao Rivers and terminate in the Gulf of Liaotung of the Yellow."

West Germany Outlaws Communism

The Communist Party of West Germany was declared unconstitutional on August 17 by the Federal Constitutional Court at Bonn. The ruling was made by the court in response to a charge filed by the West German Government in November, 1951, that the Communist Party was committed to the overthrow of the constitutional Government of the country and that it stood for the establishment of a "Socialistic-Communistic" Society through a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat. In a 420-page opinion, read by Dr. Joseph Wintrich, President of the Court, the Court accepted the Government's thesis and declared the Communist Party and its front organisations unconstitutional. The ruling ordered for the confiscation of all the assets of the party and its front organisations and prohibited the party from trying to emerge in other forms or guises. Violation of the court's ruling would be punishable by a minimum of six months of imprisonment.

The decision of the court would not apply to West Berlin, which was under four-power (UK, USA, France and USSR) jurisdiction.

There was extensive police guard in the court and in the houses of the judges, reports M. S. Handler, *New York Times'* correspondent in Bonn. "Alerted early in the morning (on August 7) in anticipation of the court's decision," Mr. Handler writes, "the State police occupied the party's headquarters in Duesseldorf. The party's central newspaper, *Freies Volk*, published in Duesseldorf, also was closed but only after the staff had succeeded in getting out the day's issue."

Nothing incriminating was found among the materials seized by the police in the countrywide raids. "Party records, membership lists and confidential documents had long since been moved to undisclosed destinations, presumably in East Germany. Several truckloads of material were intercepted at Helmstedt on the border of East Germany but the contents have not yet been examined." Likewise, in anticipation of the decision, every bank account of the party was emptied and moved to safety.

Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, Federal Minister of the Interior, placed Communist Party membership in West Germany at 70,000. Unofficially the membership was considered to lie somewhere between 60,000 and 90,000.

The suppression of the Communist Party was "greeted with disparagement and skepticism by the West Germany's independent newspapers," says Mr. Handler.

The line of reasoning of those newspapers was that while the court's ruling might be technically correct it had been a political error on the part of the Adenaur Government to have pressed the suit it had originally filed in November, 1951.

The independent editors generally echoed the sentiments expressed by Wilhelm Mellies, Deputy Chairman of the Opposition Social Democratic Party, who said that the court's ruling would only drive the Communists underground and place the halo of martyrdom on their heads.

The adverse stand taken by the independent newspapers on the issue of outlawing the Communist Party came as another shock to the already declining prestige of the Adenaur Government, Mr. Handler writes.

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* says that the ban on the Communist Party in West Germany "can mean only one thing—in West Germany the way is being prepared for war." It describes the court's decision as "ominous and sinister" and subjects the West German Government and its "overseas patrons" to scathing criticism. The West German Socialist Party has also been taken to task by the *Pravda* for the former's failure to understand the "full gravity of the situation" and to defend the "vital rights of workers."

Politics in East Pakistan

The political scene in East Pakistan is still as unstable and troublous as ever. Lately there has been an attempt at making another ministry, from the ranks of the so-called Opposition. It is only to be seen as to how long the new ministry can stand up under duress.

The first move in the break-up of the A. H. Sarkar ministry was as given in the following report:

Dacca, August 13.—"The East Pakistan Assembly was today prorogued by the Governor, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, on the advice of the Chief Minister Mr. A. H. Sarkar, under Section 83 of the Constitution which empowers him to summon, prorogue or dissolve the provincial Assembly.

"The prorogation order, which specfies that the House was to be prorogued without transacting any business fixed for the day, was read out in the House by the Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, ten minutes after the House assembled at 4 p.m. today.

"The order, which was published as a notification in an Extraordinary issue of the Dacca Gazette earlier in the day, said that the prorogation had been done 'on the basis of facts and a close consideration of the serious situation which has arisen and has been brought to my notice, and which are all of such essential importance and urgency that I cannot postpone taking action, and on the advice of the Chief Minister, I hereby prorogue the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly.'

"Though today's session of the Assembly lasted only 10 minutes, it furnished clear proof of the numerical support of the Opposition groups as, a rough count made by members of the Press gallery before the session started showed that about 190 members were present. The entire Treasury bloc was empty.

"This estimate was later confirmed when some 200 signatures were appended by Opposition supporters to a no-confidence motion against the Sarkar Cabinet moved during an unofficial meeting of the Opposition groups held in the Council Chamber after the Speaker had retired.

"In the 10 minutes that the Assembly session lasted, confusion prevailed supreme as Opposition members endeavoured to get the Speaker to admit a motion of no-confidence against the Sarkar Cabinet. For a while, both the Speaker and Sheikh Majibur Rahman of the Awami League endeavoured to have their say, with the latter eventually succeeding in reading out a no-confidence motion tabled by him earlier. Immediately, the whole House with the exception of a handful of members, not exceeding 10 at the outside, stood with hands upraised signifying their assent to the motion being admitted.

"An unexpected incident, however, prevented Mr. Rahman from taking advantage of this solid support. It was a clash between a young Awami Leaguer and an Independent member, Mr. Golam Sarwar, whom many will, perhaps, recall for his Noakhali fame. Mr. Sarwar, whose affiiliations are with the ruling party, was trying to speak but was prevented from doing so by Mr. Toha Khan, the Awami Leaguer. When tugs at his sleeve failed, Mr. Toha fisted Mr. Sarwar repeatedly and, joined by others pushed him out of the House.

"The incident, which gave the Speaker the opportunity to read the Governor's order, caused much indignation amongst some of the members, particularly the Muslim League bloc which supported the Opposition. It very nearly caused a break in the Opposition, but tactful handling by Awami League leaders and an apology by Mr. Toha saved the day.

"As stated earlier, the Opposition groups, after they had left, held an unofficial meeting in the Council Chamber with Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan in the chair. In addition to the no-confidence motion and the collection of signatures, the meeting also passed two resolutions, one describing the prorogation as 'mala fide, illegal, void and unconstitutional' and as 'a flagrant abuse of power by a Ministry that has lost the confidence of the House.' It called upon the Governor to dismiss the present Ministry headed by Mr. Sarkar."

Women Workers in USA

There were now twenty-one million women workers in the USA constituting more than a third of all the gainfully employed workers in the country. This marked a 50 per cent increase over the number 15 years ago.

American women were marrying and having babies at an earlier age than before. But this fact did not lead to any decrease in the number of working women. Indeed, working wives now outnumbered unmarried women on the job by two to one. About 30 per cent of married women now held jobs compared with 15 per cent in 1940 and only 4 per cent before the turn of the century.

Formerly women entered a job mostly to supplement the inadequate family income. When the need for money receded into the background women left no time to leave the job. Although financial considerations counted in part even now most women were in job out to satisfy their intellectuality.

Most working women in earlier days lived singly; as a result they, perhaps, naturally tended to spend a good part of their earnings on personal adornment. The result had been a boom in such industries as fashions, clothing and beauty shops. The outlook of modern working women, who were mostly married, had greatly changed. They now wanted to do more than keeping themselves well-groomed. The thought of the well-being of the family was now uppermost in her mind.

The progress of the working women in the United States is thus seen as a progress towards a fuller and more sober life, with repercussions of great sociological impact. In India also working women, though not to be numerically compared with those in USA, have come to form an integral part of our social life. The sociological repercussions are yet to be fully grasped. Some of the problems, *e.g.*, difficulty of getting proper accommodation for those living singly in cities, care of the children of those who are married, etc.,—have already become apparent. Provisions should be made to meet these difficulties—which, however, cannot be done without a healthy and understanding attitude to the question of employment of women in all branches of our social life.

India-trained American Artists

An exhibition of thirty young American artists would be opened in New York on September 25, the *USIS* reports. The artists whose works were going to be shown had had their training in India, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Egypt, and the United Kingdom under the U.S. Fullbright Student Exchange Programme. The exhibition, sponsored jointly by the Institute of International Education and the management of the Duveen-Graham Galliers, would be held at the Galleries.

The Fullbright Act had been passed ten years ago to promote educational and cultural exchange between the USA and other countries. Since then a total of about 5,500 American students had got opportunity to study abroad under the programme. Of those 230 studied painting. The Fullbright Programme was now in operation between the United States and 25 other countries.

Indian Publicity Abroad

The utter inadequacy of Indian publicity in Great Britain has been commented upon by "Srikrishna" in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle*, August 18. Even nine years after independence one of the Ministries of the Government of India could not produce a cheaply priced factual book about India so that persons having genuine eagerness to know India had to resort to such slanderous anti-Indian titles as Beverly Nichols' *Verdict on India*.

In this context the writer has made some very hard remarks about the workings of the Indian High Commission in London. The High Commission had 1250 employees on its pay-roll but its accounts were "not very clear to a layman."

"Unlike the accounts of other diplomatic Mission," Srikrishna writes, "no details are given and they are classified as 'charges in England." The Budget Estimates for 1956-57 for these charges in England are placed at Rs. 54 33,000 including Rs. 48,63,000 in respect of General Public Accounts and Education Department, Rs. 3,62,000 in respect of publicity, Rs. 42,000 for India's embassy in Dublin and Rs. 100 000 for Foreign Service Probationers."

The failure of Indian publicity to make any dent on British public opinion was therefore rather very strange, the writer notes.

In Indian publicity pamphlets, the High Commissioner was accorded undue prominence which was not shared by persons of equivalent position in the employment of other Governments in the publications of those countries.

Much of the activity in the Indian High Commission office related to making and serving tea.

"The issue, however, is," writes the correspondent, "whether India is getting even a fraction of the value of her money spent on its High Commission in London."

Indian Customs Administration

In his above-mentioned article in the *Bombay Chronicle* "Srikrishna" has got to say some unpalatable truths about the Indian Customs Administration. He writes:

"Twenty-three years ago, on re-entering India I was asked by a Customs officer at Bombay whether I had anything to declare and on my saying 'No' I was allowed to enter my country without any further enquiry.

"Independence has brought with it the right to search country's own nationals.

"I had a typewriter. The Customs officer wanted to know whether I would be able to prove to his satisfaction that I had taken the typewriter with me from India. This was too much even for me. I thereupon offered to show him my passport to prove that I had gone abroad singly and had taken £300 of which I had brought back £100. My age was 62 and I was black, stunted and ugly. In other words, I lacked everything which would have earned money for me. Even then, the Customs officer wrote on my papers that I had a typewriter thereby inviting the Delhi authorities to seek satisfaction from me.

"And yet, I have known persons bringing thousands worth of dutiable goods through Customs into India. This rather convinced me that in one's own country honesty was the worst policy."

While the London airport officials were satisfied with a certificate of inoculation against small-pox when the writer had landed there, on his return to India he was subjected to fumigation at the Bombay airport, although he was coming back from Switzerland which was proverbially clean. His experience with several rare varieties of cacti which he had brought from London under a certificate granted by the British Ministry of Health was equally pathetic. The plants were also held up for fumigation.

Naga Hills Situation

The following, very terse, report was released at the end of August. The situation is still very far from clear and it does not add to our reputation in any way. A fresh assessment seems to be indicated from various independent reports that have appeared in the Bengali periodical press, some from reputedly knowledgable sources. The complications arising out of the Assam government's malaprop handling seem to be endless.

Imphal, August 20.—"The latest situation arising out of the hostile Naga activities and their infiltration into the borders of the Manipur State, adjoining the disturbed Naga Hills, was assessed at a high-level conference here on August 18 and 19.

"Those who attended the conference were Lt-General Thimayya, G.O.C., Eastern Command, Maj-Gen Kochar, G.O.C., Assam and N.E.F.A., Brig. Harbhajan Singh, Inspector-General, Assam Rifles, Col. Yusuf Ali, Deputy Adviser to the Governor of Assam, Mr. P. C. Mathew, Chief Commissioner of Manipur and other high civil and military officials.

"Gen. Thimayya and his party left Imphal this morning by an I.A.F. Dakota.

"The situation in the Naga Hills, according to an Army spokesman, was reported to be improving, and to restore law and order in the interior, troops were reinforced.

"The spokesman said that on August 15 Naga hostiles fired a few rounds near Kohima, but soon the Army patrol retaliated and killed six hostiles. A court had been set up to inquire into the shooting of Dr. Harallu, a loyal Naga pensioner at Kohima, and if any Army personnel was found guilty he would be dealt with under the Army procedure.

"Referring to the dislocation of traffic on the Dimapur-Imphal Road he said a heavy landslide occurred at a place 33 miles from Dimapur, but soon Army engineers took over and about 500 men of the Sappers and Miners went into action. He hoped that immediately

after restoration of vehicular traffic arrangements would be made to ply a daily convoy of 30 to 40 civilian vehicles towards Manipur under Army escorts."

Atom-Power in India

The following news is worthy of record as it marks the very first step in this direction in India:

Bombay, August 4.—"India's first atomic reactor in Trombay, 12 miles from here, went into operation this afternoon, releasing atomic energy through a self-sustaining chain reaction. It is also the first atomic reactor to go into action in Asia.

"The reactor became 'critical'—or operative in the layman's language—at 3-45 p.m. today after the country's top atomic scientists had spent several sleepless nights, feeding enriched uranium fuel and awaiting in dramatic circumstances the historic moment of India's entry into a new era of peaceful use of atomic power.

"Breaking the news at a crowded Press conference here tonight, Dr. Bhabha said the reactor had been built entirely by Indian scientists and engineers within the short space of one year. Britain, who had undertaken construction of a reactor of the same 'swimming pool' type at the same time as India, had not yet completed hers, he added.

"Dr. Bhabha expressed the hope that India would have atomic power generators of her own within ten years, available to scientists of countries 'in this region and beyond.'

"This reactor is the first of a chain designed to train personnel for the bigger and more complicated reactors to come. It will also be used for experiments and production of radioactive isotopes for research in agriculture, industry and medicine."

Governments and Universities

Recently there was a discussion in the Madras Legislative Assembly over a difference between the Government and the University on the introduction of Tamil as medium of instruction in colleges. The University of Madras had also disregarded a Government request to defer the introduction of the pre-University course by one year to 1957.

Replying to the insistence of some members for action against the University on account of its "defiant and unwholesome attitude" to the Government the Minister for Education Shri C. Subramaniam said that the University was an autonomous body and it would not be proper for the legislature to interfere with its autonomy in every case of conflict with the Government. The present occasion did not call for any action by the Legislature.

Explaining further the Government stand the Education Minister (who also held the Finance portfolio and was the pro-Chancellor of the University) said that while the Government would certainly invoke the help of the Legislature if the policies of the University conflicted with the fundamental objectives of the Government, it would be injurious to interfere with the autonomy of the University in its day-to-day administration, curricula, examinations, etc.

The Minister opposed the view expressed by Shri Krishna Aiyar, who said that the University authorities were "ordinarily reactionary and were cut off from the spirit of life" while the legislature, being representative of the people, was in a better position to judge their need. Rejecting this stand the Education Minister pointed to the fact that even in Universities there were elections to the Senate and the Syndicate. Moreover, many members of the University were posted with up-to-date trends in national life and social movement and it would not be proper to call the University "conservative or even reactionary."

In reply to another point raised by Shri Balakrishnan whether it would not be better to leave matters educational to experts, the Minister said that it was not feasible to devise any watertight compartment between the experts and the Legislature. "Even though we are guided by experts," he said, "the responsibility cannot be thrown entirely on them. We also should decide finally what is good for the country."

The Minister said in reply to a question by Shri Narayana Kurup that Government was looking into the question of evolving suitable technical and scientific terms in the regional languages and they were preparing the technical terms.

The above has been culled from a report appearing in the *Hindu*, August 12.

Youthful Indiscretions

Writing under the caption "Disgraceful" the *Freelance* has editorially commented upon the increasing lawlessness among the youths, and the students in particular. Display of exuberance by the students on particular occasions had in the past caused embarrassment but rarely did their conduct cross the limit of youthful enthusiasm and assume the character of *goondaism*, pure and simple.

Some recent incidents involving the student community, however, were so shocking that one was inclined to question whether there was any real difference between their conduct and unmixed *goondaism*, the newspaper notes. Here it cites the instance of the beating of a railway ticket collector by a batch of students for the former's "guilt" of demanding lawful fare from a student. But the incident in which a number of students beat up a poor tea-stall-keeper for charging the students for the food they had taken from his shop far surpassed anything heard as yet.

Relating the incident as reported in the press, the *Freelance* writes:

"About a thousand students bound for Gauhati in connexion with the celebration of Independence Day halted at Pandu *en route* and went to a tea-shop to refresh themselves. After serving tea when the shop-owner, apparently unaware of the noble mission on which these young soldiers were going, asked for the price, he was rebuked. Thus the quarrel started and when it ended, says the report, it was found that four shops in the neighbourhood were looted, three shops were completely gutted, the military R.T.O. office nearby was damaged and some military and police personnel were injured. Of course, 449 students were arrested. That was what it should be. But the number of arrests is not the moot point here. What is of significance in this series of deplorable incidents is that all these were acts otf students. What worse things could a batch of *goondas* do, when placed in that situation?"

We fully endorse the comments of the *Freelance*.

Student indiscipline is part of a bigger malady afflicting the country. The recognition of this fact, while indispensable for any lasting solution of the problem, can hardly be made a justification for such disgraceful conduct. Everyone of us, who has the well-being of the country, in his mind, cannot but be shocked at such an irresponsible conduct. Among other agencies, the student organisations have the primary responsibility for the prevention of the recurrence of such uncivilized conduct on the part of their members. Even from a narrower point of view nothing is gained by such hooliganism and it only engenders bitter feelings among different sections of the people. It is time for the saner elements among the student community to exert their leadership.

Bihar and West Bengal

The following report, taken from the *Statesman*, marks the end of a vexed question, at least for the time being, so far as the Parliaments are concerned.

We refrain from commenting:

"New Delhi, August 28.—The Rajya Sabha today passed, with two dissenting votes, the Bill seeking to transfer about 3,000 sq. miles of border territory from Bihar to West Bengal.

"Parliament thus gave its final sanction to the last of the Government's proposals to redraw State boundaries exactly 32 months, as Mr. B. N. Datar obligingly informed historians, after the States Reorganization Commission was appointed (on December 29, 1953).

"Together with the States Reorganization Bill, the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Bill now awaits only the President's assent to become law.

"On behalf of Bihar, Mr. B. K. P. Sinha (C) made the gesture of advising the population of the transferred areas to have no fear in transferring their allegiance to West Bengal in view of Bengal's long tradition of tolerance and culture.

"He was joined by an unusually temperate leader of the Communist group, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, in drawing attention to the fact that violence had not marred the controversy between the two States.

"Mr. Gupta, however, could not refrain from returning to the charge that the controversy had been aroused by Congress leaders whereas the people had always been friendly.

"While the leader of the Praja Socialist group, Mr. B. C. Ghose, reiterated his view that a large measure of discontent would remain, he hoped that changes would be achieved in a democratic manner, without creating bitterness.

"A slightly discordant note was struck by Mr. Shah Umair (C) who insisted that injury had been done to Bihar, but magnanimously offered to 'forget ond forgive.'

"The only members to vote against the Bill were Mr. R. P. Sinha (P.S.P.), who described the debate as a victory for Bihar in view of the fact that some members not directly connected with the dispute had supported her, and Mr. T. Bodra (Jharkand) who opposed the further splitting up of tribal lands."

Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee

In the death of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee on August 7 West Bengal not only lost a good Governor but a great deal more. Above all, she lost one of her best sons. Born in 1877 Dr. Mookerjee led a life which was marked by a rare combination of great scholarship, sincerity, simplicity, selflessness and magnanimity towards all. He had had honours and riches in profusion. But a great man in the truest Indian tradition as he was, he never allowed those things to stand between him and the people. His concern for his fellow countrymen found expression in his gift of more than fourteen lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University. While he was a Governor he never took more than five hundred rupees for himself. The remainder (five thousand rupees) he regularly contributed to a fund for higher education in nursing.

Dr. Mookerjee's scholarship was well known. He was the first to receive the Ph.D. degree in English from the University of Calcutta. His books on the temperance movement and on the Congress movement were also quite well known. Many of the Indian and Pakistani leaders were his pupils. Under his guidance the Christians in India were able to take a national outlook in the British days. His political views found recognition in his election as Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly of India which had framed the present Constitution of India.

Dr. Mookerjee was one of our foremost contributors. More, he was one of our best friends and counsellors. His death has, therefore, meant a great personal loss to us. May his soul rest in peace.

Acharya Jogesh Chandra Ray

Death occurred at Bankura on August 30 of Dr. Jogesh Chandra Ray, another great son of Bengal. He was 97 at the time of his death. Acharya Jogesh Chandra Ray spent the best part of his life at Cuttack where he had been Professor of Physics. He edited the *Siddhanta Darpan* and was instrumental in bringing out the remarkable achievements of the great astronomer Chandrasekhara Singh Samanta of Khanderpur. His contributions to Almanac Reform Movement was also considerable. Some of his works in astronomy were still awaiting publication. He was also elected member of the Astronomical Society of London.

His contribution to the Bengali literature and language over a period of sixty years is yet to be fully assessed. In recognition of his great contribution to the Bengali literature, in April of this year the Calcutta University conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature on him at a special Convocation held at his villa at Bankura. This was the first occasion when Calcutta University held a Convocation outside Calcutta.

His great contribution to the development of education in Orissa also found recognition when in 1910 the Pandit Sabha of Puri awarded the title of Vidyanidhi to him. In December, 1955, the Utkal University also honoured itself by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature.

Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi gave of his vast store of erudition to the last. His clear thinking and meticulous reasoning was faultless to the end.

Dr. Ray is survived by two sons and a daughter.

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

RELIGION affects the thought and action of a large section of mankind. The influence of religion on man's economic and social life, specially in India, cannot be ignored. By prohibiting certain activities and restricting others, the injunctions of religion not only regulate man's philosophy of life but also formulate the nature of his economic activities and ideals, *e.g.*, Buddhism, with its doctrine of Ahimsa, has made its followers in India, China, Japan, Ceylon, Burma and Indo-China averse to stock-raising for 'meat and wool.' The Eastern regions of the Mediterranean, which are favourable for wine, have not developed any wine industry, because the population is predominantly Muslim to whom wine is prohibited by religion. There is much demand, however, for coffee in place of alcohol in these countries. Among the Muslims banking institutions have not developed because the Prophet prohibited acceptance of interest from borrowers. They eat beef but not pork and hence pig-rearing is quite uncommon among them. The Hindu society is divided into different castes to each of which a certain occupation and certain duties are prescribed by religion. Technological advance in agriculture is hindered by caste restrictions on types of labour, by dietary taboos—for Hindus do not generally eat fish, eggs or meat,—by the ritual value of dung, and by veneration of the cow. According to Hinduism, the cow is a sacred animal and hence, even though it is a source of animal protein it cannot be killed when old or crippled. But Christianity admits of no such restrictions. To the liberality of its principles, the progress of Europe and America can be partly traced. The increasing domination of the Christian people over the earth, the gradual acceptance in all countries of their civilisation and the progress of modern education and culture are all weakening the influence of religion on the economic activities of man. But in a country like ours, religion still remains a vital factor in economic organisation.

In India, there is an over-emphasis on the religious affiliation of an individual. This loyalty to one's religion has coloured the entire political, economic, social and moral life in India. The fact that all the known religions of man have followers in India has been for years a source of disunity and disharmony in India. The presence of different religious groups has created a minority problem and has led to the political partition of the country on the basis of 'religious self-determination.' However, the partition has not solved the Muslim minority problem nor has it created a homogeneous population from the point of view of religion. While Pakistan was created on the basis of Muslim solidarity it has not solved the Muslim minority problem in India, for there are still 35 million Muslims in India, just as there are a few Hindus still living in Pakistan.

Apart from its political importance a demographer is interested in the religious composition of a population, for the religious factor is closely related to other population phenomena such as birth-rate, death-rate, marital status, occupation and migration. Different religious groups may have different birth-rates and hence one group may be growing at a rapid pace and another finding it unable to hold its own. Difference in religion may mean in some countries difference in language and even in nationalities, though this is not so in India. Educational level, economic security and occupational distribution may be explained to a limited extent on the basis of religious differences.

The followng table gives the absolute number of persons belonging to various religions[1]:

1. *Census of India*—Paper No. 2 (1953), Religion, pp. 1-2. (Figures up to 1941 are related to undivided India and for 1951 to Indian Union).

Religions	1881	1891	1901	1911 (In Lakhs)	1921	1931	1941	1951
Hindus	1878	2075	2071	2175	1834	2036	2389	3032
Sikhs	18	19	21	30	32	43	41	62
Jains	12	14	13	12	11	12	14	16
Buddhists	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	2
Zoroastrians	.8	.8	.9	1	1	1	1	1
Muslims	499	570	624	666	687	776	396	354
Christians	17	21	29	38	39	51	58	82
Jews	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tribal	64	91	85	102	71	64	248	17
Others (Non-tribal)	8	1	1	1	—	—	—	1
Total	2501	2795	2838	2928	2173	2414	3148	3567

Religious Groupings of Population in India
Proportion 10,000 of population in

Religion	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Hindus	7432	7232	7037	6939	6856	6824	7589	8499
Muslims	1974	1996	2122	2126	2174	2216	1258	993
Christians	73	79	99	124	150	179	184	230
Sikhs	73	67	75	96	103	124	130	174
Jains	48	49	45	40	37	36	45	45
Buddhists	135	248	322	342	366	365	3	6
Parsis	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Jews	.5	.6	.6	.7	.6	1	—	—
Primitive	259	323	292	328	309	236	788	47
Others	2	2	4	1	1	16	—	3

In all previous Censuses a record was made of the "Race, Tribe or Caste" of every person interrogated, and the number of individual castes and tribes were tabulated separately. In 1951 census, however, in conformity with the Governments' policy of discouraging community distinctions based on caste, such information was collected only from certain special groups of persons referred to in the Constitution as "Scheduled Castes," "Scheduled Tribes" and "Anglo-Indians."

A study of the latest census returns reveals that roughly out of every hundred persons in India, 66 were Hindus; 24 Muslims; 2½ Buddhists; 2½ Animists; 1 Sikh; 1 Christian, and of the remaining three, one may be a Parsi, the other a Buddhist and the third is probably a Jain. After the partition, the religious composition of Indian population has substantially changed. According to 1951 census, Hindus form 85 per cent of the total popolation; Muslims 9.9; Christians 2.3; Sikhs 1.7; Jains 0.45; Buddhists 0.06; Parsis 0.03 and Tribals 0.47. The following table shows religious groupings of population in India since 1881[2] (See above):

Hindus

Hindus form about 90 per cent of the population of India. By far this is the largest group found in India. Hinduism holds the third place among the world's great religions, being exceeded in numbers only by Christians and Confucians. All-India Hindu Mahasabha defines 'Hindu' as any person professing to be a Hindu or following any religion of Indian origin and includes *Sanatanists, Arya Samajists, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists, Brahmos,* etc. The Census of 1931 has classified Hindus into only three divisions: *Brahmanic, Arya and Brahmo.* In 1931, an 'Others' category was added to the classification of Hindus. It included a large number of Tribals. According to this Census report:

"The term *'Brahmanic'* has been used for those Hindus who were not returned as belonging to either

2. *Census of India,* 1921, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 110; *Ibid* for 1931, p. 387; and *Ibid* for 1953.

the Arya Samaj or the Brahmo Samaj or to certain other reforming or segregative bodies, which have been shown together in 'Other Hindus.' These bodies consist of Deo-Samajists, Adi-Hindus, Adi-Dravidas, Adi-Karnatiaks and such sects as returned themselves by these terms in place of the term Hindu."[3]

Thus the word 'Hindu' is a very broad term. Hinduism possesses three important characteristics: first, a doctrine of radical immanence which finds God in everything; second, a tendency towards tolerant syncretism, which allows it to incorporate any ritual or deity of its own; and third, a complex conception of individual destiny, contained in the doctrines of *Karma,* reincarnation, and *Moksha.* Hinduism is bound up with a specific social order, the outstanding features of which are the caste system[4], the joint family[5], universality of marriage and prevalence of early marriage.

Hindus largely predominate in the central and southern portions of India and in Madras. They are in majority, in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Bombay. Their regional distribution is given in the table below:[6]

Province	*No. in lakhs*
U.P.	537
Bihar	342
Orissa	142
West Bengal	194
Assam	58
Madras	499
Mysore	80
Madhya Bharat	73
Bombay	316
Madhya Pradesh	201
Rajasthan	138
Punjab	80

Zone-wise distribution is as follows:[6]

North India	537 lakhs
East India	749 ,,
South India	639 ,,
West India	357 ,,
Central India	477 ,,
North-Western India	268 ,,
India	3032 lakhs

The following table shows their growth since 1881:

Year	No. ('000)	% Growth since 1881	Rate of % growth	%of the population
1881	187,849	100	0	75.1
1891	207,560	110.49	+10.6	74.2
1901	206,862	110.12	—.34	72.9
1911	217,197	115.62	+4.9	71.7
1921	216,219	115.11	—0.45	70.7
1931	236,624	127.03	+10.3	70.7
1941	270.187	143.85	+13.2	69.5
1951	303,320	161.47	+12.2	84.99

Although the Hindus have been increasing

3. *Census of India,* 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 513.
It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a given sect is Hindu or not; sometimes Jains classify themselves as Hindus; sometimes untouchables return a new religious name rather than Hinduism and sometimes there is deliberate falsification for political or other obvious reasons.

4. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* defines caste as a "collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with, a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythological ancestor, human or divine; professing to following the same calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Vol. IV. rn
Under the caste system the Hindu society is divided into an immense number of entirely separate groups, small and large, the conduct of whose members is restricted by an elaborate code of caste rules. According to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, the salient features of the caste system in India are: (*i*) Segmental division of society, (*ii*) Hierarchy, (*iii*) Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse, (*iv*) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections, (*v*) Lack of choice of occupations and (*vi*) Restrictions on marriage outside the caste. Vide *Caste and Race in India,* pp. 2-18. Of late the caste system is losing much of its importance due to the spread of education, better communication and the present-day economic struggle.
Among Hindus, the castes are divided among three main types: the functional, the racial and the sectarian. (1) The first one is the most important, representing the various occupations that were followed in the earlier times. Instances of functional castes are Brahmin (or priestly class) and the trading (or Bania) castes which include the Kshatries of the East Punjab, the Agrawal, Oswal, Khandelwal, and Jains of Rajasthan. Other functional castes are weavers, carpenters, barbers, washermen; potters, goldsmiths; oil pressers, cattle breeders, etc. (2) The racial classes are numerous in all parts of the country, *e.g.,* Rajbansi, Chandel in Bengal; Bhar, Chero, Kunbis, Ahirs and Ghosis in U.P.; Jat, Gujar, Meo in Rajasthan and the Punjab; Koli and Mahar in Bombay and Nayar and Paraiyan in Madras. (3) Sectarian castes like those of Lingayat of Bombay.

5. In India, the unit of society is not the individual, but the family. Among the Hindus, this family includes not only the husband, the wife, and the children, but many more members in addition, perhaps three generations with several collaterals, constituting a single household. The family is ordinarily a joint unit both as regards property and worship or consumption of goods. Every member of the family shares in the prosperity or adversity of every other member. Marriage is totally forbidden amongst its members. The institution of the joint family is the basis of Hindu law as regards marriage, adoption, maintenance and especially inheritance and succession.
Unfortunately, the development of communications and transport; the loss or decline of old family occupations; the influence of Western individualism; and the intensification of the struggle for existence are making the system more or less an anachronism.

6. *Census of India,* Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 8-9.

in absolute numbers yet since 1881 there had been a steady decline in their proportion in the total population of the country up to 1941. Kinglay Davis attributes three reasons for this state of affairs, *viz.*, (1) the secularization because of the Western influence; (ii) the alteration of the social system and (iii) the growth of other equally important religious groups. No doubt the Hindus gain by absorption of tribal communities, but they also lose heavily by transfer (chiefly from lower ranks) to the Christian, the Sikh, and the Jain communities and the Arya Samaj. Till recently the Hindus did not allow the low-caste people or untouchables to enter the temples or use public places. This sort of nuisance has now been declared to be punishable by the Government. Among such people the Christians and the Muslims found proselytizing fairly easy.

Secondly, the Hindus have a low fertility as compared to the tribal people, or the Sikhs, Christians and Muslims. This low fertility among them is due to the high proportion of widows in the Hindu population who are forbidden to re-marry as a result of which a large proportion of them is unproductive. At the same time, due to the young age at marriage of the Hindus, fewer of them (15.39) are single than in any other group except the Jains. This young age at marriage itself has an adverse effect on fertility.

Since 1947, the number of Hindus in India has increased considerably because of the partition of the country. The Hindus left Pakistan and came to India, whereas only a small number of Muslims left India for Pakistan, so that at present the Hindus are in a great minority in Pakistan.

Muslims

The Muslims are more fertile because they permit widow re-marriage. Muslim women marry almost as universally as Hindu women, and they remarry more frequently. The result is that a higher proportion of women in the reproductive age are married, and this accounts for a higher fertility of the Muslims. But at the same time, as judged by fertility ratios, the married women among the Muslims are more fertile than they are among the Hindus.

After 1941 their number has been reduced to a very low level. This is because of the partition of the country which took place in 1947. The only fact that made partition possible was the concentration of the Muslims in certain parts of India. Out of a total of 435 districts in India in 1941, there were 76 more than half the population of which was Muslim. These representing only 17.5 per cent of all the districts in India, contained about 60 per cent of the entire Muslim population. Among the 76 Muslim-majority districts, there were 50 whose more than three-fourth population was Muslim; and these representing only 11 per cent of all districts contained 39 per cent of all Indian Muslims. At the time of the partition there were 45 million Muslims in India and over 21 million non-Muslims in Pakistan. The Muslim population, however, constituted only 13.4 per cent of the total population of India, while non-Muslims in Pakistan accounted for as much as 27.1 per cent of the total population. The inter-dominion transfer of population which took place on account of post-partition disturbances has reduced the size of the minority population of both the countries. Large-scale evacuation of minorities took place from East Punjab including East Punjab states, Delhi, Alwar and Bharatpur in India and from the whole of Western Pakistan. The number of evacuees from West and East Pakistan come to about 10 millions, as against about 7.5 million evacuees from India. The net influx of evacuees into India would thus amount to 2.5 millions. As a result of these population movements the total population of India was estimated at nearly 339.5 millions and that of Pakistan at a little more than 75.5 millions (in 1948). Even after this mass movement of population there still remain 35.5 million Muslims in India and 11 million non-Muslims in Pakistan. The mass migration changed the religious composition of the two countries substantially as would be clear from the table reproduced below:[7]

7. C. N. Vakil: *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 71.

Communal Composition of Population in India and Pakistan

	1941				1948			
	India		Pakistan		India		Pakistan	
	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%	No. of Muslims	%
Muslims 43	13	51	73	45	17	57	73	
Non-Muslims 276	87	19	27	292	86	21	27	
Total 319	100%	70	100%	337	100%	78	100%	

Islam or Muslim religion originated in the Arab country from whence it spread to Spain in the West, to China, Java, and Philippines in the East with extraordinary rapidity. It was introduced in India towards the end of the 12th century by invaders from the North-West. After that date a large portion of India was controlled by a succession of Muslim dynasties. The Muslims in India today are partly the descendants of the invaders of the past and partly of the indigenous people converted by them. To the former belong the Pathans—tall, muscular, and finely-developed people mainly found in north-western parts, and to the latter class belong the Muslim Rajputs of the Punjab and also Bengal Muslims.

The Muslims numbered 354 00,000 in 1951 and they formed about 10 per cent of the population of the country or about little less than 1/9 of the Hindus. The following table gives their numerical strength since 1881, prior to which period their growth in number is unknown:

Year	No. (000)	Growth since 1881	Rate of growth	Population
		%		%
1881	49,953	100.00	....	19.97
1891	57,068	114.25	14.25	20.41
1901	62,119	124.36	8.5	21.88
1911	67,835	135.80	9.2	22.39
1921	71,005	142.15	5.4	23.23
1931	79,306	158.76	11.7	23.49
1941	94,447	189.08	19.0	24.28
1951	35,400	70.87	—62.6	9.93

From 1881 to 1941, the Muslims grew steadily in numbers. This growth is attributable not to the conversion of lower caste Hindus into Muslims but to the higher fertility among the Muslims.

The present regional distribution of the Muslims in India is given in the table below:[8]

Punjab	2	Lakhs
U. P.	90	„
Bihar	45	„
Orissa	1.7	„
West Bengal	4.9	„
Bhopal	1.2	„
Hyderabad	21	„
Assam	19	„
Madras	45	„
Mysore	6	„
Bombay	29	„
M.B.	4	„
M.P.	7	„

The Zonal distribution of the Muslim population is as follows:

N. India	90	Lakhs.
E. India	118	„
S. India	59	„
W. India	34	„
C. India	37	„
N.-W. India	13	„

India has the third largest Muslim population in the world. Indonesia comes first with something like 10 million Muslims, Pakistan comes next with 66 million and India is third with 43 million in a total population of 357 million. Thus in India one out of every 8 Indians is a Muslim. Turkey has 17 million, Egypt 15.9 million, Iran 13 million, Afghanistan 10 million, Iraq 4.6 million and Saudi Arabia 3.5 million Muslims.[9]

Christians

The Christians have shown a fast growth than any other community in India. Between 1881 and 1951, their number rose to nearly five times and its proportion to the total population was more than doubled. The following table shows their growth since 1881:

8. *Census of India*, Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 12-13.
9. *Muslims in India* (Government of India), 1952, p. 3.

Year	No. (000)	Growth since 1881	Rate of growth	Population
		%	%	%
1881	1,778	100.00	....	0.71
1891	2,164	121.58	....	0.77
1901	2,776	156.12	28.4	0.98
1911	3,666	206.17	32.0	1.21
1921	4,497	252.86	22.6	1.47
1931	5,966	335.54	32.5	1.77
1941	7,427	417.65	24.4	1.91
1951	8,200	461.19	10.4	1.74

The Census of India has long enumerated the Christians by 'race,' dividing them into three categories, (i) European and allied races, (ii) Anglo-Indians—descendants of mixed unions, and (iii) Indians. Since 1891 the number of the first two categories has steadily fallen, while that of the third has risen considerably. The Indian Christians are more fertile than the non-Indian Christians. Although they practise late-marriage, yet the fertility for married women is exceptionaly high. It exceeds that of all other religious groups except the Tribals. This is due to the fact that a large number of the Christian converts are drawn heavily from the lower strata of caste society, who are generally more fertile than the people belonging to the higher strata and also because this group does not use any type of birth-limiting devices.

The Christians are concentrated in South India where missionary work first started. Out of 8.2 millions in 1951, 5.4 millions or 66 per cent resided in South India. About 33 per cent of the total resided in Travancore-Cochin. Madras also has a good number of Christians. In Northern India the Christians are to be found in places where missionary work has been particularly active either among the tribal people or the members of the depressed classes. The following table gives their regional distribution:

Madras	24.0 Lakhs.
Mysore	1.7 „
Travancore-Cochin	29.0 „
Bombay	5.2 „
U.P.	1.2 „
Bihar	4.0 „
Assam	5.8 „

Sikhs

The Sikhs are much younger in age, as at the time of the foundation of their community in the 16th century they formed a part of the Vaishnava sect. They retained the Hindu pantheon, as well as the Indian social system and the doctrines of *Karma* and reincarnation. But their chief difference lies in their denial of the divine incarnations, their condemnation of idol worship in Hindu temples and their distrust of asceticism. By the end of the 17th century, the sect began to diverge markedly from the Hindu pattern. Being domiciled between the Muslim and the Hindu predominating areas, they have developed a marked tendency towards militant solidarity, as a result of which they had frequently to be at war with the Muslims. They are a brave, well-built and courageous people and hence they are many times more heavily represented in the Indian army in proportion to their population than any other religious or ethnic group in India. In fact, the Gurkhas, who are Hindus from Nepal, have always been outnumbered by the Sikhs in the army.[10]

Ideologically, they are nearer Hinduism than Islam, but they reject caste; and, though diverse in origin, they have developed by in-breeding and strict discipline into a distinct people, recongnisable as such even to a newcomer; their badges as the 'five K'S': *Kesh* (uncut hair and beard), *Kanga* (wooden comb), *Kachh* (shorts), *Kara* (an iron ring in the hand) and short sword or *Kirpan* which they are legally entitled to carry. By religion they are enjoined to eschew tobacco and they do not drink intoxicants and do not smoke.

The Sikhs have always resided mainly in a small part of India—a part of Central eastern Punjab—which is their original homeland. The bulk of them have resided in a triangular region whose three points are near Lahore, Kangra and Patiala respectively, and whose area is less then 10,000 sq. miles.[11]

The degree of concentration is shown by the fact that 90% of all the Sikhs in India in 1941 resided in the Punjab. In 1941, they had a majority in one state of Faridkot, elsewhere they were in minority. The great majority of the Sikhs are now in East Punjab and especially Pepsu, where probably they form the local majority as a result of the expulsion of

10. Raleigh Parkin : *India Today* (1945), pp. 89-90.
11. J. C. Archer: *The Sikhs* (1946), p. 274.

the Muslims. Some of them are also found scattered in various states of India, as would be clear from the following figures:[12]

Punjab	3.8 Lakhs
Rajasthan	1.7 „
Patiala and E. P. States Union	17.0 „
Delhi	1.3 „
U. P.	1.9 „

For the last 70 years their growth has been very large. Within the last five decades they nearly tripled their numbers. They have steadily increased their percentage of the total population. In 1881 they formed 0.74% of the Indian population. This percentage increased to .77% in the next twenty years; and the figure reached to 1.74% in 1951. The following table shows their strength, percentage increase and percentage of the total population:[13]

Year	Actual number (000)	% Increase since 1881	Decennial % increase	% of population
1881	1,853	—	—	0.74
1891	1,907	+ 2.9	+ 2.9	0.68
1901	2,195	+ 18.4	15.0	0.77
1911	3,014	+ 62.6	12.0	1.00
1921	3,238	+ 74.4	7.2	1.06
1931	4,335	+133.9	34.1	1.28
1941	5,691	+207.1	31.2	1.46
1951	6,200	+234.5	8.9	1.74

The reason for the rapid growth of Sikhism lies in more than one factor. *Firstly*, it lies in the development among them of a strong communal feeling, their realisation of themselves as a political community separate from the Hindus. *Secondly*, they accept converts to the fold, so that there has been a very high rate of conversion to the Sikh community. Anyone can be initiated into the religion by a kind of baptismal ceremony (*Papul*). Such converts for the most part comprise members of the depressed classes, agriculturists, and even washermen, tailors, carpenters, masons, and goldsmiths in rural areas who obviously consider that they gain in status as soon as they cease to be Hindus and become Sikhs.[14]

12. *Census of India*, Paper No. 2 (1953), pp. 8-9.
13. *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. I, p. 114; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, p. 388.
14. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. 17 (Punjab), Pt. I, p. 293.

Thirdly, Sikhs favour widow remarriage and they marry later, as such they have smaller proportions of widows among the women of the age 15-39 than does any other religious group except the Parsis. They have also relatively few single women at these ages. The net result is that they have a greater ratio of married women at the age of 15-39 than those of any other religious groups. *Fourthly*, they have exceptionally high fertility per married women (960 per 1000 married woman) being ahead of Parsis (735), Jains (804), Hindus (817), and Muslims (900) as against 844 in all religions. *Fifthly*, not only they have high fertility, but they have also a low mortality because of very nutritious diet, healthy living conditions and higher percentage of literacy. Therefore, they have a far larger percentage of persons in the older age groups than any other group.

Jains

The Jain sect is another off-shoot of the Hindus. It is older than Sikhism, having been founded by Mahavir in the 6th century B.C. It retains most Hindu doctrines, but is distinguished by carrying to an extreme the doctrine of radical immanence. It developed an exaggerated asceticism (particularly in renunciation of clothing) and carried *ahimsa* (reverence for organic life) to almost incredible extremes. The practice of wearing a cloth over the mouth to avoid the accidental swallowing of insects probably gave rise to the report by Megasthenes (C. 302 B.C.) of a race which had no mouth and lived on delicate savours.

Jainism forbids its followers to kill or injure any living thing. They believe that every form of life is sacred. They do not eat after sunset lest they should unwittingly kill some small insect. In diet they are vegetarians. They are a wealthy and charitable community. Many Jains are traders and financiers.

Jains are generally more numerous in U.P., Rajasthan (specially Marwar), North Bombay and Saurastra, which have over two-thirds of the Jains. Elsewhere they are found scattered in various commercial and industrial centres of the country. They number 1.6 million. Their regional distribution is given below:

U. P.	97	thousands
Madras	35	„
Mysore	22	„
Bombay	571	„
Saurastra	123	„
Cutch	62	„
M. P.	96	„
M. B.	100	„
Hyderabad	30	„
Rajasthan	327	„
Punjab	37	„

Jains seem to be numerically stationary, and to be declining as a part of the total population, as will be clear from the figures quoted below:[15]

Year	No. (000)	% Variation since 1881	Rate of growth	% of Population
1881	1,222	100	—	0.49
1891	1,417	115.95	15.9	0.51
1901	1,334	109.16	— 5.9	0.47
1911	1,248	102.12	— 6.5	0.41
1921	1,177	94.68	— 7.3	0.39
1931	1,251	102.37	+81.1	0.37
1941	1,449	118.75	+16.0	0.37
1951	1,600	130.93	+10.2	0.44

Many factors may be attributed towards the stationary growth of numbers among the Jains. *Firstly,* they do not allow widow remarriage. Jains have a low percentage of their women at the age of 15-39 married. A fifth of their women in this age group were widows during 1911-31. This enforced widowhood cut down Jain reproduction to a great extent. *Secondly,* they have a low fertility within the marital relation. They have next to the lowest ratio of married women of any religious group being outdone in this respect only by the Parsis. The Jains have approximately 804 children per 1000 married women aged 15-39, the corresponding figures for Hindus being 817, Buddhist 932 and Christians 966. This low fertility among them is due to their social position. They live mostly in urban areas, and are largely literate and very prosperous as a result of which they have low fertility. *Thirdly,* since they do not acquire new converts, this low fertility helps to prevent any growth in their number.

15. *Census of India,* 1921, Vol. I, p. 910; *ibid* for 1931, p. 387.

Buddhists

Buddhism now hardly survives in the land of its birth: only a few monks, mostly Nepalese and Sinhalese, are to be found in the holy places, in *Budh-Gaya* where Gautam received Enlightenment and *Sarnath* where he began his mission. Buddhism originated in the sixth century as a reform movement against Brahminism. In the early period Buddhism had a simple and national humanistic code. It was independent of theism and was far from the more pathological form of asceticism as from hedonism and with an emphasis on fellowship, irrespective of caste or station of life of men and women, and on goodwill. Within only a few centuries it spread far and wide. During the first five centuries of the Christian era it spread to Central Asia and the Far East. In the first century it reached China, in the fourth century it reached Korea, in the sixth to Japan, and in the tenth to Assam. By the tenth century it disappeared from India as an active religion.[16] To-day its influence is overwhelming in the neighbouring countries of Tibet, Burma and Ceylon, but in India it is now a minor religion. In 1881, it formed only 0.07% of the Indian population, and only 0.12% in 1941 and this figure further declined to 0.03% in 1951. Deterioration of the creed itself, Brahmin opposition and some persecution, gradually weakened it so that by the time of the Muslim invasion it was strong only in its original home Magadha.

At present the Buddhists are mostly found in Sikkim and the adjoining hills. There are a few in Assam, the descendants either of ancient immigrants from Burma *via* the Hukong Valley or of isolated parties left behind by the army of invasion in the early 19th century.[17]

The following table gives their numerical strength in India:

U. P.	3	thousands
West Bengal	81	„
Assam	22	„
Sikkim	39	„

16. The Greeco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhara, the ruins of the great University of Taxila, and the colossal cliff-figures at Bamian in Afghanistan, attest to the long vitality of Buddhism in North-West, whence it penetrated High Asia.

17. *Census of India,* 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 389.

The Buddhists are slightly better educated than the Hindus. They have high fertility ratio and as such they tend to reproduce about as rapidly as the general population. They have a very low proportion of widows but a high proportion of single women. This fact brings the fertility ratio down to about the general average. Their growth is shown in the following table:

Year	No. (000)	Percentage increase since 1881	Rate of growth (%)	% of Population.
1881	167	100	—	0.07
1891	243	145.50	+45.50	0.09
1901	293	175.44	+20. 5	0.10
1911	337	201.79	+15.04	0.11
1921	369	220.95	+ 9. 5	0.12
1931	439	262.87	+19. 0	0.13
1941	458	274.25	+ 4. 3	0.12
1951	200	119.76	—56. 0	. 7

Parsis

The Parsis or Zoroastrian fire-worshippers came from Persia about the 7th century A.D. to avoid conversion to Islam, and found refuge and freedom of worship on the western shores of India. Here they prospered and became an outstanding commercial and industrial group. This group is most literate (nearly 80 per cent of all persons of age 5 and over are literate) and most urban (about 90 per cent) and probably the wealthiest of all the religious groups in the country. The following table shows that although they have been increasing gradually in absolute numbers they are not growing so fast as the general population:

Year	No. (000)	% Variation since 1881	Rate of growth	% of Population
1881	85	100	—	0.034
1891	90	105.88	+5.9	0.032
1901	94	110.58	+4.4	0.033
1911	100	117.64	+6.3	0.033
1921	101	118.08	+1.0	0.033
1931	109	128.23	+7.9	0.032
1941	115	135.29	+5.2	0.032
1951	100	117.64	—1.3	—

The Parsis are most urban, most literate and above all on the top of the economic ladder, and as such they should have the lowest fertility. But as a matter of fact curiously enough they are growing fast. The reason for this situation may be explained thus. This group has the fewest widows between ages 15-39, and also the greatest number of single women in these ages. The result is that they have the smallest percentage of married females in the reproductive ages; and they have the lowest reproduction per married woman. Their total fertility must, therefore, be extremely low and this explains their slow population growth. But the fact that they are growing at all suggests that they seem to balance their low fertility with an exceptionally low death rate because of a higher standard of living, healthy diet and good stock from which they come.

The Parsis are usually found concentrated in Western India. 97 thousands or more than 50 per cent of them live in Bombay.

Tribals

The Tribals form a very small percentage of our total population. They are chiefly concentrated in the barren and sparsely populated tracts of hills and jungles, corresponding in extent fairly closely to east Satpuras but encroaching eastwards and westwards along the Vindhyan ranges through the south of Madhya Bharat plateau in the eastern extremity of Gujrat. They also occur in the outlying parts of the Assam ranges. Their concentration is largely found in Assam, M.P., Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Manipur and Rajasthan.

The data on the tribal people's strength are very inaccurate partly because of the difficulty of classification and partly because of deliberate misrepresentation on the part of other religious groups to swell their own numbers. Different estimates have been made regarding their numbers. Some place them at about 30 millions[18] and others at 25 millions.[19] According to 1951 Census, the total of the tribal people is of the order of 19 millions.[20] The numerical strength of a tribe ranges from a few hundreds to more than 2 millions, *e.g.,*

18. I. Singh: *Development and Adivasis in Asian Labour,* Vol. I, No. 4, 1950, p. 52.

19. *Report of the Conference of Social Workers and Anthropologists for Tribal People in India* (1948), pp. 2-3.

20. *Census of India,* Paper No. 4, (1953); Special Groups, 1951 Census, p. 16.

Santhals numbered 2.7, Bhils 2.3 and Gonds 3.2 millions in 1941.

The tribal population has been in the decrease since 1911. It may be pointed out in this connection that (i) while the aboriginal population is under ordinary circumstances exceedingly prolific, the majority of them inhabit those parts of the country which are exposed chiefly to the ravages of malaria and hence a large number of them lose their lives. (ii) There has been a real absorption of the tribes into Hinduism in the Assam plains and North Cachar hills. (iii) The spread of Christianity among the tribes in Lushai, Khasi and Jaintia hills as well as M.P., and Travancore-Cochin have also helped in reducing their strength. (iv) Through acculturation, *i.e.*, when a tribe comes into contact with civilization it may accept some of the traits of its neighbours so that their original traits disappear. The tribal dialects are being replaced by Assamese languages and tribal beliefs are giving way to the direct onslaught of the inhabitants of the plains.

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PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

By Prof. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

The Parliamentary form of Government is an empirical growth. It has its origin in the British system of administration which has evolved through a slow but steady transfer of power from the absolute monarchy to the representative people. In this process of transference the Cabinet has developed as an institution. The powers and prerogatives of the Crown shifted into the hands of the Cabinet responsible to the Parliament. This transition was possible through three stages. The first stage relates to 1642 when a document was presented to the Crown. The document contained: 'Your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such persons in your great and public affairs, and to take such to be near you in places of trust as your Parliament may have cause to confide in.' It was effected by the revolution of 1688 but the Crown presided over the meetings of the Cabinet. When George I, a Hanoverian, succeeded the throne he absented himself from Cabinet meetings as he had no knowledge of English. This accidental circumstance and the fact that George I reigned but did not rule, gave considerable powers and prestige to the Cabinet. These were not fully and finally accepted until the exceptional administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The Cabinet form of Government definitely emerged from the time of Sir Robert Walpole. But until 1937, the Cabinet was unknown to English law. By the Ministry of the Crown Act, 1937, the Cabinet and the Cabinet Ministers found a place in the Statute Book and the Prime Minister was given a legal status. Till then, the Cabinet, the vital machinery of the Government, was an extra-legal growth. All the basic principles of the Cabinet in Great Britain still now depend on convention, customs and usages. The Cabinet, excepting a reference to the Ministry of Crown Act, 1937, has not yet found its place in the Statute Book.

This is the history and nature of the Cabinet system or Parliamentary form of Government. H. D. Traill has summarised the basic principles of Cabinet as a body

(*a*) consisting of members of the Legislature,
(*b*) of the same political views and chosen from the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons,
(*c*) prosecuting a concerted policy,
(*d*) under a common responsibility to be signified by collective resignation in the event of Parliamentary censure, and
(*e*) acknowledging a common subordination to one Chief Minister (*cf.* Strong: *Modern Political Institutions*).

But none of them finds a place in English law. These are based on convention, customs and usages of Great Britain. To a greater or less degree these basic principles have been embodied in the constitutions of India, Ireland, Japan, Australia and South Africa

and have been given a definite legal status. In other Parliamentary Governments as in Canada, New Zealand, Holland, Belgium, the Government is largely regulated by customs and by ordinary laws. The Constitution of the Fourth Republic makes provision for the responsiblity of the Ministry to the National Assembly, but with no reference to the requirement that a Minister shall be a member of the legislature. He is required to be so for other reasons. To a great extent then the Cabinet rests upon extra-legal operations even now, while usually the Presidential form of Government is enshrined in the Constitution.

A reference to the distinction between the Parliamentary form and its anti-thesis Presidential form has to be made. This distinction has been based on the theory of separation of powers. If a Constitution embodies more or less the doctrine of the separation of powers, it is known as Presidential; whereas if it does not, it is known as Parliamentary. The doctrine of separation of powers simply means that the three functions of the Government—legislative, executive and judicial—should be confined exclusively to three separate and independent organs. There should be no overlapping either of functions or of persons. The strict adherence to the theory in its practical application is impossible. But the framers of the U.S.A. Constitution were largely influenced by the doctrine and they innovated a system of Government which is usually known to embody this doctrine. The Constitution clearly says: (1) the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America, (2) all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, (3) the judicial powers of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The President, the Head Executive, is not a member of the Congress and not responsible to the Congress; the Congress at the same time cannot remove the President unless by impeachment. But the Constitution has made some qualifications. Legislative powers have been vested in the Congress, but the President can veto the Legislative proposals of the Congress. President's veto, of course, can be overridden by two-thirds majority in both Houses. "The Constitution enjoins the President to take care that all laws be faithfully executed." He is the sole executive of the nation and is responsible to none but the Senate for some of his important executive functions. For instance, he appoints all higher executive officers including the members of his Cabinet. But all appointments are to be ratified by the Senate. He receives and sends ambassadors, and formulates his foreign policy. But any treaty made by the President is to be ratified by the Senate by a two-third majority of votes before it comes in force. The U.S.A. Constitution which entrusts the three functions of the Government to three sets of bodies, is successful in preventing overlapping of personnel *inter se*, but fails to prevent the overlapping of the functions of different organs. It is an impossibility since the Government is an organic whole.

Hence the distinction between the Parliamentary executive and Presidential executive based on the theory of separation of powers cannot be carried too far. Because in a Parliamentary form of Government also, where there is the organic fusion of the executive and the legislative, the judiciary is independent and separate in a substantial degree. Again there is the organic fusion only at the top. Because in a Parliamentary form of Government the Head Executives, *i.e.*, the members of the Cabinet, are members of the legislature, but the subordinate executives have no direct relation with the legislature.

The two forms differ at the top: in the Parliamentary form there is the organic fusion of the executive and the legislative at the top and in the Presidential form there is organic separation between the two. Hence we can bring out the points of difference showing that (1) in the Parliamentary Government, the Cabinet is the real executive body and remains responsible to the legislature; whereas in the Presidential Government, the President is the real executive and is responsible to none during his tenure of office; (2) in the former, the members of the Cabinet are also members of the legislature, whereas in the latter the President is forbidden to sit in the Legislature; while in the Parliamentary Government the Cabinet is subservient to the Legislature, in the Presidential, it is subservient to the President; (3) in the Parliamentary form,

the tenure of office of the executive body depends on the will of the legislature; in the Presidential form, it is independent of the legislature. For that reason the Presidential Government is also known as the Fixed Executive.

As it has already been discussed, we need not take too extreme a view of the distinction of the two. Due to the emergence of party-system in the art of government it makes very little difference between the forms in their practical operations. Almost in all the Parliamentary Governments, the voters may have the immediate view of the election of a particular member to the legislature but their mediate and ultimate view is whom they are electing to power. As in the last General Election of Great Britain, the choice of the voters lay between Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee. With the exception of France, once a legislative body is elected and the Cabinet is formed, the Cabinet remains in office during the tenure of the legislature itself as legislators seldom change their political views. In the Parliamentary Government, the executive becomes more or less fixed where the dual-party system is well developed. In the Presidential form, the President may not sit in the legislature, but he can veto a legislative proposal and can send message to the Congress which has the force of a bill. A harmonious relation between the legislature and the executive has become possible in the Presidential form in America, through the medium of political party. However, in practice the difference between the two may not be carried too far, but at least in form they differ.

Article 53, Section 1 (g) of our Constitution says: The executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with this Constitution.

Article 77, Section (1) says: All executive actions of the Government of India shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the President.

It resembles the American Constitution: The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The tenure of office of our President is also fixed like that of the American President. He is removable only by a process of impeachement by the Parliament as in the American system. But the framers have designed him on the model of the British Crown. All the executive powers of the President are expected to be exercised by him with the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers. The President is not legally obliged to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers. But if he does not, it may be impossible on his part to carry on the administration for long without violating the constitution.

An examination of the position of the Council of Ministers vis-a-vis the President will reveal the truth of the statement.

Article 74, Sec. (1) says: There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as Head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

Article 75, says: (1) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(2) The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.

(3) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

(5) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of either House of Parliament shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister.

These two Articles define the position of the Council of Ministers and are incidental to Parliamentary Government. It is obligatory on the part of the President to have a Council of Ministers [Article 74(1)]. The Council of Ministers thus appointed shall be collectively responsible to the House of People [Article 75 (3)]. If the President does not function on the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers which enjoys the confidence of the House, the only alternative for the Council is to resign. The President is obliged to appoint another Council of Ministers responsible to the House. It may not be possible for the President to find out another in the event of the resignation of a Council of Ministers which has a solid majority in the House.

The President can continue to function on his own authority by appointing a Council of Ministers which does not command the confidence of the House for a period not exceeding six months. Because a Minister cannot remain in office, if he is not a member of Parliament, for more than six months. And six months cannot elapse between two Sessions of the House of Parliament [Article 85(1)]. So during the intervening period the President can function with a Council of Ministers which does not enjoy the confidence of the House.

The position of the Council of Ministers in the States is also the same. Articles 163 and 164 define the powers and position of the Council of Ministers in the State.

Article 163, Sec. (1) says: There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as Head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under the Constitution, required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

Section 2 says: If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under the Constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

Article 164 says: (1) The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor.

(2) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

(3) A Minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the legislature of the State shall cease to be Minister after the expiration of that period.

Everything, except provisions for the functions of the Governor 'in his discretion,' reads similar to Articles 74 and 75 as referred to above. The position of the Council of Ministers of a State is similar to that of the Council of Ministers of the Union, and the Governor is the small replica of the President and is to act only as the Constitutional figure-head of the State.

'He is to see that all the wheels are going well by reason not of his interference, but of his friendly intervention'—Dr. P. K. Sen: *Con-Assembly Debate*, Vol. VIII, p. 446.

Provisions as to the powers 'in his discretion' appears to be misleading. But only two references have been made in the Constitution as regards the discretionary powers of the Governor of Assam. In Para 18 (3) of the 6th Schedule, a reference to the discretionary powers of the Governor of Assam as regards the administration of Tribal areas has been made. And another similar provision in relation to the allocation of the share of the Mining Royalties between the Government of Assam and the District Council has been made in para 9 (2) of the 6th Schedule. Hence the discretionary powers of the Governor have been limited to the above-mentioned matters and only the Governor of Assam can exercise these powers. Powers are specific and relate to a particular Governor.

A safeguard against the constitutional break-down in the State Administration has been provided for in the State Administration by Article 356 which empowers the President to assume the administration of the State himself on receipt of a report from the Governor to that effect. This was already exercised in the case of the Punjab in 1951 and that of Andhra in 1954. Perhaps, this safeguard has been provided for in view of the fluid political position of the country. But such a safeguard is absent in the Central Administration. It has been left to the actual circumstances.

If in law the President exercises the executive power of the State of the Indian Republic, in practice the Cabinet is the custodian of that power. The Cabinet determines and the Parliament sanctions the manner in which the executive powers are to be exercised by the President. The Cabinet, as described by Lowell in connection with the British Cabinet, is the 'key-stone of the Political Arch.' It is the 'steering-wheel of the ship of the State' as Ramsay calls it. If the Indian President symbolises the State, the Cabinet represents the nation. The President is the legal executive head of the State, because he represents the State and the Cabinet represents the will of the nation and thus determines the executive functions of the State. If the British Crown is called an institution, our President is not more personal than an institution. He may be better known as the elected Crown for a term of five years, than as the 'Majesty of the people incarnate' like the American President. (Brogan: *Government of the People.*)

From the Constituent Assembly debates it appears that the framers intended to design the President on the Irish model. But the Irish President has no right to call for any infor-

mation from the Ministers nor can he give any suggestion to them on any matter. 'The English Crown has the right to be consulted, the right to encourage and the right to warn'—Bagehot. The Indian President have similar rights under Article 78 (b).

As a legal course there are no fetters on the President to act according to the advice of his Council of Ministers. As explained above, he shall act on the advice of this Council of Ministers only for fear of facing constitutional deadlock. If the President does not abide by the decisions of the Council of Ministers, the only alternative for the Ministry is to threaten resignation.

There is no provision in our constitution which can compel him to abide by the decision of the Cabinet. All recently adopted Parliamentary Constitutions of other countries have provided this fundamental principle of the parliamentary Government in the Constitution. Article 32 of the French Fourth Republic says: Every act of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by the President of the Council of Ministers and by a Minister. That means that every act of the President shall have legal validity only when it is signed by the Prime Minister and by a Minister.

The Constitution of Eire provides:

> No power or function conferred on the President by law shall be exercisable or performable by him save only on the advice of the Government (Article 13, Section 11).

The Constitution of Japan says:

> The advice and the approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of State and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor (Article III).

The Burmese Constitution says:

> The powers and functions conferred on President by the Constitution shall be exercisable and performable by him only on the advice of the Union Government [Sec. 63(1)].

An explanation for the non-provision of the fundamentals of the Responsible Government in the Constitution has been given by Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayer, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, in an Article entitled "The Indian Constitution" in the *A. B. Patrika*, Republic Supplement, 1950:

> "The Indian Constitution . . . . has advisedly refrained from enumerating in details the incidents of the responsible Government. A provision like this will give sufficient scope for conventions for Responsible Government to grow up. Any stereotyping of such incidents into a statutory mould will not impart an element of elasticity to the constitution."

Such an explanation does not appear sufficient to warrant the omission of such a vital matter of the Parliamentary Government. The entire form of Government depends on this relation of the President and the Council of Ministers. This should have been inserted in the Constitution to give a definite mould to the Government like other modern Parliamentary Governments.

The party Government has become commensurate with the growth of the Cabinet Government. It is the political party which gives homogeneity to the Cabinet. Because members of the Cabinet generally belong to the same political party or share the same political view regarding national policies. Party gives strength to the Government as the latter remains confident of the position of the party in the legislature.

> "If it is the party system which gives the Cabinet its homogeneity, it is the position of the Prime Minister which gives it solidarity."—S.F. Strong, p.221.

Although he is the 'primus inter pares,' 'first among equals,' he is the "keystone of the Cabinet arch," or 'inter stella luna minores,' *i.e.*, "a moon among lesser stars." But W. J. Jennings, in his book *Cabinet Government*, has given him a better position:

> "He is not merely primus inter pares. He is not even, as Harcount said, inter stella luna minores. He is rather a sun round which planets revolve. A general election is primarily an election of a Prime Minister. The waving voters, who decide elections, support neither a party nor a policy: they support a leader."

A Prime Minister occupies a four-fold position: (1) he is the Head of the Cabinet and presides over Cabinet meetings; (2) he is the leader of the majority party in the legislature; (3) he is indirectly the nominee of the political sovereign; and (4) he is the connecting unit between the President and the Cabinet.

He is the maker of the Ministers and puts them where they are. He formulates the general policy and guides the Council of Ministers. He co-ordinates the different departments and irons out any difference between any two. As the leader of the majority party in the House of People, he determines the legislative policy of the Parliament. He is the ultimate oracle at critical times. Ministers are appointed by the President with his aid and advice. He can also require resignation of a minister. If a minister does not resign, he can secure his dismissal by the President [*vide* clause (2) of the Article 75]. The British practice is that the Prime Minister allocates departments to the ministers. But in our Constitution, by Article 77(3), the power of allocation of business belongs to the President. Of course, it is expected that he will discharge the duty with the aid and advice of the Prime Minister. Article 78 gives the President the right to be consulted. The article requires of the Prime Minister the furnishing of all information relating to the administrative as well as legislative affairs. The clause C of the same Article gives the individual minister the right to communicate to the President any matter on which a decision has been taken over by him, but has not been considered by the Council of Ministers. Thereupon, the President may require of the Prime Minister to submit it for consideration of the Council of Ministers. These two clauses—clause 3 of Article 77 and clause C of Article 78—have two implications: (1) it may strengthen the collective responsibility; and (2) it ensures individual responsibility to the President and to some extent may undermine the position of the Prime Minister. The President may not take any exclusive action on the decision of the individual minister and may send it back for reconsideration to the Council. It strengthens the collective responsibility. As the President is the distributor of business and as an individual minister has an access to the President in regard to his departmental matter and as the President has something to say in the matter, it may undermine the position of the Prime Minister. It deviates from the British practice where the Prime Minister is the sole connecting link between the Cabinet and the Crown. However, the matter may be left to the future—to the growth of convention. After all, he is the most powerful man in the State of Indian Republic—he is, at once, the head of the supreme executive and the leader of the sovereign law-making authority of the State. The people look at him as their accredited leader.

Parliamentary Government stands on a nice euipoise between two balancing forces—the Parliament and the Cabinet. The Cabinet in its turn administers and initiates all legislation. As Ilbert in his book *Parliament* (Home University Library) says:

> "Parliament does not govern, and is not intended to govern. A strong executive Government, tempered and controlled by the constant, vigilant and representative criticism, is the ideal at which parliamentary institutions aim."

The Parliament makes and unmakes the Government and keeps the executive always conscious of its duties and responsibilities. The Parliament does it in the following ways: (1) by refusing demand for grant to each particular department; (2) by defeating a governmental measure on which the Government has staked its existence; (3) by passing directly a vote of no-confidence; and (4) by asking questions and debating on the President's speech (in case of India).

Articles 112, 113 and 114 clearly narrate the procedure in financial matters. The President shall cause to lay before both Houses an 'annual financial statement' (112) and the 'House of the People' shall have power to assent or dissent to any demand (Article 113). After the grants have been made by the House of People an appropriation Bill shall have to be passed by the House and then money shall be withdrawn from the consolidated fund. No money can be withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India except under appropriation made by law [Article 114(3)]. Hence, Parliament shall have full control over the finance of the State and financial matters can hold sway over the Council of Ministers. In law, the President shall cause to introduce the annual financial statement in the Parliament; in fact it is introduced by the Finance Minister on the recommendation of the President; and the whole of the council of ministers sails on this. In Articles 202, 203 and 204 similar financial procedures have been laid down in

regard to the administration of the State; and the State legislature can thus control the Council of Ministers through finance. When the Parliament or Legislatures grant finance to a particular department, the action of the presiding minister of that department is criticised by the House in every detail.

It is an established Convention in Parliamentary Governments that if the Government fails to have a very important bill, involving a question of policy, passed by the House, the Cabinet resigns. It is presumed that this long-established practice will also be followed in India.

Any member of the House of People can ask for the leave of the House to move directly a no-confidence motion against the whole of the Council. If that is granted, discussed and passed by the House, the Council shall resign forthwith. The procedure of such no-confidence motion has been narrated in the "Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Parliament of 1950." Similarly, a no-confidence motion can be moved against the Council of Ministers of a State. In 1954, the Councils of Ministers of two States resigned after no-confidence motion had been passed against them in the respective Legislative Assembly, *e.g.*, the Pillai Ministry in Travancore-Cochin and the Prakasham Ministry in Andhra.

"There is no more valuable safeguard against maladministration, no more effective method of bringing a searchlight of criticism to bear on the action or inaction of the executive government and its subordinates than the question in the Parliament," says Ilbert in his book *Parliament*.

In accordance wth some parliamentary procedure any member can ask any question to a Minister. These are meant for criticism and to keep the Ministers alert on their proper relation with the Parliament. This Parliamentary practice is followed in India both in Union and State legislatures. It has been obligatory on the part of the President to address the Parliament at the commencement of every session and to inform it of the causes of its summons. It is the parliamentary practice that this speech is prepared by the Cabinet and it contains the policy and programme of the Government for the ensuing session. In short, the speech contains the policy of the Cabinet and that policy may be criticised by the Parliament. Thereby a scope has been left to the Parliament to criticise the Government's policy in reply to the President's speech at the beginning of each session. Article 176 which applies to Indian States is analogous to it.

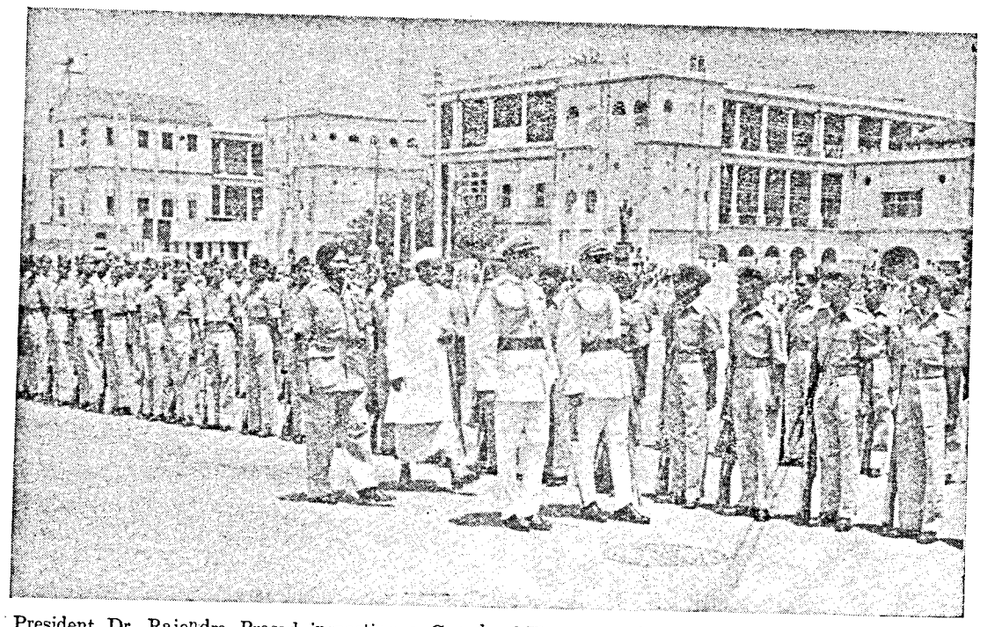
As there are no constitutional fetters on the President to act always on the advice and aid of his Council of Ministers, the President is free to apply his discretion in the case of a Ministerial advice to dissolve the House of People. Article 85, Clause 2, Section (e) says: The President may from time to time . . . dissolve the House of People. Similarly, Article 174, 2(C) echoes: The Governor may from time to time . . . dissolve the Legislative Assembly. Thus it is the absolute discretion of the President or the Governor whether or not to accept the Ministerial advice on the dissolution of the House of People or the Legislative Assembly respectively.

In England, though the dissolution of the Parliament is a prerogative of the Crown, yet, since 1784, the Crown has never refused to accept the advice of the Cabinet in such matters and Dicey observes: "Dissolution has come to be a power at the hands of the Prime Minister —to appeal from the legal to the political sovereign." It has become a convention in England that when the Ministry is defeated on a major issue in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister may advise the Crown to dissolve the House of Commons on the presumption that the House does not reflect the electoral will.

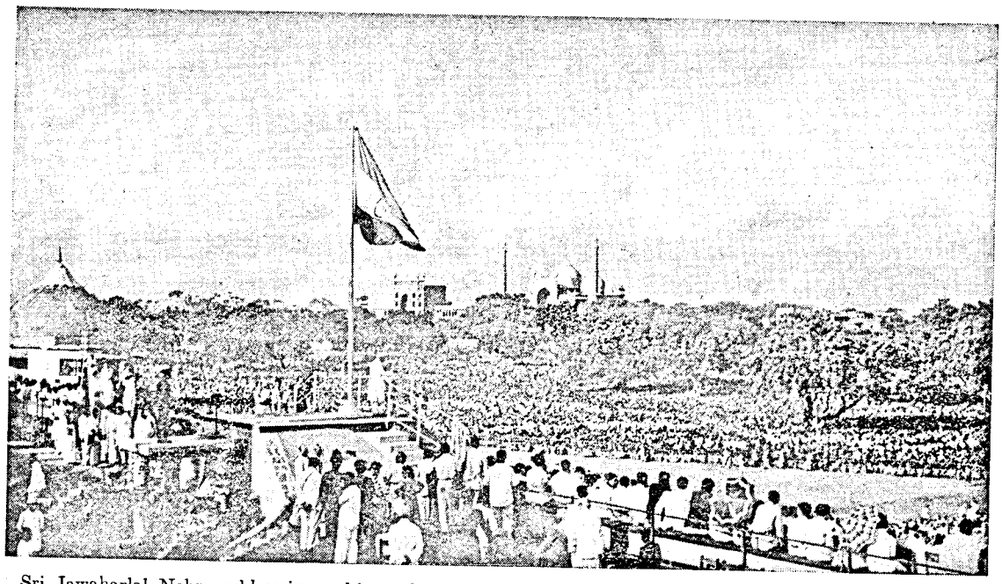
It is a convention in England that the Crown never refuses dissolution if advised by the Prime Minister. The convention in other Dominion countries is otherwise. The Governor-General or Governors may refuse dissolution if improperly asked for by a defeated Ministry. A convention has grown on the other hand that the Governor-General shall explore all possible means to form a new ministry after the defeat of one. If he fails, he may accept the advice of dissolution given by the defeated ministry.

Riddeley has very nicely observed in connection with Canada:

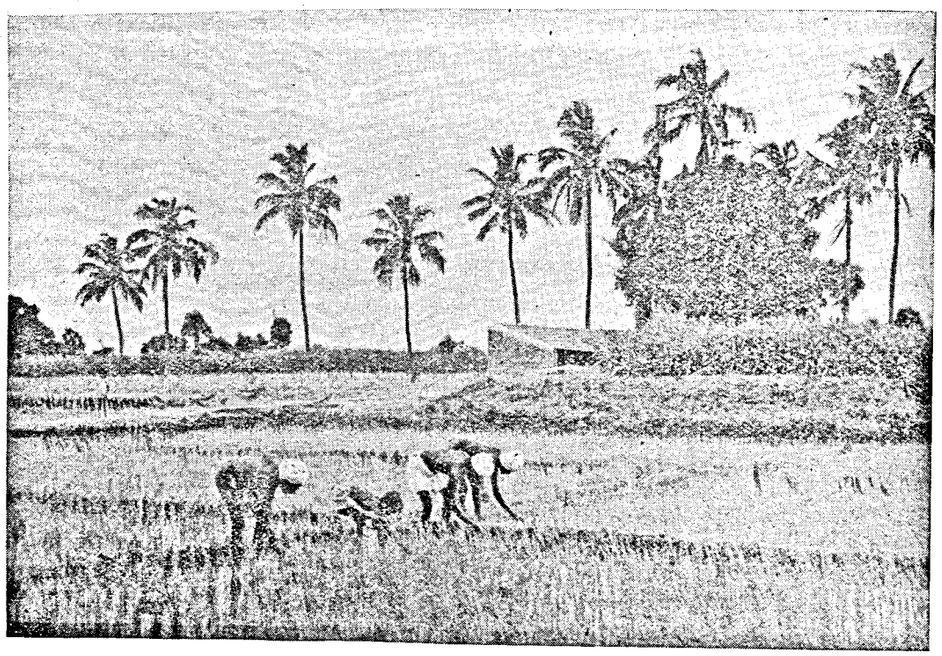
"The action of the Governor-General in granting or refusing a General Election is based on well-



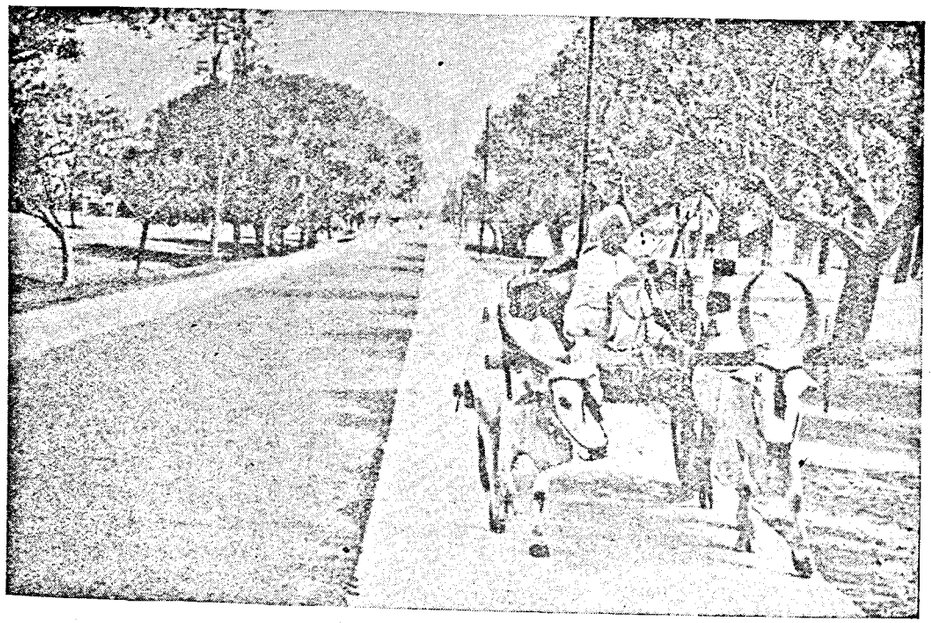
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad inspecting a Guard of Honour on the occasion of his arrival at Madras Station on August 12



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a big gathering of public on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Independence, August 15, 1956, at the historic Red Fort, Delhi



Rice breeding



On the wide road

established constitutional rules. He must avoid becoming a party man, he must not engage in party politics or political intrigue, he must hold the scales even in respect of all political parties, he must be guided by a fair and candid consideration of the welfare of the people at large, he must not grant a dissolution simply to enable a political party to continue in office when there is no real and important question at issue between the parties."—*The Canadian Constitution in Form and Fact*, pp. 34-5.

Article 13(2) of the Irish Constitution clearly gives the President the absolute discretionary power to dissolve the House on the advice of the defeated Ministry.

India seems to have taken the line of the Dominion practice rather than the British one. Because in Andhra, when T. Prakasham Ministry was defeated in 1954, the Governor dissolved the Legislative Assembly of the State on the advice of the defeated ministry, no alternative Ministry was possible there as the opposition was not united. The Governor referred the matter to the electorate which gave the verdict in favour of the then defeated ministry. So, the Governor was justified in his action. In Travancore-Cochin when Pillai Ministry was defeated in 1954, it advised the Rajapramukha to dissolve the Assembly. But the Rajapramukha did not do it: on the contrary he explored all the possible means to form a new ministry. He was successful. The power of dissolution is a power of the electorate—it is an appeal from the legal sovereign to the political sovereign to secure a mandate from the electorate. The President or the Governor shall cause this power to be applied in a very judicious way so that it may not be misused for party purposes.

As regards the appointment of the Prime Minister, the President's power is limited by the clauses (3) and (5) of the Article 75 that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of People, and that a Minister, who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of either House of Parliament, shall, at the expiration of that period, cease to be a Minister. The President shall appoint such a person as Prime Minister who shall be able to enjoy the confidence of the majority members of the House of People. The appointment shall become automatic if there is a recognised leader of an absolute majority party in the House. In absence of that and in case of plurality of leaders having possible capability to command majority in the House, the President can apply his individual judgment to appoint the Prime Minister. After the defeat of a Ministry, the President shall call the leader of the opposition to form the Ministry, following the established convention in Great Britain. In case of the absence of the recognised leader of the opposition, he may apply his individual judgment. Thus the power of the President in the selection of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers is limited only to the case of absence of any recognised leader of an absolute majority party in the House. The same principle is followed in the State administration, vide Article 164, clauses (1) and (2) and clause (4) with the provision that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister-in-charge of Tribal Welfare.

Ministers are collectively responsible to the House of People and individually responsible to the President. To examine the observation, two questions are to be answered: whether the Council of Ministers collectively can be dismissed by the President and whether Ministers can be individually dismissed by the President. The answer to the first question will be in the negative and to the second question in the positive, because to follow the British principle, though the Crown still possesses the prerogative to dismiss a Cabinet, this right has become obsolete since its last application in 1783. If, however, a Cabinet refuses to resign after an adverse vote of confidence in the House of Commons, the Crown can dismiss it (Jennings' *Cabinet Government*, p. 229). It may also be followed in India. At least the framers intended this. Since Clause 2(g), Article 75, refers only to Ministers, it means that ministers are individually responsible to the President and are liable to be dismissed by him, but not collectively. Clause (2) answers clearly the second question: The ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. The reason for such a provision is that a minister may be thought undesirable by the Prime Minister. Wthout causing a fall of the entire Cabinet to follow the principle of collective responsibility,

he may advise the President to dismiss a particular minister if he does not resign on request. Again, if a minister is corrupt or undesirable and even though he commands the confidence of the House of People, the President may think it fit to dismiss such a minister. Practically this power of the President will shift to the hands of the Prime Minister to enhance his control over the ministers.

The provisions as regards the States are similar to those regarding the Centre. Article 164(1) says: The ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. And Clause (2) says: The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

What are the implications of the collective responsibility then? It can be very aptly explained in the words of L. Morley of Blackburn (*Life of Walpole*, pp. 155-156):

"As a general rule every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire Cabinet and its members stand or fall together . . . The Cabinet is a Unit—a Unit as regards the sovereign, and a Unit as regards the Legislature. Its views are laid before the sovereign and before Parliament, as if they were the views of one man. It gives its advice as a single whole, both in the royal closet and in the hereditary or in the representative chamber. The first mark of the Cabinet, as that institution is now understood, is united and undivisible responsibility."

Mr. Gladstone Gleannings says:

"While each minister is an adviser of the Crown, the Cabinet is a Unity."

Similar meaning may be attributed to the words 'collective responsibility of our Constitution.' If the Prime Minister resigns, the entire Council of Ministers resigns, despite the fact that other ministers of the Council do not. The Council of Ministers defends the governmental policy in both the Houses unitedly. Both the Houses view it as a unit. Secrecy of Cabinet discussions has to be maintained so that dissension in the Cabinet may not be known. It is an essential part of collective responsibility. For that an oath of secrecy has to be taken by every minister at the time of assumption of office (vide Article 75, Clause 4). Our Constitution avoids the individual responsibility of the ministers to the Parliament. The British practice is that ministers are collectively and individually responsible to the Parliament for their respective departments and the Parliament may insist on the resignation of an individual minister. For such an eventuality our Constitution has inserted Clause (2) of Art. 75 by which the President may dismiss an undesirable minister. It is clearly revealed from the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Parliament, 1950, which says: "(1) A motion expressing want of confidence in the Council of Ministers may be made subject to the following restrictions." It does not provide for a no-confidence motion against the individual minister.

"The Cabinet is a committee of the Parliament, but a committee chosen to rule the nation," as Bagahot puts it.

It is not only the supreme executive machinery of the State, but the legislative initiative has as well passed to its hands from the Parliament. It initiates, introduces, pilots and makes the legislative proposals passed by the Parliament. There is hardly any scope for bills introduced by private members to be passed by the Parliament if it is not backed by the Cabinet. It determines the time and programme of the House of Commons.

"To say that at present Cabinet legislates with the advice and consent of Parliament would hardly be an exaggeration."—Lowell: *Government of England*, p. 326.

The Parliament only criticises, amends and revises the legislative proposals put by the Cabinet.

The Cabinet controls the Parliament by a threat of dissolution. The Cabinet is the creature of the Parliament, but unlike all other creatures, it can destory its creator, as Walter Bagehot says. The power of the Cabinet to dissolve the Parliament (in case of India, the House of People) has been discussed beforehand. Be it noted in this connection that ultimately this is a power of the political sovereign.

Whenever the Cabinet thinks that the House does not reflect the electoral opinion, it refers the issue to the electorate, *i.e.*, the political sovereign. The power of the Cabinet to dissolve the House of People is first of all limited by the President since the President may not accept the advice of dissolution if it is improperly asked for; and secondly, ultimately it is limited by the sovereign will of the nation, *i.e.*, the prospect of the next election. The people delegates power to the Parliament and Parliament allows the Cabinet to rule, subject to its constant criticism and vigilance. Whatever authority it exercises, it derives it from its creator. If the Cabinet exercises dictatorial power, it does it with the consent of the Parliament.

It is said of the Prime Minister of England that "he is endowed with such a plenitude of power as no other constitutional ruler in the world possesses, not even the President of the United States." As the Prime Minister of India holds analogous position to the Prime Minister of England, a comparison may by drawn between the President of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister of India. Both are the trusted leaders of the nation. Both work in a democratic Government—a Government subject to popular control. Both are popularly elected, the difference being that the President is directly elected by the people and the Prime Minister is elected in theory, in a roundabout way, by the elected representatives of the people. But in practice, the General Election today means the election of the Prime Minister. They also differ in many respects. The President has a fixed tenure of office, while the Prime Minister has not got it. The position of the Prime Minister depends on his command over his own party and the position of the party in the House of People. The powers of the President are absolute over a prescribed and limited sphere, and the powers of the Prime Minister are wide but not absolute. The President is the sole Magistrate of the Nation —to none he is responsible for his executive action. The President is in no sense the master of legislation. He has only suggestive and legislative powers. The Prime Minister initiates and controls legislation. In the legislative power, the President is less than the Prime Minister, and, in his executive power, he is more than the Prime Minister. At another point the President is limited, *i.e.*, the President always works under the constant threat of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court may declare any action and measure of the President void. But no such judicial supremacy has been established in India. The President of the U.S.A. is the ceremonial head of the State, but this power belongs to the President of India and not to the Prime Minister. In certain matters the President of the United States is more than the President of India; while in certain matters he is, also, equal or less than the Prime Minister of India. Hence, it is futile to prove that one is more powerful than the other. Because the power of one is greater in one respect and less than the other in another respect, and also because the powers vary between holders of powers. Much depends on the time factor and the personalities involved.

The next question is why Parliamentary Government has been introduced by the Constituent Assembly. To answer the question, we are to weigh the merits and demerits of the Parliamentary and the Presidential Governments. Lord Bryce in *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 464, narrates the merits of Parliamentary Government:

"It concentrates the plenitude of power in one body, the legislative, giving to its majority that absolute control of the executive which enables the latter, when supported by the legislature, to carry out the wishes of the majority with the maximum of vigour and promptness. The essence of the scheme is that the executive and the majority in the legislature work together, each influencing the other . . . The system is therefore calculated to secure swiftness and vigour in action and enables the Cabinet to press through such legislation as it thinks needed. . . . To these merits, there is to be added the concentration of responsibility. For any faults committed the legislature can blame the Cabinet and the people can blame both the Cabinet and the majority."

Another point of the Parliamentary Government is its feasibility and elasticity. It can adapt itself to sudden emergencies. The people can choose a ruler for the occasion in times of emergencies.

As to the demerits of the Parliamentary Government, Lord Bryce says:

"It intensifies the spirit of party and keeps it always on the boil. One party holds them, the other desires them, and the conflict is unending."

"In the legislature, it involves an immense waste of time and force" (pp. 466-68). It is a Government extremely partisan in character and it remains in power through partisanship.

It is a Government by plural executive, and, as such, in times of war or emergency, it may be weak.

As the sole Magistrate of the Nation the President can take quick and vigorous decision whenever needed. There is a greater sense of stability, because the shifting of political power takes place only in election times. Legislatures are less dominated by party spirit under the Presidential Government. But it is brought with serious defects. The separation of powers in the Presidential Government has made 'the forceful disjunction of things naturally connected.' (Lord Bryce: *Modern Democracies,* p. 468). It meets frequent deadlocks if the President is at odds with the Congress. As the legislature has no direct control over Presidential action, the President may turn irresponsible and autocrat. The Presidential system is based on 'periodic assessment of responsibility.' Whereas the Parliamentary system is based on 'daily assessment.'

Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, one of the framers of the Indian Constitution, explains the reasons of the adoption of the Parliamentary system in India:

"Firstly, the harmonious relations that should exist between the Legislature and the Executive to ensure the smooth working of an infant democracy. Secondly, for some years, at least prior to the new constitution, the Cabinet system has been working in fairly satisfactory manner in the different provinces in India. Thirdly, the need for bringing the constitution in the Indian States into lines with the responsible Government in the different provinces of India. Fourthly, the inappropriateness of having a presidential type of Government in the Union, and what is familiarly known as the Cabinet system in the different units comprising the Union. And fifthly, the fact that in no constitutional State in the world today exists such an officer with such vast powers as the President of the American Union, and the historical accidents connected with the institution of the American Presidency."—From an article entitled "The Indian Constitution" published in the *A. B. Patrika,* January 26, 1950.

With the last point we differ, the reasons for which have been discussed earlier. C. F. Strong opines that the Parliamentary system to be successful requires an established and well-defined party system. In its absence, the Government becomes unstable as in France. That is a bad feature of the Government.

"A Parliamentary executive can easily become corrupt, with the connivance of an Assembly itself not above corruption."

In the light of this opinion advanced by C. F. Strong, it is difficult to say whether it has become desirable for India to adopt the Parliamentary Government. But Strong again says:

"The problem of such new States, therefore, is to find the next stable form of Government consistent with the security of popular rights during the period necessary for experience to be gained. But it is probable that this stability is to be secured more certainly through the device of Parliamentary executive than through that of any other system."

After all, the form which works well in a country is the best for that country.

THE BIRTH OF MODERNISED ECONOMY IN INDIA

By Dr. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S.

It is an over-simplification leading to falsehood when we say that the Industrial Revolution was only a case of machine killing man—the machine being British and the man being the Indian handicraft artisan. The Bengali poet has sung:

Weaver and smith cry, "Alas! alas!
Plying the handloom and forge no longer brings us food."

The change was far more complex than this. It was really the supplanting of the old cottage industry and all its accessories by the modern world-wide organisation of entrepreneurship, finance and transport, and not merely labour-saving mechanical inventions like those of Arkwright and Crompton. Private capital has now come to dominate State action, which was never dreamt of under our Mughals or the Tudors of England.

The Charter of 1813 threw Indian trade open to the public, and that of 1833 extended this freedom by abolishing the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade. The impact of free private capital (at first almost entirely British) upon India's social life and economy was tremendous.

Bengal's production of cash crops had gone up at least three or four times during the forty years 1793-1833 (p. 253).

"One of the most important effects of the Charter of 1833 was the emergence not only of a middle class but of a constructive middle class ideology in India. Dwarka Nath Tagore and Ram Mohun Roy were the precursors of a new age." (p. 251).

This modernisation was possible only because there was an all-India British suzerain and a modern trained bureaucracy administering India as the result of Wellesley's and Marquis of Hastings' simplification of the political map of India. And their necessary wars of annexation were rendered possible only by the help of the British private capitalist investing in India. This last condition is usually quite forgotten by us.

As Prof. Tripathi writes:

"The opposition of R. C. Dutt and many other economists of his generation was not so much to the growth of a British Empire in India as to investment by private British capitalists in that enterprise. But it is doubtful whether so much capital would have been available from native resources alone, or the Indian capitalists would have agreed to accept the gradually diminishing rate of interest on public loans so long as land [after the gift of the Permanent Settlement of 1793] or rural money-lending remained more remunerative." (p 257).

"R. C. Dutt failed to differentiate between trade on private and on public account [between India and England in the days of the East India Company]. The 'drain' before 1813 arose from an application of territorial revenue to the provision of the investment [*i.e.,* the Company's perchase of Indain goods for export to England], but the drain after 1813 arose from remittance of an equivalent of the Home charges. R. C. Dutt failed to differentiate . . . that the drain by the Company during 1793-1833 was mostly in the form of goods—not surely in gold,—these goods were bought in the Bengal market for some value. Was it not, then, returning some direct equivalent to the land in the shape of prices? . . . Much of the drain on private account . . . took place in the medium of indigo . . . and Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohun Roy spoke of the benefit it conferred on the countryside." (pp. 256-257).

No economic *history* of India during the British connection has been yet written, and the *annals* which have so long occupied the stage are outdated and unreliable. But a number of monographs on particular aspects of the subject are being written by our younger scholars, which will supply materials to the synthetic historian of the future. Among these a place in the front rank belongs to Dr. Amalesh Tripathi's *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833,* which Orient Longmans have recently published. (Price Rs. 20.). In reading it I have been struck by the wide range and depth of the author's research among unprinted sources, minute accuracy in handling facts and figures, sobriety of judgment and courage in exploding popular myths. He has woven his detailed statistics so cleverly together and given the reader a breathing space at intervals by inserting summaries and reflections that in his hands economics has ceased to be "a dismal science." His Chapter VI on "Some Conclu-

sions," is so thought-provoking that I have read it twice over. His aim here is to investigate a problem:

"The impact of a complex alien administration and a superior economic system naturally proved ruinous to (India's age-old economic) rotten edifice. But how far did this impact contain the seeds of a new economic life? We must analyse its consequences for each social class to answer this question."

* * *

And the survey is illuminating.

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GANDHIAN WAY AND BHOODAN

By MANKUMAR SEN

Bhoodan or Land-gifts Mission is an extension of the Gandhian way, or the way of Non-violence. As everyone knows, it was Mahatma Gandhi—the greatest of the Moderns—who pioneered practical non-violence and stirred the Indian Nation to a fearless struggle for freedom. Apart from non-violent non-co-operation and voluntary suffering—instead of reprisals or retaliation in the violent method as adopted by the alien rule—on a national scale, Gandhiji also drafted a programme of National Construction like removal of caste barriers, spinning in every home for self-sufficiency in cloth, resuscitation of village industries, total prohibition, etc., and ushered in the same through the vehicles of a number of All-India Organizations, *viz.* All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, All India Spinners' Association, All-India Village Industries' Association, etc. He was motivated by the concept of 'Sarvodaya' (a Bengali word) which means 'welfare of all.' And non-violence is the only means to this end according to Mahatma Gandhi. For, true to Indian tradition, culture and essence of religions, Gandhiji had implicit faith in the oneness of spirit, or that the same Almighty was existent in all his beings. Also he fully believed in the innate goodness of man, whatever might be his failures or faults to-day. Due to this oneness philosophy, which in fact has been the philosophy of Indian life through the ages, Gandhiji ruled out violence as a means; because, besides the inevitable reaction of such violent action, violence against any of God's beings would mean violence against one's ownself. So, one who had the welfare of all or universal development in his view and mission could not but adopt only non-violence as the means.

Politically, application of this means was the major power, if not the sole power, which led to the goal of freedom for India under Gandhiji's leadership. It was, however, absolutely due to the Gandhian way of non-violent struggle that British quit India but the mutual goodwill of these two great Nations remained unimpaired. It was a parting of the ways by agreement, and in spite of the Partition of India clause, will ever remain an unprecedented historic event.

More than the winning of freedom it was the retention of freedom which presented a stupendous responsibility before India. By the irony of fate, it was at this crucial moment that India was orphaned. On 30th January, 1948, that is, within a few months of India's Independence, an assassin's bullet removed the beacon-light of Truth and Love. Gandhiji was no more.

But, perhaps God destined to carry the torch of truth and love further and further ahead. So came Vineba—Acharya Vinoba Bhave—a Maharastrian and one of the staunchest followers of Mahatma Gandhi, who spent nearly 40 years in self-chosen seclusion or *sadhana* under the fostering care of his Master, as if in preparation for the coming revolution. It was indeed a very critical chapter in India's history. In the wake of Partition a ceaseless migration of refugees into the country, besides being itself a most bewildering problem, was threatening to unsettle other spheres of national endeavour too. Communal forces were uncompromising and the Communists too were reaping a good harvest, particularly in the Telengana area of South India. They murdered a number of landlords and big intermediaries, conducted loot and arson and created a terror to forcibly dispossess the landlords and give their land to the landless. For once, there was no rule of law. Government retaliated by the might of superior arms and restored land to their owners. In between such violent action and more violent reaction, the problem of the landless remained as before, rather it became more complex as the masses of the people, having lost whatever little peace they had in life, were unwilling to take either of the parties into their confidence. It was in this background of encircling and galloping gloom that Vinoba Bhave started, on foot, for Telengana, on 15th April, 1951, from Shivarnampalli in Hyderabad where he had reached on 7th April, 1951, to attend the All-India Sarvodaya Conference. Regarding this walking tour of Telengana he once remarked:

> "I wanted to tour the Telengana as a soldier of *Shanti Sena* (Army of Peace) in order to propagate the message of peace."

And what was the problem of Telengana?

"Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as his own." He also observed:

> "The rich people are responsible for the creation of Communists. The rich, in fact, are the father of the Communists."

Pointing out the futility of police action, he said:

> "In summer you will not find grass but as soon as the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow and there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So, we must root out this menace by adopting the right path." And "the only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land in a peaceful way."

How Vinoba actually struck upon this peaceful way is a fascinating story.

It was the 18th day of April, 1951. Vinoba, who had encamped at Pachampalli village, was speaking to a gathering of Harijans (down-trodden so-called low-caste people) who were all landless. They told, in reply to a query by Vinoba, that 80 acres of land would suffice for their settlement on land. This pathetic appeal naturally left Vineba in deep anxiety and meditation, he knew not how to fulfil their needs which were extremely reasonable and urgent. And, then, as if in loud thinking, he posed:

> "If land is not provided by the Government or if they take time, cannot something be done by the village people themselves?"

There was pin-drop silence. Suddenly one V. R. Reddy got up and offered to make a gift of one hundred acres of land! It was a pleasant surprise which took even Vinova aback. And thus fell down the first drop of Bhoodan or land-gift of which the total during the five years ending June 30, 1956, is as large as 4,200,000 acres, including 1,110 *gramdan* or donation of the entire cultivable land of the village for redistribution according to needs. *Gramdan* constitutes a revolutionary phase of Bhoodan and has been recognised even by 'practical' men like economists as full of possibilities. It has, while rooting out classes or distinctions which accrue from the quantum of possession, been building up Socialistic society logically from below and has put a permanent brake on exploitation of land for commercial purposes.

So far Vineba has walked over 20,000 miles. He walks and walks and knows no rest. Saints in India have, as if in a tradition, always toured on foot to propagate their message. But those were the times when there were no vehicles or speedy transport in rural India and one could not but move on foot. But today, despite a wide net-work of power-driven conveyance throughout the country Vinova is walking thousands and thousands of miles on foot, pressing home to the people the challenge of the age which is Sarvodaya or Universal Development, and asking for land-gift. The reason is obvious. He wants to enter straight into the hearts of his listeners and help unite their hearts which the impact of this machine age has terribly broken. He wants to replace the rule of machine by the rule of man. He is not opposed to scientific inventions; rather he is more scientific than most of our modern scientists For, he points out, when science by nature is progressive you must maintain this progress by saving science from disaster. Have we not had enough of the consequences of scientific violence, in the form of Atom Bomb, which altogether wiped out Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two cities of Japan? In this age of science, even a spark of violence is apt to turn into global conflagration and bring about total destruction. So, if human civilization is to survive non-violence is the only way.

Vinoba had adopted this way first in land redistribution, which admittedly is the most formidable issue before India, in fact, before the whole of Asia. Land is the mainstay of living for the masses in this part of the globe. Each and every landless producer must get land. He will possess the holding, Vinoba emphasizes, but will not own it. Society or the village alone will be the owner of land. Like light, air, water and other basic elements created by God or Nature, land also is a free gift and must not be owned by any person. It must be shared equally by all that is, the ownership shall vest in the village or a bigger unit of society. It is this approach to social ownership, as against both individual and State control, which has induced Vinoba to ask for land both from big and small land-holders. "Attachment may lurk even in a loin cloth," he warns. It does lurk. Be he a landlord, a small land-holder or a landless person, the attachment to private ownership or possession is equally strong. Bhoodan seeks to liquidate this feeling of personal property and, therefore, exhorts all possessions, big and small, to be donated to the society's common pool for redistribution according to needs. Figures of land collection, including land of over eleven hundred whole villages, provide a magnificent testimony as to how man can respond to the call of love and peaceful persuasion.

'But why not bring out all excess land by law and redistribute the same', that is the most common question put forward particularly by a section of the educated classes or intelligentsia. In reply another question may be asked, 'Has law ever been able to solve any problem?' It only appears to have solved but actually cannot offer any benefits unto the last man or the most needy man in the society. For instance, Untouchability in India has been prohibited by the Indian Constitution itself, but un-

touchables are still there almost as before. So, ultimately, it is the change of man's heart, a revolutionary change in the system of thought, which can revolutionize his life and action. Neither the bayonet nor the coercive legislation can initiate this fundamental change in approach. Even for legislations to be effective, a favourable mass opinion is the first pre-requisite. Indian States have legislated against large holdings and intermediary interests. But, even the most brainy legislation has its loopholes through which the designing persons can wriggle out. The landlords have variously challenged the land laws; what was more befooling, many of them shared their land, in between their inmates and relatives, reduced the size of per capita holding and thus baffled the transfer of land—in excess of the statutory 'ceiling'—to the State. It is noteworthy that legislations throughout India have failed to bring under State ownership even as much land as Bhoodan or voluntary donation has brought. And this donation was by five lakh donors and not by a handful of big men. In fact, it is the small men who have donated more and this has organized the forces of peaceful revolution which Bhoodan visualises. Donation of whole villages has strengthened them still further. Not that redistribution alone will solve the problem; redistributed land per family cannot be the absolute source of living; so, village and home industries are supplementing their income along with intensive farming with up-to-date methods consistent with the pattern and needs of rural life.

So voluntary sharing is the message inherent in Bhoodan. Sharing not of land alone, but of other properties too. It is an expanding and all-pervasive idea. Since one can hardly so revolutionize his outlook all at once as to sacrifice his entire possession for sharing by neighbours, Vinoba asks today only for a part of the possession. Let one begin with a modest acceptance of the principle. He is certain, once initiated in the principle, it will not take one long to fully dispossess himself.

Bhoodan, therefore, is no mere collection of land gifts and redistribution of the same. It is a guiding principle of life, which, however, begins with land—the source of all production—agricultural, industrial or otherwise.

It is also interesting to note that villagers themselves execute the redistribution work unanimously. People of the village assemble in a meeting, draw out the list of the landless, fix up priorities and distribute land accordingly. This is also an affair as fascinating as the offering of land-gift. It is the age of either rule by minority entrenched in the power of arms or by majority with the power of votes. Gandhiji dreamt and struggled for the rise and welfare of all, for 'Sarvodaya' in the society. Bhoodan Movement, for the first time in history, has ushered in an era of unanimous decision or real democracy. That the least governed is the best governed is universally accepted. Socialism or Communism which claims to have introdured a new system of government has been consolidating the power of the State as opposed to the Marxian theory of an ideal State where the State will wither away or be liquidated. Sarvodaya movement—with Bhoodan as the maiden step—is liquidating the centralized State power, brick by brick, village by village. The people's power is organizing on an incredible scale and a Representative Village Body is taking upon itself the management of the day-to-day affairs of the community. To look less and less up to Government for basic needs is the first lesson for self-rule or Swaraj. Bhoodan is a mighty step to that end. Bhoodan's international implication is also great and far-reaching. Atom Bomb and similar weapons of total destruction appear to have disillusioned today even the warlords or war-mongers. Never before round-the-table conferences between rival nations were so frequent. The reason is obvious, all want to avert another war which will inevitably destroy both the victor and the vanquished. This growing abhorrence of violence has not, however, been followed up by adherence to non-violence or actual confidence in non-violence as a solvent of discords. Co-existence cannot last long unless positive measures are taken to re-build the co-existing nations on the principle and power of non-violence. Greatness or catholicity which non-violence involves is theoretically too well-known to bear repetition. The crying need of the hour is, therefore, practical non-violence or non-violence as an instrument of social build-up and national solidarity. Only after we have actually solved our comparatively small national problems by the means of non-violence that our exhortations for non-violence in international relations will command real respect and inspire confidence. After Mahatma Gandhi, the mantle has fallen on Vinoba Bhave to establish the power of non-violence. Bhoodan or Land-gifts Mission in India, therefore, holds in it the hopes of permanent international peace too. Bhoodan is the beginning of a peaceful social revolution or revolution by love. Only a peaceful means can lead to peace. Revolution, after all, is the cumulative effect of great ideas. And ideas have wings to fly and transcend all boundaries. Bhoodan is redefining revolution in terms of permanent human values. Bayonet destroys human heart, law breaks it and Bhoodan unites it. Hands or heads may be many but heart will be one in the whole society, says Vinova. Success of Bhoodan in India will, therefore, ensure permanent peace at home and abroad through the unity of heart.

REFLECTIONS ON MODERN INDIAN PAINTING

The Folk Tradition

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

Some competent and outspoken artists and art-critics believe that the Great Renaissance of Indian Art inaugurated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his first band of brilliant disciples, attained its summit and later met with its decline during the life-time of the master and that it has outlived its great aim. As an artist and teacher Abanindranath was supreme. He exhorted his students to develop their own individuality and to give their genius full play. This great freedom of

Rangoli (*water colour painting*)
By S. D. Chavda

artistic perception and expression assiduously insisted upon and encouraged by Abanindranath resulted in Indian artists seeking fresh fields and pastures new. The spirit of intelligent enquiry and diligent reserach fostered by Abanindranath revitalised the creative genius of Indian artists, and great and far-reaching has been the outcome. The vocabulary of Indian Art has been enlarged and enriched almost to alarming proportions by present-day Indian painters who have derived stimulus from Abanindranath's advice to study, assimilate, and create something new and solid.

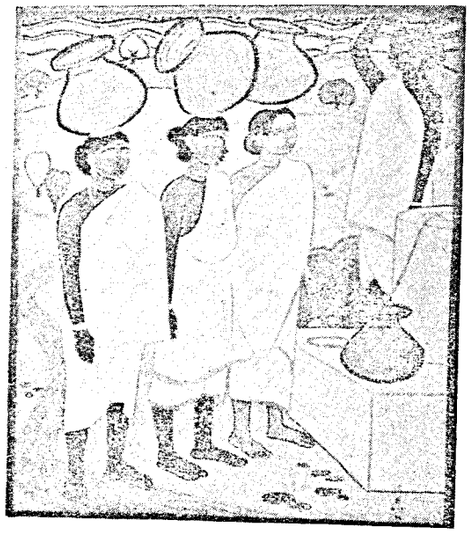
Even during the heyday of the Renaissance, creative artists like Gaganendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Jamini Roy and Amrit Sher Gil broke away from Revivalism as such and heralded Radicalism in Indian painting. Achieving a synthesis of the best traits of Western and Eastern painting and retaining the soul of Indian Art, these stalwarts created art-history with their aggressively new creations. A wizard of form and colour, the great Abanindranath watched with love and interest the incoming new trends. *The Last Journey*, an impressionist rendering of Rabindranath Tagore's funeral procession, from the brush of Abinindranath, so divergent in vision, technique and atmosphere from his earlier works, indicates that the Great Master foresaw the paths of progress cut by the younger artists.

Significant and truly original has been the contribution of Gaganendranath Tagore, Amrit Sher Gil and Jamini Roy to modern Indian painting. Their works gave inspiration, strength and courage to other Indian artists to explore, experiment and achieve astonishingly new forms of art-expression. A great impressionist painter of daring originality and ultramodernity, Gaganendranath Tagore was the first great and competent exponent of Cubistic Art in India. Without imitating in any manner Western Cubism, he created a new, rare and delightful language of art by his own independent method of analysis of light and shade in his synthesis of original Indian creations. Amrit Sher Gil's robust feeling for simplified form and rich colour sense distinguished her as a talented neo-impressionistic painter.

Mother and Child (*Oil colour*)
By Badri Narayan

Sunayani Devi and Jamini Roy came later, each heralding a new style, an extension of age-old Folk Art. They exploited successfully and with tremendous popular appeal the conventions of Bengal Folk Art and the Kalighat *Pat* Paintings, and became the most outstanding creators and exponents of the new primitivism

in Indian Art. The old folk art of Bengal inspired the creations of Sunayani Devi which are truly remarkable for their depth of feeling and transcendent spiritual experiences. The competent and colourful repetitions of the Bengal folk art *motifs* by Jamini



At the well (*water colour painting*)
By S. D. Chavda

Roy, so full of decorative charm and direct appeal, achieved world-fame very soon. The experiments of these pioneers in folk art idiom, and the popular esteem which their works commanded, caught the fancy of the younger progressive painters in other parts of India and these adventurers took to exploiting zealously the traditional folk art *motifs* peculiar to their own territories. Folk Art soon became an infectious and irresistible mania with modern Indian artists who strove to express themselves in their native dialect and whose avowed aim was to discover newer forms and create sensations. The most world-famous exponent of Indian Folk Art is Jamini Roy. His amazing success as a master in the Bengal Folk Art *motif* is solely responsible for folk art becoming the rage and craze of the day. Phenomenal and bewildering has been the growth of, and all world recognition to, Indian Folk Art idiom during the past two decades. This is essentially due to the bold and indefatigable labours of Jamini Roy whose lone, long and arduous struggle towards simplification of colour and form has been crowned with unprecedented success. "He wished to paint his blood and his people. The search after configurations of basic form and equal colour led him from oils to earth colours or tempera, to the monumentality of dolls made in Bengal villages, to the ideoplastic realism of children, to the chromatic strength and simple but rich affirmation of life that one finds in the art of our people."

The Kangra Valley school of painting unexcelled in the delicacy of line, brilliancy of colours, symbolism in expression, minuteness of decorative detail and harmony with Nature, which bears the impress of the beautiful life and landscape of the love-laden hills, has also been described as Folk Art, because in these masterpieces of truly Indian Art is mirrored the day-to-day life of the common people in all its rich intensity and variety. "What Chinese Art achieved for landscape, is here accomplished for human love." This is folk art at its highest which no modern Indian artist is capable of even successfully imitating. What is popularly understood as folk art, the idiom which Jamini Roy and a brilliant band of followers have exploited, is the old folk art of the villages, and

Basket-weaver (*water-colour painting on silk*)
By Kamala Mittal

not the grand, unique, lofty art of the Kangra Valley School which remains one of the wonders of artistic expression.

Folk Art in India has a very rich and ancient heritage, bearing intimate relationship with the religious, social and cultural traditions of the country, which vary with peoples and places in the different parts of India. Illustrating in a simple, direct, delightful, and easy-to-understand manner the spontaneous aesthetic tastes of the masses, folk art has found sumptuous and absolutely indigenous expression in home-made toys,

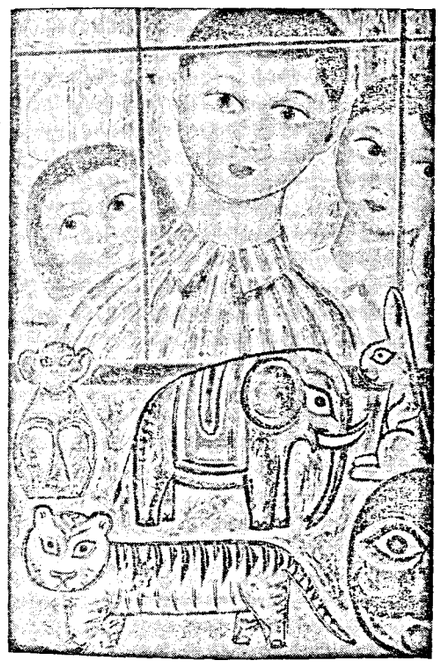
Village teacher (*water colour painting*)
By P. L. Narasimha Murty

Basket weaving (*water colour painting*)
By K. Rajiah

Pallanguzhi—Indian game (*Tempera painting*)
By K. Srinivasalu

Mat making (Exhibited at Washington in America in 1953)
Tempera painting—By K. Srinivasalu

pottery, cloth, utensils, puppet shows, clay figures of deities and animals, and in the finger-drawn designs embellishing houses, all the handwork of poor, illiterate, unsophisticated men and women. Old folk art is thus a significant and joy-imparting, yet simple and soul-searing phase of the traditional art of the people which, though somewhat crude and primitive, is vital with energy and aesthetic charm. Sincerity, sanity, sobriety and restraint distinguish folk art and elevate it to great heights.



Dolls (*water colour painting*)
By Kalyan Sen

Profound is the inner significance of folk art, lovely is its external form. It illustrates, through strong, flowing lines, and indigenous, flat colours, the culture of our people and their irresistible urge for artistic expression. The *motifs* of Indian folk art vary according to the different religious cults and their symbolic expressions in rustic rituals. Exquisite and elaborate designs drawn with coloured rice-powder in front of and inside houses by Indian womenfolk and considered auspicious, constitute finest examples of Indian folk art. Divergent in idealistic, mystic, symbolic, and realistic conceptions, these lively, decorative drawings provide an endless repertoire to the modern Indian painters who exploit the old folk art *motifs*. The *Alpana* in Bengal, *Chowkpurna* in U.P., *Mandana* in Rajasthan, *Rangoli* in Maharashtra, *Satiya* in Gujerat, *Kolam* in Tamil Nad, and *Kalam* in Kerala, are all highly decorative and imaginative forms of Folk Art, each different in manner, method and content. These designs have a long cultural history behind them and they are associated with village festivals and ceremonies peculiar to the localities concerned. They mirror the life of the rustic folk with characteristic candour and simplicity.

The best and most widely known examples of Indian folk art are the famous Bengal *Pata Chitras* and Kalighat *Pat Paintings*, the former on cloth as scrolls

The White Elephant by moonlight
(*Water colour and ink*)
By Badri Narayan

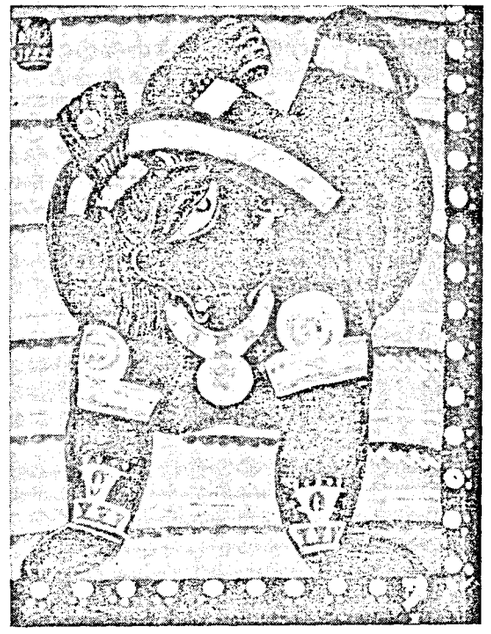
and the latter on handmade paper, all indigenous in style. Gautama Buddha has recorded his appreciation of the *Patas*, and Buddhagosha of the 1st century A.D. has commented upon it. Kalidasa, Bhavabhuthi and Visakhadatta have, in their famous works, referred to these paintings. The themes pictured in the old *Patas* were the episodes from the colourful lyrics and epics, mainly relating to Sri Krishna, Sri Rama, and Sri Chaitanya. *Ghazir Pats*, popular among Muslims of Bengal, illustrated stories from Ghazi and Kalu. Hindu and Muslim village artists of old were equally clever in painting both Hindu and Muslim theological and popular themes in the *Pat* paintings which form the basis of Indian folk art. Representational and narrative in style, bold and colourful in execution, amazing in the harmony of masses and sensitive

patterning, the *Pat* paintings illustrate the peculiar technique so charmingly elaborated in the railing pillars of Bharhut and Sanchi of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. "In the *Pats* the head shown in profile, the eyes in full view, the trunk also in front view, and the conformation and movement of the figrues and their parts are limited to a few typical shapes."

Hanuman (*water colour*)
By Badri Narayan

When Sudhir Khastgir, one of the leading contemporary Indian artists, visited the world-famous sculptor Eric Gill in England, the old master showed Khastgir a magnificent hand-painted Kalighat *Pat* and exlaimed: "This is the sort of Art that the artists of your country have produced. What can we teach you Indians?" Boldness of composition, bounding, vigorous and spontaneous lines and vivid colours, and all-pervading rhythm, distinguish these *Pat*-paintings of human and deific subjects and asimals. Astonishing is their *naivete* and directness, their mass appeal and mass application, their bold simplifications and robust forms and chromatic effects.

Modern Indian artists who have adopted the folk art idiom of old and given it a new orientation do not ignore tradition and technique. A revivalism of folk art has been achieved by them. They use as far as possible primary colours with arresting boldness and competence. Flat in character and two-dimensional, with no depth, folk art is rich in its possibilities of rhythmic patterns and decorative effects. Their chosen media are water colours and tempera colours. Intricacies of light and shade do not bother them in the least. Through firm and flowing lines, intimately indigenous patterns, *motifs* and prototypes, they achieve amazing pictorial effects, at once simple and delightful. Paramount virtues of simplicity, refreshing colour contrasts, and direct and intense emotional impact of the folk art style paintings find favour with the masses who



The Child Sri Krishna (*water colour painting*)
By P. L. Narasimha Murty

feel the heart-beats of their land and life in the pictures which evoke in them intimate local associations. The vigorous and aesthetically delightful statement of form and the soul-searing expression of the dominant *bhava* and *rasa* render folk art studies quite extraordinary and fascinating. Their rhythmic organisation of form and colour, ornate patterning and disarming *naivete* and their glamorous magic of sombre colour schemes are obviously pleasing and aesthetically moving. Folk art provides both *anandam* and *vinodam*.

The artists who paint in the folk art style are our truly national painters. The folk art painters of the present day have an utter indifference for the background of their paintings. They make free and frequent use of the richly variegated designs in the colourful village dance masks, pottery, toys and clay idols, imparting to them individual alterations, taking care to preserve the stamp of rustic simplicity, bearing all signs of unsophisticated workmanship characteristic of the villagers. They respect the conviction, abundantly substantiated by old

folk art, that the village painter's and craftsman's approach to form and colour is psychologically correct and direct and they draw unlimited inspiration from folk songs, old costumes and jewellery and the colourful dances and festivals. By clever and systematic manipulations of apparently old worn-out forms and hackneyed ideas, and scintillating them with the genius of real, creative art, accomplished masters of folk art like Jamini Roy and K. Srinivasalu continue to focus the attention of the art-world in their truly remarkable studies in flat oriental colours. This, indeed, is a mighty achievement when a host of alien 'isms' have invaded the Indian art-world and captured realms of their own.

Watering plant (*water colour painting*)
By K. Rajiah

Folk or Village Art is still a living stream and a strong and virile formative element in modern Indian art, with the result that some of the great artists trained in the Revivalist and Radical Schools are not able to withstand its temptations. Thus we see artists of the calibre of Nandalal Bose, Kalyan Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee, Jagadish Mittal, Kamala Mittal, S. D. Chavda, N. M. Ingole, K. C. S. Panikar, and K. B. Hebbar, executing paintings in the folk art idiom, while the sponsors of Revivalism in folk art, led by Jamini Roy, the doyen of Indian artists, follow no other *motif*. Jamini Roy, Binod Behari Mukhopadhyay, Sunil Paul, Satish Das Gupta, Kshitin Chakravarty and P. Mukherjee are the outstanding Bengali artists who have drawn inspiration from Bengal folk art and painted several folk art studies of high excellence. K. Rajiah, Badri Narayan and D. Doraiswamy are the three gifted artists of Telengana whose paintings in the truly Andhra folk art style have won great distinction. K. Srinivasalu and P. L. Narasimhamurti of Madras, whose works are inspired by the folk art *motifs* of South India, are accomplished artists who have won fame. K. K. Hebbar, S. D. Chavda and Bhanu Smart of Bombay have to their credit a few excellent folk art studies, influenced by the old folk art of South Canara and Maharashtra. Thanks to the art-creations of these painters, folk art is no longer confined to the peasantry and the villages; the manifold charms of village art are fast becoming the common treasure of the whole nation.

The credit for having rediscovered and interpreted with competence and courage the old folk art of Bengal and heralded the Folk Art Revival in India goes solely to the stalwart Jamini Roy. K. Srinivasalu ranks next for his pioneering efforts to reinterpret South Indian folk art. Their bold vision and direct statement, eliminating mere prettiness and sentimentality, the simplification of form to accentuate essentials, their drawing of contours with bold heavy outlines that sweep in extreme simplification, and their use of heavy, sombre colours in big contrasting masses, have opened the eyes and hearts of other painters and influenced them to exploit folk art and invent an artistic esperanto of their own.

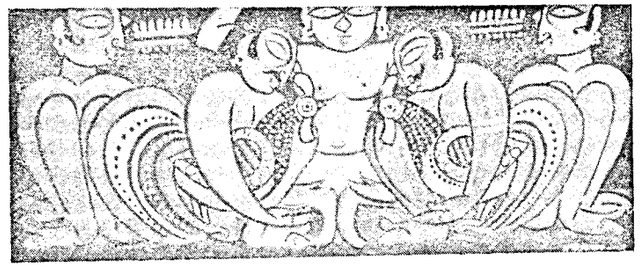
The following intimate observations by two of the gifted present-day Indian paisters who follow the folk art idiom are revealing:

> "Once I happened to see the dolls and toys made by some professional toy-makers belonging to a certain caste. They attracted my attention and gripped my imagination. I then decided to represent Folk Art in my paintings embodying the thought process of these rustic folk. I made myself familiar with the unsophisticated atmosphere of the villages. Folk Art represents the cult of devotion *Bhakti*, and definitely manifests transparently the aesthetic values of life. The religious approach to the problems of life signify the essence of Folk Art", so says K. Rajiah.

Badri Narayan says:

> "I have taken inspiration from the folk tradition for it is a vital, spontaneous and robust style. It keeps to essentials. And that means much."

A handful of artists of the Revivalistic School who have attained world-fame, do not, however, take kindly to the craze for folk art. To them it is "mere intellectual fanaticism," a sort of clever exploitation on the part of artists and art-critics to boost up folk art. They think that folk art is not standard art and that it has no place in an ultra-modern drawing room. But the great and growing demand from leading and thogutful art-collectors and art-museums all over the world for folk art style paintings by Jamini Roy and others have given the lie direct to this contention and established



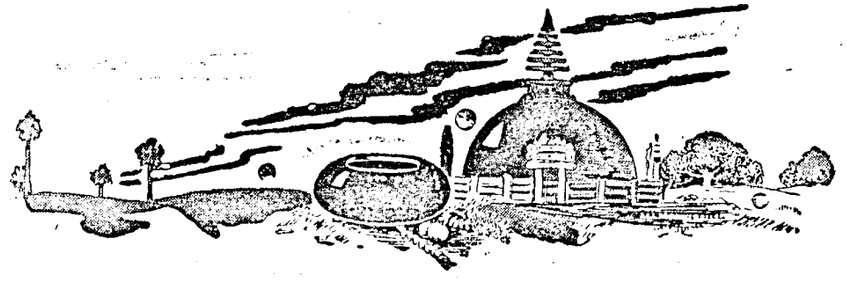
Cock Fight (*Tempera painting*)
By K. Srinivasalu

that Folk Art Revival is a great achievement which has come to stay. It is no exaggeration to say that next to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the contemporary Indian Master, Jamini Roy is the most famous Asian artist who has won all-world eminence.

The present-day Indian Art is a most disturbing and intriguing conglomeration of totally divergent trends and influences from all over the world, primitive, medieval and modern, the keynote of which is versatility and variety, astounding in quality and quantity. With modern Indian artists Art is no longer representational, but a passionate searching and never-ending discovery of new life forms, a constructive and virile extension of the individual mind. Modern Indian artists have achieved tremendous success in the Abstract and Folk idioms. It cannot be denied that in some works in these aggressively original styles, there are newer aesthetic forms which contain the essence of great art. The most audacious innovations and rampant individualism of the modern art epoch have been considerably inspired by old folk art.

Folk Art is not crude and archaic as some highbrow artists and critics opine. It is the art of the masses and therefore the most natural and pleasing expression of their souls. It is the spontaneous vehicle of their exclusive and immediate aesthetic response to environmental affinities, in which is mirrored their unspohisticated philosophy, their joy of life. Maintaining through the ages its unique individuality, antiquity and traditional characteristics, folk art illustrates the vital, primitive, psychic urge for the creative expression of rustic folk which finds simple, sweet and direct expression straight from the mind and heart, unalloyed by preconceived notions and wilful deceptions and delusions, and divested of extraneous drapings and coverings handed over from generation to generation through hereditary calling as a sort of *Kula Dharma*. Lovers of art culture should be grateful to Jamini Roy, K. Srinivasalu and others for having cognised in full measure the intrinsic worth of the traditional folk art of India, and for keeping it alive through their individual interpretations, without indulging in artistic conundrums and conjurings, by which some of the present-day Indian painters extort public appreciation.

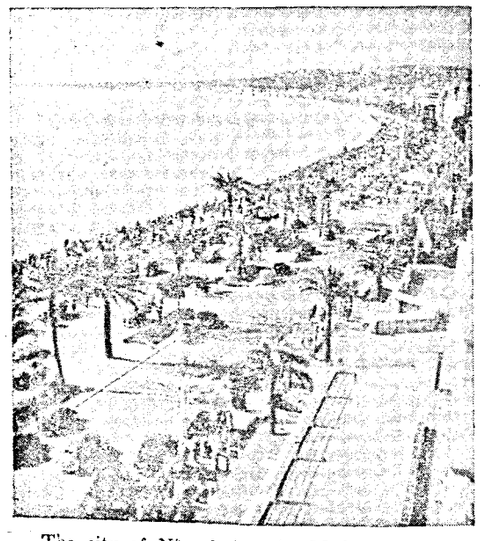
Real, old, great, beautiful India gives gay and soul-entrancing glimpses of her ancient culture and aesthetic values through noble, national Folk Art, a rich treasure-house which will provide firm capital and basis to generations of creative artists with vision for the evolution of original artistic expression through exciting experiences in line, colour and form.



NICE—THE PRIDE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

FRANCE is aptly hailed as a world within world. A dereamland of the tourists, it is a darling spot of the connoisseurs of beauty and celestial charms of Nature. The three leading objects which have brought endless reputation to this blessed country are the changing fashions, vine-yards and the seaside resorts. All of the three hundred and odd beaches of France have something unique and graceful which none can afford to miss.

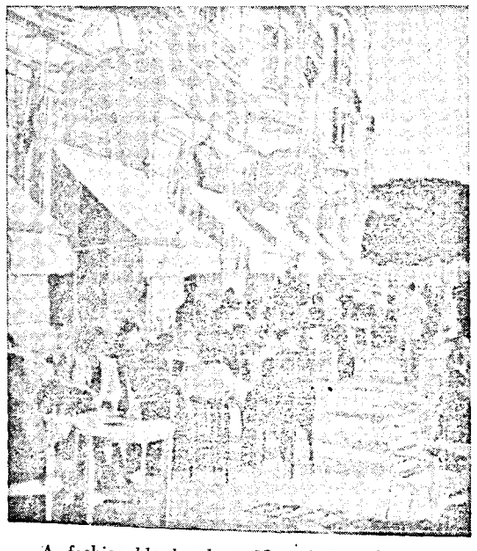


The city of Nice facing the Mediterranean

Perhaps the most outstanding seaside resort is Nice, which lies majestically facing the Mediterrarean on the Riviera. With its pleasant climate and year-round showers, industries and institutions, the city unfolds irresistible charms of Nature. The imposing structures and well-maintained parks, glittering restaurants packed with gay, fun-loving people are an added attraction to the novelty of Nice.

The sparkling waves of the laziest sea of the world wash out the golden sand of Nice which is a real pride of the Mediterranean. Indeed this resort is more attractive than Menton, Cannes or Juanles-pins on the Fresh Riviera. Here the people gather from all quarters of the globe to bathe and laze out, bask in the sunshine and sing and dance. There is unceasing activity on this beach with thousands of people moving about in the ecstasy of delight and fun. The display of fashions and coldurful costumes at Nice is most magical and heightens the scenic beauty of the seaside. While the youngsters swim in the warm waters and the elders relax, the young lovers meet under the shady haunts of Nice for fun, exhilaration and romance.

It is a happy omen that the French are conscious of the customs and age-long traditions of their country.



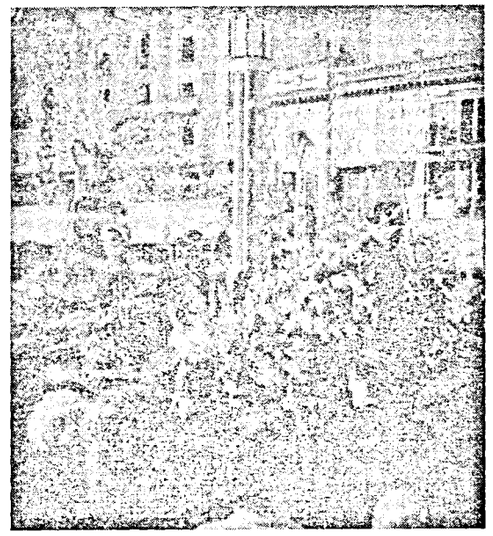
A fashionable hotel at Nice facing the sea

Fun-loving and adventurous by their very nature, they have a number of delightful carnivals celebrated in all their grandeur and seriousness. A leading carnival of Nice is the *Devil Dance* which makes one laugh and wonder. The performers, dressed in multi-coloured attire and having huge artifical heads, move about in the streets to the accompaniment of bands and pipes. Another equally fascinating festival is the *Battle of Flowers* celebrated year after year in all its pomp and serenity.

Fashionable parties, "curious dances," ballets and musical concerts, so common in summer and winter, live up to the expectation of the world-tourists who pack themselves at Nice long before the Theatre

Devil Dance—an outstanding carnival of Nice
Here the performers are seen in their fancy dresses and strange figures enjoying and singing

season has commenced. Who on earth can ever afford to miss the festivities at Palais de la Mediterranee and Municipal Casino? The fortnight-long fashion festivities of Madigras, the Flower Gala and the "Jade-Green and Mandarine" Ridotto are the other leading items of the

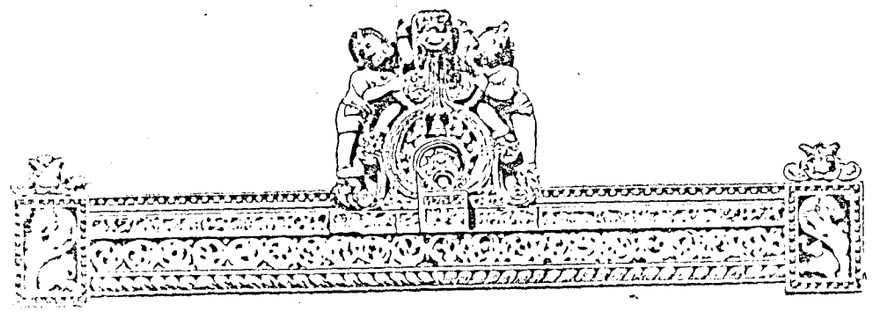


The Battle of Flowers
Arranging all sorts of flowers in a large jar the battle is about to be started

current year at Nice which is already over-crowded by the aristocrats and leading personalities.

The fabulous entertainments and parties have thus made Nice the dispenser of magic and fun. One comes here to forget one's sorrows and problems, to live and enjoy, drink and dance, in the most complete sense of the terms. Nice is a dream-city with unfailing promises to its visitors from the whole world.*

* Photos by courtesy of the Director, French Government Tourist Office, Bombay.



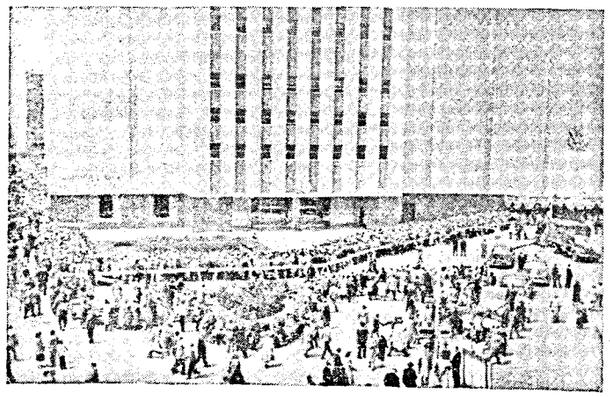
FIFTH INTERNATIONAL STAMP SHOW

Some 260,000 postage stamp enthusiasts visited the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition (Fipex) which was held in New York City recently at the newly constructed Coliseum. More than 60 countries of the free world officially took part in the exhibition, the largest number ever to participate in a stamp show.

In a special message to the exhibition, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote:

> "By this exhibit the dramatic story of modern communication, uniting all nations of the world by their postal system, is vividly told . . . . The stamps of the world are powerful object lessons in the eternal hunger of men for knowledge and news about their fellow-men. They are a pictorial history of all the arts and sciences and human progress in them since the earliest civilizations."

Great Britain sent to the exhibition, together with many other treasures, the original steel dies of the Penny Black and Two-Penny Blue stamps of 1840, also the Penny Black 1840, the first sheet of postage stamps to be printed in the world.



Part of the crowd which visited the newly completed Coliseum in New York City at the time of the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition

The display from Switzerland consisted of many large frames of stamps from the country's Postal Museum and from the printing firm of Courvoisier which produces stamps for Switzerland and some 30 other countries. This exhibit also had a novel conveyor belt display which showed original drawings, essays, color trials as well as the finished stamps.

The exhibit from Sweden included some of the most valuable stamps from its Postal Museum collection, documents relating to 16th century postal service and royal decrees issued in connection with the first Swedish postal stamps of 1855.

The Universal Postal Union which was established in 1874 featured a display which traced the history of the postal union through the stamps, postal stationery and covers of many of the 96 countries which now belong to the postal union.

The United States exhibit showed highly prized postal issues in a display entitled "Americana in Stamps." From the National Postage Stamp Collection which is housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington were brought U.S. and foreign postal items many of which were never before displayed ouside the Capital. Employees of the U.S. Bureau of Engraving demonstrated designing, plate-making and printing of stamps. Another display illustrated the 15 steps from the mailing of a regular 3-cent letter to its delivery.

At the British Guiana exhibit, crowds waited in line to look at the one-cent black-on-magenta stamp of 1856, the world's rarest and most valuable postal item. There was also great interest in the display from Francis Cardinal Spellman's collection, "Religion on Stamps."

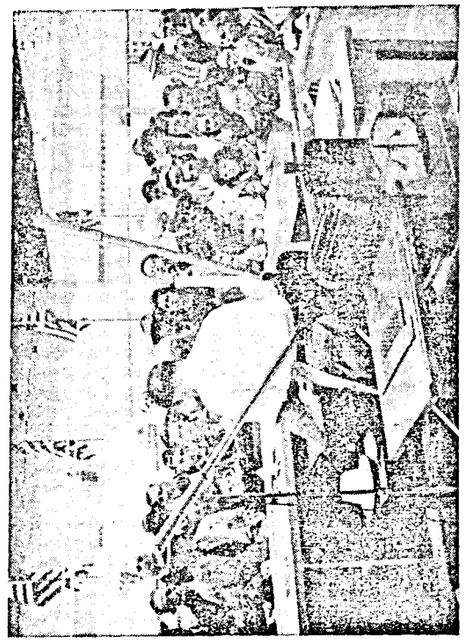
Many people visited the Hall of Color which presented a brief course in color for the philatelist.

Competing for a wide range of prizes at the show were 2,300 frames of stamps submitted by individual collectors. The "Best in the Show" trophy was awarded to Roberto Hoffmann of Montevideo for his display of Uruguayan stamps issued between 1856 and 1864. Giam Francesco G. Ferrini of Candeli, Italy, won the "Best 19th Century" trophy for stamps of the states and provinces of Italy before the unification of 1870.

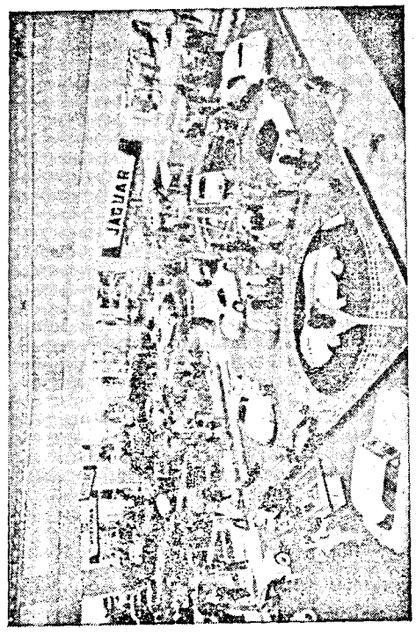
For the first time in international philatelic exhibitions, women won two top prizes. The "Best 20th Century" prize went to Mrs. Caroline Prentice Cromwell of New York City for her British, European and air-mail stamps. The "Best 20th Century United States" prize was won by Mrs. Ethel B. McCoy of New York.

Other prizes went to Dr. William Byan of Guernsey, England, for Egyptian stamps, Dr. Cruz Planas of Havana for Cuban issues, Captain G. Emerson Huston of England for British Empire stamps, Heinrich Ruegg of Switzerland for European issues, Dr. Everaldo Leite of Rio de Janeiro for his Brazilian collection.

Some 1,000 stamp pages submitted by U.S. junior collectors, ages 10 to 18 years, were also exhibited at the show. These pages were selected for exhibition

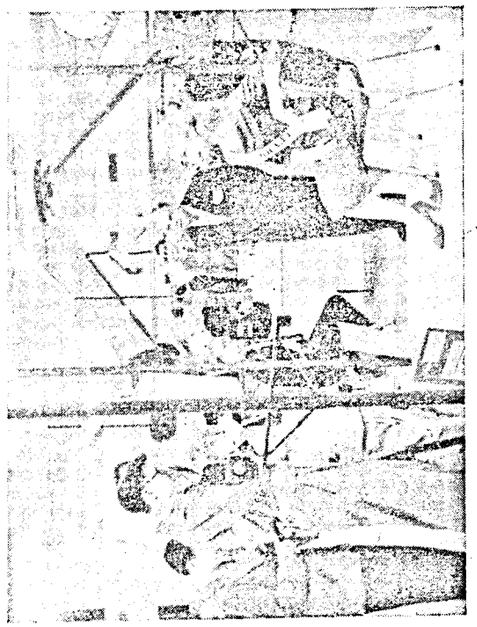


Part of the United States Exhibit showed the various steps involved in the actual designing, Plate-making and printing of stamps



The latest models of automobiles and auto-accessories of six nations—Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and the United States—were on display at the 1956 International Automobile Show held recently at the Coliseum in New York City

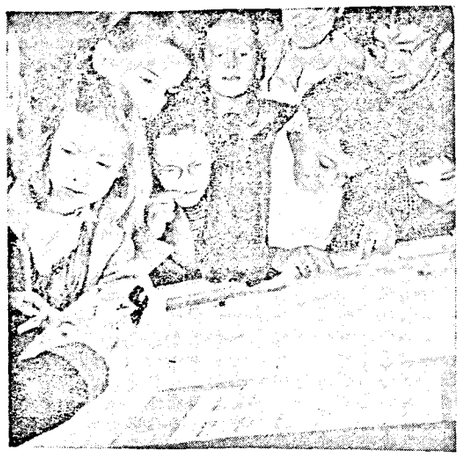
Of 2,300 displays submitted in competition by stamp collectors, the trophy for "Best Exhibition in the Show" was won by Roberto Hoffmann of Montevideo for his display of Uruguayan stamp issued between 1856 and 1864



Miss Rolli poses for camera fans at the Tenth Annual Photographic Show opened in April, 1956 at the Coliseum, the largest exhibition building in the United States

following a nation-wide competition as a means of recognizing and further stimulating interest among young Americans in stamp collecting.

The stamp exhibition was held in the newly completed Coliseum on Columbus Circle, April 28 to May 6, 1956. Started two years previously, the Coliseum was especially built to accommodate trade shows and exhibitions. The largest such structure in the United States, it has 391,000 square feet (36,324 square meters) of display and storage space, underground parking facilities for 850 cars, an assembly hall that can seat 10,000 people and a 20-story office tower. Erected at a cost of $35,000,000, the Coliseum forms part of a city slum clearance and development program.



A group of stamp enthusiasts looking at copies of the souvenir postal sheet exhibited in the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition held recently at the Coliseum in New York City

While the stamp show was being held on the third and fourth exhibition floors of the Coliseum, the first floor was occupied by the 1956 International Automobile Show. Here 200 models representing the latest in scooters, motorcycles, auto accessories, fuels and cars from Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Sweden, as well as the United States, were on display. The extent of the interest in this show may be seen in the fact that last year more than 58,000 European cars were sold in the United States, representing almost a five-fold increase during the past five years.

At the 10th Annual Photographic Show which also was held in the Coliseum during the same period, cameras, lenses and other photographic equipment from Japan and West Germany and America were features.

Part of the crowd visited the newly completed Coliseum in New York City at the time of the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition (FIPEX) in which more than 60 countries of the free world participated. While FIPEX was in progress the 1956 International Automobile show and the 10th Photographic show were also being held at the Coliseum which is the largest exhibition building in the United States.

Of 2,300 displays submitted in competition by stamp collectors, the trophy for "Best exhibition in the Show" was won by Roberto Hoffmann of Montevideo for his display of Uruguayan stamps issued between 1856 and 1864. More than 60 countries of the free world had official displays at FIPEX which was held at the newly completed Coliseum in New York City, April 28, to May 6, 1956.

A grouped stamp enthusiasts looked at copies of the souvenir postal sheet, one of four special postal items issued by the U.S. Post Office Department in connection with the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition held recently at the Coliseum in New York City. On the souvenir sheet are enlarged reproductions of two Statue of Liberty stamps.

More than 60 countries of the free world had official exhibits at the Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition. Part of the United States exhibit showed the various steps involved in the actual designing, platemaking and printing of stamps.

The latest models of automobiles and auto accessories of six nations, Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and the United States, were on display at the 1956 International Automobile show held recently at the Coliseum, in New York City. The Fifth International Philatelic Exhibition and the 10th Annual Photographic show were also held at the Coliseum during the same period.

The Coliseum, largest exhibition building in the United States, had three exhibitions—stamps, autos and photography—when it opened in April, 1956. At the 10th annual photographic show, the latest cameras and photographic equipment principally from Japan and West Germany, were on display.—*USIS.*

LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

By Miss U. N. SHALINI, M.A.,
Lecturer, Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very Heaven."

The memories of that great soul, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, transport us into that dawn—that realm wherein the atmosphere was surcharged with the spirit of nationalism. B. G. Tilak, whose birth centenary India is celebrating, entered the troubled sea of Indian politics at a time when it was pervaded by other great veterans. Yet his work and fame were not dimmed by those of the stalwarts around him. Each in his own way, carved out a niche for himself in the heart of every true Indian. Tilak was one of that illustrious trio Lal, Bal, and Pal, without a mention of whom, the story of our freedom struggle is incomplete. Often Tilak's life has been contrasted with that of Gokhale's. Not that they worked at cross-purposes, nor that they had entirely different objectives; but, while the one was demanding full self-government, the other was content with colonial self-government within the Empire. True, their temperaments differed while they belonged to the same militant Maharastra race. Gokhale had the remarkable knack of saying things euphemistically, whereas, Tilak was outspoken. The former stuck to principles, the latter was guided by expediency. Nevertheless, such was the magnitude and inspiring nature of their work that, even at this distant date, placed as we are in a comfortable position to pronounce an impartial judgement on the propriety or otherwise of their lines of action, our reverence for them suffers no abatement. Gandhiji's first meeting with these Congress giants led to a characteristic remark about them:

> "Sir Pherozesha Mehta had seemed to me like the Himalayas unscalable; the Lokamanya like the Ocean and one could not easily launch forth on the seas. But Gokhale was as the Ganges—it invited one to its bosom."

Born in a Chitpavan Brahmin family on July 23rd., 1856, and imbued with the patriotic zeal of the great Mahratta Shivaji, Tilak entered the Congress along with Gokhale in 1889. Since then, his life had been a record of persistent struggle, persecution and incarceration. Nationalism was his religion. When nothing but implicit obedience to the powers that be, was tolerated, the exercise of freedom of thought and expression was interpreted as sedition, and the demand for legitimate rights was treated as violence and met with stern repression by the Government, Tilak's patriotism and activities had the significance of a rebellious spirit.

Tilak's approach to politics was entirely new. The people of Maharashtra like those elsewhere in India, were steeped in ignorance, superstition, and poverty. To a people to whom religion was more than anything else in life, Tilak's message of the freedom struggle was disguised under a mask of religion. Tilak used religion as a means for furthering the country's cause which was political. The Ganesh festival which is observed with such grandeur in Maharashtra today has its beginnings in the days of Tilak who reorganised or rather, almost invented it. The anti-cowkilling movement he inaugurated, was a convenient attack on the European "the beef-eating alien." Yet another innovation was the Shivaji cult. The birth anniversary of that great Mahratta hero Shivaji, was thereafter to be observed as a national festival and from out of funds collected, a memorial to him was raised in Poona—the Shivaji Mandir—which served as the venue of nationalist assemblies. The political purpose which was disguised under a religious cover revealed itself in the soul-stirring mantra he uttered: "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it." Swaraj and Swadeshi were his catch-words.

Armed with the strength of his political convictions he plunged himself in the disturbed waters of the political movement. The *Kesari*, a Mahratti paper and the Mahratta, an English daily, were his early weapons The sufferings of the people as a result of the Deccan plague and the grievances due to the measures adopted by Government to meet the exigency were ventilated in his paper. And when the discontent among the people due to Government excesses resulted in the murder of the Collector of Poona and a Lieutenant, Tilak was suspected of complicity. He was considered a rebel and sentenced to 18 months' R.I. in September 1897. Nevertheless, he received a splendid ovation, not as a culprit but as a persecuted martyr for he was convicted of charges of which he was innocent.

The calmness and moderation of the Congress policies were anathema to the restless and impatient Tilak. The Moderates who dominated the Congress "are not carried off their feet, neither do they carry others off their feet." Tilak could not feel at home in such an atmosphere of the Congress. He wanted a certain dynamism about it. While Gokhale believed in persuasion and in the need for an improvement of the British administration Tilak would not rest content except with full self-government. Events turned out which resulted in the emergence of a new party in the Congress, the Extremists, led by Tilak. The Bengal Partition had become a settled fact in 1905. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, the differences between the Moderates and the Extremists as to the urgency of their demands for full self-government, boycott of British goods and British Government, and national education, were composed by the commanding personality of the President, Dadabhai Naoroji. But the rift could only be postponed;

it could not be prevented. Disgusted with the moderation of the Moderates, the Extremists under Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, demanded the passing of the Calcutta resolutions. Their exacerbated feelings characterised the stormy session of Surat in 1907 presided over by Rash Behari Ghose—that session at which Tilak attempted to address the delegates without permission of the President, and had to stop when a shoe was hurled at the people on the dais. Chairs were thrown about and sticks brandished resulting in the postponement of the session.

The Congress Schism at Surat and the bomb-throw at Muzafferpore in Bihar ending the lives of a British couple, were made the occasion for Tilak's deportation to Mandalay for six years.

At the end of the trial, while accepting the verdict Tilak said: "There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

Tilak did not waste away his years behind prison bars. Those were the days of the effervescence of his intellectual brilliance in his magnificent *Gita Rahasya* and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*, works which would have made him immortal even were it not for his political manoeuvres. Other nationalists also like Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose were got out of the way by imprisonment for six months and a year respectively. The hard life in Mandalay debilitated Tilak who had been suffering from diabetes and his frail health could not stand the rigours of his later political life.

On his release from prison in 1914, he threw himself heart and soul into his new movement—the Home Rule movement, which was taken up with even greater avidity by Mrs. Annie Besant, who, some time later, founded a separate Home Rule League. The years 1914-1915 were grave, critical years for the Congress which was without a good leader. Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta died in 1915. The old stalwarts of the Congress were mere spent forces. Mrs. Besant's supreme efforts to reconcile the two sections of the Congress having failed, she carried on a raging propaganda for her Home Rule League. It was only in 1916 that Tilak rejoined the Congress. The destinies of this great organisation were thereafter guided by that strangely assorted pair, Mrs. Besant and Tilak. Mrs. Besant fired the enthusiasm of the members of the Home Rule League by her demand for self-government as a just right of the Indians and not as a reward for their services in the Great War I. Despite the frailty of her sex, she had a certain dynamism about her, which coupled with that of Tilak's, was a counter-balance to Gokhale's successor, Mr. V. S. S. Shastri, who like his guru believed in the need for British help and co-operation for some time more, in reforms not revolution. In the Congress session of 1917, the Left Wing—the Extremists—dominated the field, while the Moderates were almost thrown out of gear.

As if to fan the flames of the Home Rule League, the close of the War in 1918 and Woodrow Wilson's proclamation of the 14 points to render the world safe for democracy, came most opportune. The Reform Scheme of 1918 was unworthy of the British to offer and of India to accept. The passing of the Rowlatt bills in 1919, India's sympathy with the Khilafat movement, the Jallianwalabagh Tragedy—these poured oil on the already blazing fire. Gandhiji's experiment with Satyagraha had already established itself as a successful measure. He now launched his non-co-operation movement. Tilak did not see eye-to-eye with this scheme of Mahatmaji. Yet at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, when Gandhiji pacifically moved a resolution to thank Mr. Montagu for his attempts to advance responsible self-government in this country, and to condemn mob excesses in the country, Tilak, in deference to Gandhi, remained silent though at heart he had "nothing but ridicule for Saintliness which is no match for Imperialism." Gandhiji had, by now, become quite a prominent figure in the Congress. Tilak did not take any acive part in the discussion regarding the non-co-operation movement, but he was glad to help the Muslims in the Khilafat movement. He passed away on August 1st., 1920 leaving the entire field to the frail Mahatma whose capacity for leadership grew with the courage of his convictions, and with the passing of years and long suffering. The resolutions of the A.I.C.C. in October that year to raise an All-India Tilak Memorial Fund and a Swaraj Fund were quite commensurate with the salutary services rendered by this great man whose life had been an incessant struggle for his country's freedom.

Such was the life of Tilak whom Dr. Macnicol calls a demagogue. He was the voice of popular passion. When in the early years of this century that small, coloured race of the East, Japan won a victory over the large, white race of Europe, Russia, the Indians were also awakened to the possibility of their winning independence from the British. This incident had a tremendous influence on the thought and policies of men like Tilak.

Though the spark of his life was extinguished, its brilliance was heightened by the rich and illuminating legacy left behind by him. The demand for a separate Andhra province was advocated by him as early as 1915, in spite of Gandhiji's refusal to consider the proposal just then. Tilak was far ahead of his times.

"My country, right or wrong." This was the burden of the song of the freedom-fighters from Tilak and Aurobindo down to Chittaranjan and Subhas Bose. Such patriotism, courage, devotion and indefatigable service to the motherland as were rendered by Tilak, will act as an example to others, and will give him a permanent place in the political firmament of India.

WHAT IS HINDUISM?

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

HINDUISM is the religion of the three hundred million of men and women in the vast Indian sub-continent. Their lives, from cradle to grave, are profoundly influenced by their faith. Hinduism has left its impress on the entire culture of India: its philosophy, art, literature, politics, sociology architecture. India did not, in the past, develop a national unity in the Western sense. But the people were held together by an intangible religious bond. On account of this allegiance to certain common spiritual ideals, the Hindus did not disintegrate as a nation in spite of the foreign domination of their country for nearly one thousand years. Even today, throughout the length and breadth of the land, certain terms, loaded with spiritual content—such as Ganga, Gita, and Gayatri—command universal respect. The Ganga or Ganges is the most sacred river of India; on its banks the Hindu culture mostly developed. The Gita or Bhagavad Gita gives the essence of the Upanishads. The Gayatri, in a short statement, gives the summary of the Vedic wisdom. Diversity of caste, ritual, conduct, form, dress, and belief has not been able to destroy this spiritual unity. Scratch a modern Hindu today and you will find him religious in spite of his veneer of foreign education or upbringing.

Hinduism is both a view and a way of life. It combines both philosophy and religion. Philosophy, in the Hindu tradition, gives a vision of reality; religion, the discipline for the attainment of that vision. Philosophy saved Hinduism from religious narrowness and dogmatism, and religion saved it from the ivory-tower attitude of intellectual philosophy. Hinduism is not a set of abstract philosophical doctrines unrelated to life, nor is it a bundle of dogmas or beliefs to be accepted blindly. It combines both reason and faith and thus assures its devotees both a direct insight into reality and the grounds for accepting that insight.

Not being a historical religion, like Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, which are based upon the life and teachings of their respective prophets, Hinduism baffles all attempts to give in an easy and convenient definition. Hinduism has no historical founder. Another difficulty for one who would define Hinduism lies in its wide and universal nature.

The word *Hindu* is of foreign origin. Properly Hinduism should be called the "Vaidika Dharma," the religion based upon the teachings of the Vedas, or the "Sanatana Dharma," the eternal religion.

Hinduism is primarily founded on the teachings laid down in the Vedas, the principal scriptures of the Hindus. Secondarily, it is based on the religious and moral experiences of many prophets and saints, sages and seers, philosophers and mystics, of ancient, medieval, and modern times. It is a growing process. Like a flowing river, it is daily enriched by new truths. But the main foundation still remains the Vedas, or the Books of Knowledge, which are not ascribed to human authorship. The Vedas contain certain eternal truths regarding the nature of ultimate reality, the creation and the universe, and the soul and its ultimate destiny. These truths were discovered for the Indian world in a prehistoric age by certain seers of rare spirituality—attained through moral discipline, intense concentration, determined self-control, and utter non-attachment to the transitory pleasures of the world. These men were called *rishis* or seers of truth, and they lived mostly on the banks of the Indus and Ganges rivers in northern India.

The Vedas deal with two vital urges of men: the enjoyment of happiness on earth and in heaven after death, and the highest good also called freedom or immortality. The former represents a universal hankering and can be achieved, according to the Vedas, mainly through communion with the gods or higher powers, and also through the observance of moral obligations. The Vedas speak of the interdependence of the gods, men, subhuman beings, and nature. The gods were propitiated by means of oblations made into the sacrificial fire. This custom has now been replaced by the ritualistic worship in the temples and other popular shrines. Moral obligations cover duties toward teachers, parents, guests, and the poor, one's fellow beings, and also dumb animals. People craved for a joyous life and prayed for longevity, children, cattle, and wealth. After death they wanted to enjoy greater happiness in the heavenly worlds. But all material happiness on earth or in heaven is transitory because it is dependent upon material objects and also because it is an effect. An effect endures only as long as the momentum given by its cause endures. The denizens of heaven return to earth and continue in the apparently interminable round of birth and death in a universe governed by the laws of time, space, and causality. Therefore one cannot expect real freedom or immortality in the relative universe, which is said to be under the spell of *maya*, a sort of metaphysical ignorance. When the veil of *maya* is destroyed

by the Knowledge of Reality, everything appears as Brahman or the Absolute, which is free from all limitations.

A few souls, however, realize either through experience or discriminative knowledge the futility of relative happiness. They come to know that the causeless Reality cannot be attained by means of rituals or any other work which admits of an agent, instrument of action, and result. They further realize that the universe of names and forms is superimposed by ignorance on Brahman, as the idea of a snake is sometimes falsely superimposed upon a rope, or the idea of a mirage upon the desert. In order to remove this ignorance they cultivate, through proper disciplines, the Knowledge of the soul and Brahman, which, according to the non-dualistic Hindu philosophy, are identical. Thus they come to the end of suffering and attain the highest good or supreme bliss.

The secondary scriptures of Hinduism are known as the Smritis and Puranas, which are of human origin, being the product of human intellect. They show, according to the requirements of different ages, the way to realize the eternal truths of the Vedas. A special feature of Hinduism is that while it remains utterly loyal to certain eternal truths, yet it admits of changing dogmas and rituals to suit the needs of changing times. Hindu thinkers know that a medieval dogma cannot suit the modern world. The central teachings of Hinduism have been presented in the Upanishads, the philosophical portion of the Vedas. Neither the rules of the Smritis and Puranas, nor any outside factors, can repudiate them. Hinduism may be compared to a house with many windows and a solid foundation. Breezes from outside are welcome to maintain the purity of the air inside; but they are not permitted to shake the house off its foundation.

In a sense Hinduism is a complex religion. This is due to certain factors inherent in human nature. People seek different spiritual expereinces. Some, emphasizing the body, expect to maintain a separateness from their Creator; some, emphasizing the soul, wish to feel that they are parts of God; while others, emphasizing the indwelling spirit, seek total identity with the Universal Spirit. Different spiritual disciplines have bees prescribed for the attainment of these experiences. Again, there are different types of temperament: intellectual, active, emotional, and introspective. Different disciplines suit these different minds. There are also different tastes; some enjoy meditation on an abstract and impersonal ideal, some concentrate on worship—ranging from worship of the refined and ethical Personal God to worship of crude images of clay and stone. Furthermore, reality has many facets: justice, power, beauty, law, love, peace. These are all different aspects of the same reality, and different minds emphasize them according to their inner constitution. All these complexities have been woven into one comprehensive system called Hinduism. They are not contradictory, but rather complementary. Thus Hinduism may be compared to a mosaic of different colored stones, or a tapestry embodying various patterns, or orchestral music which creates harmony from divergent notes. Its keynote is unity in diversity. Apparently Hinduism contains many schools and sects; but really it is a synthesis of many religions. It may accurately be called a universal religion.

The wisdom of the Vedas has been summed up in the following statement based on the Gayatri mantra, which is its most sacred teaching: "We meditate on the glory of Him who manifests Himself as heaven, earth and the interspace; who is adored by the luminous sun, and who is the power of the Deity. May he illumine our consciousness." This combines both the philosophy and the religion of the Hindus. According to this statement, the ultimate reality is the universal and self-luminous Spirit, the final cause of the universe, the power behind all tangible powerful objects, and the consciousness animating all apparently conscious objects. This is the central philosophy of Hinduism. Its religion consists in meditation on the Spirit and prayer for the guidance of our intellects along the path of virtue and righteousness.

The Bhagavad Gita defines the Godhead as the Supreme Spirit, whose lower aspect becomes manifest as the world of matter, including mind, intellect, and ego, and whose higher aspect as the world of living beings. But the spirit itself transcends both; hence it is called the supreme Person. This supreme spirit can be realized by every human being, and thus perfection can be attained by all. The various disciplines of love, action, philosophical discrimination, and concentration have been enjoined for its realization. For the average man the discipline of love is stressed for communion with God.

From the philosophical standpoint, Hinduism is non-dualistic, and from the religious standpoint, monotheistic. The Vedas state that Reality is one and without a second, though sages call it by various names. Beyond name and form, beyond words, senses, and mind, the Godhead manifests itself, through its own inscrutable power, as this world, the world beyond, and many other worlds. It is present everywhere, here and beyond. It sees through all eyes, smells through all nostrils, hears through all ears, eats through all mouths, walks through all feet, grasps through all hands, thinks through all minds, feels through all hearts. Through only a fraction of its power, the Spirit projects the world and supports it.

Hinduism believes in one God alone, but admits of many popular divinities who are His diverse manifestations. The Hindu monotheism does not repudiate other gods but includes them. They are all projected from the supreme Godhead to fulfil men's different desires. The Hindu trinity of Brahma, the Creator, Vishnu, the Preserver, and Siva, the Destroyer, represents the three aspects of the supreme reality. God is endowed with infinite majesty, infinite power, infinite beauty, infinite love, and an infinite number of other blessed qualities. He is altogether free from anger. Like a magnet, He attracts all—saint and sinner alike—to Him. But the wicked, on account of the covering of their impurities, do not feel the force of God's attraction, and therefore they suffer. Ultimately, however, all will find their way to God. Though transcendental, God dwells in men's hearts as their inner controller. He dwells in the body, but the body does not know Him. Remaining inside the body. He controls the body. He is the foundation of the moral law by which the individual and society are sustained.

The four cardinal tenets of Hinduism are: the non-duality of the Godhead, the divinity of the soul, the unity of existence, and the harmony of religions.

By way of recapitulating what has been said, I shall now briefly state what makes a good Hindu:

1. A good Hindu accepts the teachings of the Vedas as the final authority in matters pertaining to religion and philosophy. The Vedas proclaim the identity of the subject and the object, and no philosophical speculation can go beyond the realization of this identity. By the Vedas a Hindu means the Books of Knowledge which are without beginning and end in time. Not ascribed to human authorship, this Knowledge exists for ever and is revealed from time to time to the spiritually illumined. Unlike the Vedas, the scriptures of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are sacred because they contain the words of their founders.

2. A good Hindu believes in the non-duality of the Gadhead, called Brahman; Brahman alone exists. From the standpoint of Brahman, all that exists is Brahman. But from the relative standpoint, It is both the material and the efficient cause of the universe. The transcendental Brahman is described by the negation of all attributes. It is pure existence, pure knowledge, and pure bliss, and is often described as silence. As pure existence, Brahman is the unchanging substratum of the changing phenomena, as the ocean is of the waves. As pure knowledge, it is the eye behind the eye, the ear behind the ear, the mind behind the mind. It cannot be seen by the eye, but the eye sees objects because the pure knowledge uses the eye as its channel. Brahman is pure bliss because it is one and without a second. It is free from discord which causes suffering. From the standpoint of creation, Brahman is immanent and has many aspects. It is personal, personal but not human, and impersonal. Brahman assumes a human form as a God-man whenever righteousness subsides and wickedness prevails in the world. God's Incarnation is not limited to a single person.

3. A good Hindu believes that the univese is without beginning and end, but that it periodically goes into states of manifestation and non-manifestation. What is ordinarily called "creation" is really the state of manifestation of names and forms. "Dissolution" is their non-manifestation. Names and forms are the projection of God's nature; the same is true of life and consciousness. We all have come from God, are sustained by God, and ultimately merge in God. This is explained by the illustration of the ocean and its waves. A Hindu does not deny the creation from the empirical standpoint. The Lord projects the universe without any outside help, as a spider makes its web from its own silk. The process of manifestation and non-manifestation is spontaneous, like the breathing-out and the breathing-in of a person. The creation has been described in the Vedas as being like a melody produced by a flute, or the sparks coming out of a fire. To the illumined, everything is God.

4. A good Hindu believes that every soul is potentially divine and all will some day realize their divinity. The soul is the unchanging reality behind the changing body, senses, and mind. The real soul, one with the Godhead, is non-dual. On account of ignorance, it identifies itself with matter and becomes individualized, just as the sun causes many reflections in the waves of a lake. The individual soul is called the apparent or reflected soul. Pain and pleasure, hunger and thirst, birth and death, heaven and hell, are ascribed to the individual soul; the real soul is always immersed in bliss and freedom. Through knowledge of God, the individual soul becomes aware of its real nature and thus goes beyond the wheel of birth and death. Every soul will attain to liberation.

5. A good Hindu believes in the doctrine of rebirth and the law of *karma*—the law of cause and effect. These, of course, apply to the individual soul, of which the real soul is the ground or ultimate foundation. Through its diverse activities the individual soul tries to realize its non-dual universal nature—which realization constitutes its perfection. But perfection cannot be attained in one life. A soul must go through many experiences, ranging from those of subhuman beings to those of superhuman, in order to realize the transitory and inadequate nature of all phenomenal experiences. Hence Hinduism postulates many births as the training-ground of the soul. Purified by the disciplines of many births, the soul at last becomes perfect. The individual soul, however, cannot attain real peace and freedom as long as it remains identified with the finite body and attached to the physical world. Rebirth is governed by the law of *karma*. The substance of this law is that every tangible action leaves behind it a subtle impression which becomes the cause of new action in this or a future life. The sum-total of these impressions constitutes a man's nature, which supplies him with the blue-print for his life. This accounts for the mental and physical in qualities between one person and another, observed from the very moment of birth. As you sow, so you reap. Good produces good, and evil produces evil—this is the law. Fate or destiny is

nothing but the accumulated result of a man's past actions. Thus a Hindu believes that we alone are responsible for our present good or evil and should, therefore, face them with serenity and courage. But he also believes that the future is entirely in our own hands, and that we shape it by our present action. Belief in the doctrine of rebirth assures a man that he will be given many chances to attain perfection. A man need not lose heart no matter how depraved he is. The law of karma gives us courage to face with calmness our present misfortunes. It is also an incentive not to repeat our wicked actions.

7. A good Hindu believes that religion means experience, and not the mere acceptance of certain dogmas and creeds. To know God is to become like God. A man may quote the scriptures, engage in assembly, perform social service, or pray regularly, but unless he has realized the divine spirit in his heart he is still a bound creature. One can experience God and the soul as tangibly as a fruit lying on the palm of one's hand. Then only does one's doubt disappear and "the knots of the heart are cut asunder." This realization of God is not the prerogative of a chosen few, but is the common heritage of all.

A good Hindu believes that the practice of spiritual disciplines is absolutely necessary for the realization of God. Ethical virtues are the steel-frame foundation of spiritual life. The observance of the Golden Rule is imperative. Non-violence, truthfulness, absence of greed, charity, contentment, and non-possession of things which do not rightly belong to one, are the universal moral vows. Specific spiritual disciplines meet particular temperaments. Thus the Hindu psychologists prescribe the discipline of love for the emotional temperament, the discipline of action for the active, the discipline of knowledge for the intellectual, and the discipline of concentration for the introspective. In actual practice the temperaments are not sharply divided into water-tight compartments. Every man possesses something of all these characteristics. Hence the disciplines also overlap. The discipline of love consists in loving God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment. It is love for love's sake. At a certain stage in his evolution a man realizes that he must love the beautiful. God is the acme of beauty because in Him one finds complete harmony. Then love leads to a complete surrender to God's will. Through it a man's will becomes one with God's will. The discipline of action consists in doing work for work's sake, or better, for God's sake. No result is sought by the worker. He is only an instrument of God to do His work in the world. He remains unperturbed in success and failure, pleasure and pain. Non-attachment is the secret of the secret of right activity. The result will come inevitably by the law of cause and effect; one must not disturb the mind by longing for it. Attachment to the result is harmful for two reasons. First, on account of yearning for the result one cannot always discriminate between the right and the wrong means of accomplishing the work. Secondly, even if a man can use his discrimination, he often follows the wrong means to obtain the fruit which he longs for. There are two ways of cultivating non-attachment. For a believer in God, the easy method is to regard himself as God's instrument and surrender to God the fruit of action. Others should try to distinguish between the self and the non-self. The self is the pure spirit dwelling in man; it is the witness of all his actions. The non-self consists of the body, the senses, the mind, and the ego. Action is performed by the body and the senses, and its fruit is reaped by the ego. The spirit or soul is the witness-consciousness. Through the performance of non-attached action the heart becomes pure, and the pure in heart see God. The discipline of knowledge consists in discrimination between the real and the unreal, and renunciation of the unreal. What is unlimited by time, space, and causality is real, and its opposite unreal. Brahman, the Absolute, alone is real. All objects in the phenomenal world, from the exalted position of a deity to the insignificant position of a clump of grass, are unreal. The aspirant should renounce all desires for the unreal and cherish only the knowledge of Brahman. Besides, he should practise control of the senses, calmness of the body, forbearance, withdrawal of the mind from the world, respect for holy things, and contemplation. Lastly, he should cherish unwavering zeal for liberation. A student endowed with these virtues should learn truth from a teacher, reason about it in his mind, and then realize it in the depth of meditation. The discipline of concentration consists in controlling the different states of the mind. This enables the seeker to see what lies in the inmost recess of his soul. The mind has different states: darkening, scattering, gathering, one-pointed, and totally concentrated. To achieve the last state is the aim of the discipline. Various methods have been prescribed for acquiring concentration, such as constant practice and dispassion, devotion to God, and meditation on light within the heart. The mind may be controlled by the feeling of friendship toward the happy, mercy toward the unhappy, gladness toward the good, and indifference toward the evil. Control of the breathing helps in acquiring concentration of mind. Through concentration the mind develops all its latent power and can comprehend objects whether atomic or infinite. The final result of this discipline is the knowledge of the separateness of the body and soul and the realization that the soul is birthless, deathless, changeless, and ever blessed. The above-mentioned four disciplines are called *yoga*, which means both union with the Godhead and the method by which such union is achieved. Without *yoga*, religion remains mere dogma, and philosophy mere academic theory.

8. A good Hindu believes that liberation means freeing oneself from the ignorance which creates egotism and attachment and separates a man from God and his fellow-men. The knowledge of the deathless nature of the soul is liberation or immortality. When one gets rid of all selfish desires one overcomes death. Some Hindu philosophers believe that one can be liberated through self-knowledge even while dwelling in the body; according to others complete liberation is possible only after death. Dualists believe that the liberated soul retains some form of individuality in order to enjoy communion with God. According to the non-dualists, the liberated soul becomes one with Brahman or ultimate reality. The state of liberation is characterized by a total cessation of suffering and the attainment of supreme bliss.

9. A good Hindu believes that the universe reveals a plan of unity in diversity. Brahman is the foundation of all diverse phenomena, as the ocean is of its waves. Thus human realationships should be guided by the principle of friendly co-existence and not by the attitude of "either-or." By hurting others we only hurt ourselves. Likewise, by loving others we only love ourselves. Here one finds the basis of the Golden Rule.

10. A good Hindu believes in the harmony of religions. God is one, but sages call Him by various names. The different religions are so many paths leading to the hill-top of the same God-consciousness. They are suited to different tastes and temperaments. Hinduism does not advocate religious conversion either by force or by persuasion. No religion is entirely wrong and no religion is perfect. Like all other human institutions every religion is a mixture of good and bad, and this does not matter. If a devotee is sincere and earnest, God shows him the way to reach the goal. Religions are like the radii of a circle, and God is like its center. As one moves away from the center, one finds a greater distance between one radius and another. But as one comes toward the center, the distance is lessened. At the center all radii meet. This is entirely true of religion. Christians, Jews, Hindus, and Moslems, through the practice of their respective religious disciplines, will ultimately arrive at the same truth, where all distinctions disappear. The Hindu attitude towards other religions is not merely that of tolerance, but is one of respect.

11. A good Hindu does not, while still struggling for liberation, repudiate worldly values. Man is at present a mixture of dust and deity, and the goal of life is to suppress the dust and manifest the deity. The world is a school for discipline. Every man should strive to fulfill four legitimate desires. These are called *dharma, artha, kama, and moksha*. Dharma or righteousness is the basis of life and includes duty, morality and religion. It is the law of a man's inner growth and determines his attitude toward the world. Everyone is born with his own *dharma* as a result of his past actions. Thus different persons react differently when confronted with the same situation. A sodier unsheaths his sword to vindicate justice and law, whereas a saint gives up his own life for the same purpose. One must be true to oneself and not go against one's nature. The injunction of non-killing cannot apply to all. *Dharma* or righteousness should influence all our actions and thoughts. The second legitimate desire is the earning of wealth. Money serves a great purpose in the present state of human evolution. Voluntary poverty, as practised by saints, is something quite different. A man without money is a failure. With its help we can encourage art and science, build hospitals, schools, and museums, and thus promote the welfare of all. Money gives leisure, which is what creates civilization. Without it, even physical life cannot be maintained. But money must be earned according to dharma or it debases a man by making him greedy and cruel. A third legitimate desire is *kama*, or the enjoyment of sense pleasures. These cover a vast field—from the appreciation of art and poetry to the enjoyment of conjugal love, which latter is a universal urge without which the creation cannot endure. A man incapable of such enjoyment leads a drab and dull life. But sense pleasures, if not based upon righteousness, become sensuality. The fourth legitimate desire, whose urge is irresistible, is called *moksha*, or freedom in communion with the infinite. The soul of a man is infinite and cannot be permanetly satisfied with anything finite. A man cannot attain his true stature through correct social behaviour, economic achievement, political success, or artistic creation. The happiness derived from these is fugitive. At a certain stage of evolution he feels the longing for the infinite. "What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his soul?" Then he understands the statement of the scriptures: "Come unto Me . . . . and I shall give you rest." "Give up all other duties and take refuge in Me alone." Even charity is not enough. "The poor you will always have, but not Me." But worldly desires are not meaningless. Their fulfilment reveals the ultimate unsubstantiality of physical objects. We lead in this world a life of constraint. Real freedom is in communion with the infinite spirit.

12. To a good Hindu life is a journey to the shrine of truth. The path is characterized by four stages, each of which has its obligations and responsibilities. This comprehensive view of life leaves no legitimate aspiration unfulfilled. The Hindu psychologists of olden times discovered that an unfulfilled desire creates sickness of body and mind. The first stage of life covers the period of study. A student acquires knowledge for future service to society. He leads an austere life and conserves his physical and mental energy. He keeps his body and mind pure and shuns

their defilement by word, deed, or thought. He becomes conversant with the spiritual achievements of his nation and shows respect to his elders and teachers. Next he enters the second stage of life and becomes a householder. A normal human being cannot live without a mate. His biological and psychological cravings in this respect are legitimate. Marriage is not a concession to weakness or a confession of sin. It is a discipline for a larger life in society. The Hindu gods and goddesses are married. They are models of conjugal love or filial affection. Children are the outcome of marriage, which fact carries with it a social responsibility. Romance is not the whole of marriage; the wife is a co-partner in the spiritual progress of the husband. Marriage is a discipline for suppressing our ego-centered individuality. It is a training in unselfishness. A householder discharges his duties to society as a teacher, soldier, politician, merchant, or manual worker. His own welfare lies in the welfare of all. He works in a spirit of co-operation and not of ruthless competition. A healthy householder is the foundation of a good society. During the third stage, husband and wife hand over their worldly responsibilities to their children and retire into solitude for the contemplation of the eternal verities of life. At this stage the pleasures of youth appear stale. Physical necessities are reduced to the minimum. Their whole time is devoted to serious study and the contemplation of God. The fourth stage of life is characterized by freedom. Then a man rises above his small obligations and exclusive loves. He becomes a citizen of the universe and a friend of his fellow human beings, the gods, and the animals. A man is born alone and he must walk alone to the grave. Therefore, in the Hindu tradition, during the fourth stage a person renounces the world for the welfare of his soul. He is no longer tempted by riches, honor, or power. He maintains an equanimity of spirit under all conditions. He cultivates God-consciousness alone, and this continues as his true friend from this life to the next. All else, including his dear body, is left behind. The fourth stage is the culmination and full blossoming of a well-disciplined life. During this stage a man demonstrates the reality of God and the unsubstantiality of the world. Well has it been said that when such a man was born, he cried and the world laughed, but when he dies he laughs and the world cries.

From what I have said it will be seen that Hinduism possesses several dimensions. It reaches a lofty height in the conception of Brahman or the Absolute, under the guidance of which the sun, moon, and stars move along fixed orbits. Its tremendous depth consists in the conception of the soul, subtler than the subtle and greater than the great, whose command is obeyed by the body, the senses, and the mind. Its breadth lies in its catholicity with regard to all systems of thought and in its respect for those who differ from it. One may discover a fourth dimension in Hinduism in its concept of an all-embracing unity which includes animate and inanimate beings as well as God, souls, and the universe.*

* Address by Swami Nikhilananda, Founder and Leader, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York before the Warren R. Austin Institute in World Understanding, the University of Vermont on July 16, 1956.

HOW MANY SHIAHS AMONG MUSSULMANS IN BHARAT (INDIA)?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., *F.R.S.S.* (London)

From early days Islam split up into a large number of sects, most of which are now obsolete. Ash'ari, one of the early writers on heresies, says:

"After the death of their Prophet men differed about many matters and resolved themselves into separate sects, though Islam embraced them all. The first difference which arose in Islam was in regard to the Imamate. When Allah took his Prophet to his Paradise (632 A.D.) the Helpers (the *Ansars*) in Medina wanted to elect one of their men, and when Abu Bakr heard of this he told them that the Imamate must belong to one of the Quraysh, and when he told them that the Prophet had stated this they acknowledged the truth of it and gave their allegiance to him . . . . During his life-time, and that of his successor Umar, no further dispute arose, but when Uthman (Osman) succeeded dissension was so great that he was slain, and after his death people differed about him violently. The orthodox party said that he was a good man, and that those who had killed him were guilty of a serious crime. Others denied this, and the controversy has gone on to the present day. Similarly, when Ali was elected, people differed; some opposed his headship, others stood aloof from the matter, while others upheld him, and thus controversy has endured to the present day."

The first three Caliphs were all related to Muhammad by marriage. Ali, the fourth, was the nearest in blood because he was his cousin and the husband of his daughter Fatima. Uthman, the third Caliph, belonged to the family of the Umayyads who had been notorious for their opposition to the Prophet before he came to power. When Uthman was murdered, Mu'awiya, the Governor of Syria afterwards to become Caliph, was the natural avenger of his blood, and when Ali assumed the Caliphate war broke out between them. Ali was forced to agree to arbitration, and the decision of the umpires, which seems to have been pre-arranged, went against him.

Among Ali's followers was a large group, the Kharijites (seceders), who regarded arbitration as an act of treason against God, the sole arbitrator. Ali was murdered by the Kharijites in 661, and his son Hasan resigned his claim to the Caliphate. Mu'awiya was proclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem in the same year. Politically Ali's party, the Shiahs, appeared to be impotent.

What had begun as a political and social revolt soon acquired a religious character. The Shiahs began to elaborate their specific doctrines. A. Goldziher says:

"If we wish to state concisely the difference between Sunni and Shiah Islam we should say that the former is a Church founded on the consent of the community, the latter is an authoritarian Church."

Alfred Gullaume in his *Islam* says:

"This is true in theory, but in practice, the differences do not radically affect the way of life in the two great divisions of the Muslim community" (p. 120). He gives an example a few pages later on. "The position in Morocco is anomalous. The Sharif and his subjects are Shiahs, but they live under the legal Sunni School of Malik."

Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb in his *Mohammedanism* says:

"In law their (the Shiah's) chief peculiarity is the permission of temporary marriage, and in religious practice the doctrine of *taqiya* or dissimulation, a relic probably of medieval persecution." (p. 97).

The distinction between a Sunni and a Shiah is vital, but difficult to observe and record by a non-Muhammadan.

The early Muhammadan invaders of India, as well as the Moguls, were all Sunnis. They preached Islam often with sword. No wonder that the vast majority of the Indian Muhammadans are Sunnis. But the number of Shiahs is not negligible as is generally supposed.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith in *Modern Islam in India* (1943) says:

"Approximately one out of every thirteen Muslims in India is a Shiah." (p. 328).

The Census of India did not enumerate the Shiahs separately either in 1931 or in 1941. The statement in the text is based on figures of Ferrer in Gibb: *Whither Islam?*, p. 183. Ferrer was supposedly using the 1921-Census, though its enumeration of the Shiahs was admittedly inaccurate.

One out of every thirteen means that 7.7 per cent of the Indian Muhammadans are Shiahs. In the *Census Report of India* for 1921 at p. 120 certain primary data about the total number of Muhammadans in several Provinces and States, and the number of Shiahs in those areas are given. We find out of 59,004,000 Muhammadans 737,098 are Shiahs. The proportion works out to 1.25 per cent; and not 7.7 per cent. The total of Muhammadans in India (including Burma) in 1921 was 68,735,000. There is no reason to suppose that the proportion of Shiahs among the remaining 68,735—59,004=9,731 thousand Muhammadans in Provinces and States not given in the Table at p. 120 is greater.

If 7.7 per cent of Muhammadans are Shiahs, their all-India total would be 5,293,000, of these we have 737,000 already tabulated. Out of the remaining 9,731,000 Muhammadans there must be, therefore,

4,556,000 Shiahs. The proportion of Shiahs among the remaining Muhammadans works out to 46:7 per cent, nearly half—which is absurd having regard to the known facts.

The Census Commissioner for India in 1921 says:

"The Shiahs are a dwindling community and are usually found among the middle and lower classes of the Muhammadan population . . . The trustworthiness of the return of Shiahs must always be suspect as their religion allows them to conceal their sectarian identity, a privilege of which, owing to the contempt and hatred with which they were frequently regarded by the Sunnis, they freely availed themselves in the past."

The actual proportion of the Shiahs is much higher than 1.25 per cent, though not as high as 7.7 per cent. How high it actually is is very difficult to assess. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the sectarian and theological and ritual differences between the Sunnis and the Shiahs in India are partly obliterated by both of them being heavily infected with Hindu superstitions and beliefs; and partly by Indo-Islamic religious developments and accretions of new superstitions.

Sir Hamilton Gibb in *Mohamedanism* says:

"It is, however, in India that popular Islam presents the most bewildering diversity of orders, rituals, and beliefs. In addition to the adherents of the great universal orders (Qadiris, Naqshbandis, &c.) and an important order of the same type which is peculiar to India, the *Chisti* order (founded by Muin-al-Din Chisti of Sistan, d. at Ajmir in 1236), each with several sub-divisions, a very large proportion of Indian Muslims are connected with the so-called irregular (*be-shar*) orders. These are of all kinds, ranging from less reputable offshoots of the reguler orders, through a great variety of independent orders—of which the most famous is the itinerant *Qalandari* (the 'Calendars' of the Arabian Nights)—down to unorganized wandering mendicants or *faqirs*, who claim to be associated with the shrine of some saint or other. The varieties of beliefs, rituals, customs and so on associated with these irregular orders naturally correspond to their number, and in many cases their connection with Islam is *purely nominal* (italics ours). Hindu and even pre-Hindu customs and tenets (which have influenced even some of the great orders) are more or less predominant in these, and the practices of their members have contributed more than anything else to bring the term *darwish* into general disrepute.

"Apart from these orders Hindu influences play a preponderating part in the religious life of the illiterate and only partly converted Muslim villagers. Innumerable villages still preserve intact the idolatrous worship of local gods, and demon-worship has left its mark in the respect often paid, particularly amongst women, to the mythical Shaikh Saddu. Cases are recorded in the Mughal period of suttee amongst Muslims, and there are several communities which keep up the ritual of the sacred fire. Even caste has found its way into Indian Islam. The position was summed up thus by one of the leaders of Islam in modern India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, himself a mystic:

'Is the organic unity of Islam intact in this land? Religious adventures set up different sects and fraternities, even quarrelling with one another; and there are castes and sub-castes like the Hindus. Surely we have out-Hindued the Hindu himself; we are suffering from a double caste system—the religious caste system, sectarianism, and the social caste system, which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus. This is one of the quiet ways in which the conquered nations revenge themselves on their conquerors'." (pp. 123-124).

The difficulty is further enhanced by the existence of certain communities, which were once described by the Census authorities as Hindu-Mussulmans, who are neither Hindus nor Mussulmans. In later censuses they were put together with the Muhammadans to show their strength inflated for political purposes. The Sanjogis of Sind refused to be so labelled and claimed separate identity for themselves.

The question is what is the proportion of the Shiahs among the Muhammadans of India, *i.e.*, Bharat after the Partition of 1947. Of the 92 million Muhammadans in all-India in 1941, 22 were in Western Pakistan and 29 in East Bengal. Since then there has been large-scale migrations, both voluntary and forced, from India to Pakistan. Many Muhammadans resident in West Bengal have "opted out" for service in East Pakistan. Of the Muhammadans 44.6 per cent fell to India geographically. The mass migration to Pakistan *minus* the large-scale return to India subsequently has lowered this percentage. But it is roughly compensated by the inflation of the number of Muhammadans in the Punjab and in Bengal at the time of the 1941 Census. This inflation is admitted in the Pakistan Census Report. The order of inflation is some 8 to 10 per cent.

The Shiahs are or were not uniformly distributed among the Muhammadans in all-India. Their greatest percentage (12) was in the State of Baroda. Bengal Shiahs are concentrated in Murshidabad and 24 Parganas and other areas in West Bengal. Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan) are Shiah strongholds.

From the figures given in the *Census of India Report*, 1921, we have estimated that some 36 per cent of the Shiahs lived in areas which are now in Pakistan. In forming the estimate we have taken the remarks, often qualitative, of the former Census Commissioners and of the Provincial Census Superintendents. The estimate is at best a rough estimate. As it is not possible to find out or estimate whether relatively more Shiahs migrated to Pakistan or came back later on than Sunnis, even this rough estimate is vitiated. But as the proportion of the Shiahs among the Muhammadans of India is very small, any inaccuracy due to differential migration to Pakistan or coming back is of secondary importance. On account of intolerance shown in Western Pakistan to the Qudianis and other sects, it is likely that most Shiahs who migrated to Pakistan have come back.

Of the Shiahs, according to our estimate, some 64 per cent lived in areas allotted to India, *i.e.*, Bharat. So their proportion in Bharat is:

$$\frac{64}{100} \times \frac{1.25}{100} \div \frac{44.6}{100} \text{ or } 1.8 \text{ per cent.}$$

The proportion of Shiahs has, therefore, increased slightly from 1.25 to 1.8 per cent. Their actual proportion is likely to be higher.

India is a secular State; and there is no interference with the religious practice of anyone. The Muhammadans are in a minority in every district, excepting in Kashmir. Even the Sunni Muhammadans are showing more tolerance towards the Shiahs in Independent India. There is no reason for a Shiah to practise *taqiya* or dissimulation now. We think, therefore, that at the time of the next Census in 1961, an attempt should be made to enumerate the Shiahs more accurately.

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CROSS-ROADS AND CONFLICTS

By Dr. SOUREN ROY, D.M.D., Ph.D. (Munich)

Like British, French, German, Italian and various other European races settled in America, India also with respect to her inhabitants, is composed of Rajput, Sikh, Mogul, Marhatta, Pathan, Parsi, Dravidian, and various other characteristically different races, each having its own distinctive history, tradition, language and script, with widely differing belief, habit and custom, and mostly they stick too closely attached to these specialities of their own. In fact, the devotion to their indentical peculiarities are so deeply imbibed in them that, even seven hundred years' persuasion and persecution under Muslim rule, failed miserably to produce any appreciable change in their conduct and carriage. Further again, the influence of British education on their political, social and civic lives, and their close association with this race for about two hundred years, led them mostly to interpret their thoughts and ideas, to suit conveniently to their own expediencies than to change their identical characteristics. Even the ideal of patriotism which, though to an average British mind, is considered superior to most other virtues of human life, suffered presumably an insidious phonetary metamorphosis, to represent it in most Indian minds by the form of 'Pet-iotism' instead, denoting the quality to be devoted to the interests of one's 'pet,' in preference to the interests of one's country. Colossal inefficiency and mismanagement in the discharge of public duties which since independence of India as are usually experienced by people, may very well be accounted for too rigid adherence of our politicians to this perverse social outlook. But in disregard to these facts, if anybody believes that he can better serve the cause of India by incorporating the ruling principle of yet another country whose culture, tradition, habit and every other racial characteristic, have for ever remained absolutely strange to Indians, he is then either short in weight and convolution of his brain matter as is due to an average human being or a scoundrel out to seek his personal gain, even at the peril of his country's future. A country with such a diversity, is not supposed to conform to a political uniformity, if her people be coerced under an autocratic rule which denies the dignity, right and liberty of human beings.

Progress of China under communism serves, however, a tempting example to represent the views of this idealism, but they adopt a false analogy to vindicate its cause where the hypothesis differ widely to each other in their qualities. Similar method applied upon two fundamentally different materials, can never produce the same result. Chinese people, belonging to Mongolian origin and having their distinctive culture, tradition and history, has a basic difference with Indians, not only with respect to these traits or in their mutual differences in physiognomy but in character, habit and, above all in their devotion to duty, which by far, are different with the people of these two great countries. Negligence of duty, abuse of power and disregard to the demands of one's countrymen which, in comparison to Chinese, are usually so common in many Indian characters that, without taking due notice of those qualitative differences as they prevail in them, a hope to attain progress of India under the ideal of Chinese pattern of government, would only justify the stupidity or

selfish motive of the person, entertaining this view.

But the main triumph of communism lies, however, in its indiscriminate promise of food to the hungry and shed to the shelterless which indeed, has its appeal to the imagination of the needy and serve well to attract the sympathy of others in the endeavour to establish a government, devoted to this principle. Human dignity, freedom of speech and equality of right, according to them, scarcely bear any sense to the people who, starve for the want of food and suffer without shelter and clothing. A dying multitude, struggling for the minimum necessities of life, can ill afford to attend to such abstract intellectualism. They are concerned more to the satisfaction of their immediate needs to save themselves from hunger and privation before they have the liesure to listen to such idealistic gossip.

One is amazed at the plausibility of such arguments! It matters little, what the pattern of the government is, but who is to produce the food—the people or the State? Why then should the people feel any necessity for a government for what they have to produce themselves? Why should they at all agree to share the burden of its maintenance merely to meet the demand, which is as imperative to any living being of the world? Other animals—the cattle or the beasts of jungle, or even the nomads or aborigines, have never required the help of any government to feed and shelter them. Why the civilised should then feel so helpless and at the sacrifice of their personal freedom, would agree to submit themselves to the discretion of a few to rule over them, merely on an assumption to gain an easy access to food and shelter? Even if they yield to it,—where is the guarantee for an impartial and efficient management of the affairs, to the best advantage of all? Did not the Indians support their leaders in their demand to get the charge of the government to manage it to the best interests of their people? Certainly, the Britons did not hold the right to govern India for long two hundred years, merely to satisfy their idle vanity as to remain the rulers of this great country, nor for that matter, they needed her to demonstrate before the world the greatness of heart in their ability to share with Indians the food they produced in their homeland which, even in normal times, would scarcely feed their own people for more than nine months. But India, after her independence, to the utter misery of her people, was put to the most disgraceful position as to go about begging alms to the doors of foreign countries and mostly not in vain, and yet, a considerable portion of her people was to be left half-fed and ill-nourished.

Certainly, the necessity of a government, by all means, was not felt for supporting an assembly of speculating negotiators, trading on food and shelter, nor its purpose could be realised through a party of machiavellian chauvinists, usurping the right to govern. Civilised people wanted a government, not so much for its mediating into the production of food, shelter and such other necessities of daily requirements, or for that matter, to act as an assessor and collector of taxes but, primarily for the protection of their right, liberty and dignity which are more than precious to the lives of civilised beings. It is the dignity, be that of his person, or of his nation or society, that a man values most and, he does not easily agree to tolerate any encroachment upon his justifiable rights and liberty. In the event of molestation of these primary demands, he has always been found to raise the strongest voice of protest and has not even hesitated to risk life for their restoration. Many examples could be recalled from history, where people entered into devastating battles and smilingly sacrificed millions of their lives for the protection of their national dignity, right and liberty. Even in private lives, the causes of unhappy incidences that daily ruin the peace of people are due mostly to their attempt to seek redress against the violation of their personal dignity, right and liberty, and the lawyers and Law Courts are being fattened and flourished at the expense of these tender human sentiments. But who else, except a criminal has ever risked his life to rob the demand of his food from others,

Even during the famine of 1943 in Bengal, the landless destitutes who, died in thousands in and around the city of Calcutta for want of food, did not raid those temptingly decorated food shops which stood along sides of streets, nor did they raise any demand to possess a share of their contents, as a matter of right for the appeasement of their hunger. For the same reason again, those fashionable ladies and social workers who are always busy about distributing food, shelter and clothing to the needy, would not have any reason to express their dissatisfaction at the people's ingratitude, or even sometimes to their surprise, meet with their antagonism, if food, shelter and clothing were the primary demands of people. The obvious question is, not to meet their demands of food, shelter and clothing but to restore their right, dignity and liberty, in the society of their fellow beings, and to enable them to attain peace and progress, in the pursuance of their lives. Due also to the same reason, the people are not satisfied with the kind of a liberty as is enjoyed by the beasts of jungle but demand, in its stead from their government—proper administration of Law, Order and Justice; protection of health, wealth and happiness; security of life, both within the country and abroad; protection of the country against foreign aggression and discharge of such other diverse supplementary and derivative responsibilities, to help them to pursue their lives and progress in their lots, according to their individual talent, ability and enterprise.

THE GROWTH OF ACCIDENT PREVENTION MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY

By RAMANATH KUNDU, M.SC.

Accidents are generally regarded as unforeseen events and, therefore, unpreventable. But from scientific stand-point it is not the true explanation of accident occurences. According to the National Safety Council, an accident may be described as "an event or rapidly occurring series of events, arising out of an unsafe act or an unsafe condition and culminating in an unpremeditated injury." Henrich is of opinion that "an accident is an event in which (a) the contact of a person with an object, substance or another person, or (b) the exposure of a person to objects, substances, other persons or conditions, or (c) the movement of a person, causes personal injury or suggests the probability of such injury." There are various types of explanations for the word "accident" which help us in determining the causes and natures of accidents. These causes and natures of accidents prove that in certain cases of injury a true accident is not an unforeseen event and so it is preventable. A person may know in advance that he will fall or be struck by an object, but unfortunately he cannot escape.

The direct and indirect costs of accident are beyond imagination. Accidents to workers are costly, not only to the employer, but also to the injured man, his family and to society as a whole. As a result of accident—employers, society, injured workers and members of their families all suffer losses. So injuries directly or indirectly affect the welfare of industrial organizations and the well-being of all our people. These adverse effects of accidents, which stand as a bar to industrial progress, point to the importance of accident prevention.

Before the industrial revolution practically no attempt was made for the welfare of the employees. Accidents were taken to be inevitable fate or bad luck on the part of the workers who happened to fall victims. Neither the industrialists nor the state felt themselves responsible for the accident. But with the rise of consciousness among the labourers, the outlook had to be changed. The labourers became gradually dissatisfied with the indifferent attitude of the management and the state. Thus the dissatisfaction of the workers forced factory-owners to introduce safety laws, rules and regulations. Consequently, a new type of legislation described as "workmen's compensation laws" began to appear at the end of the last century.

The first law was formulated by Bismarck in Germany in 1885. Subsequently, similar laws were adopted by Austria in 1887, by Norway in 1894, by Great Britain in 1897 and so on. In India, the Workmen's Compensation Act came into force on the first day of July 1924.

The increasing accident costs imposed by the compensation laws aroused a widespread interest in accident prevention. The industrialists realise that frequent accidents will naturally affect production and cut down profit. Thus attention to methods of accident prevention become imperative due to two-fold causes: (*i*) humanitarian attitude and (*ii*) economic loss.

Many experimental works were undertaken at the beginning of this century, as a measure of accident prevention. The purpose of such investigations was to discover the causative factors, the hazardous condition and practices that brought the accident. The solution of the problem was considered from fact finding. Learning the where, why, when, how and to whom accidents were happening—some well-directed preventive efforts were adopted. The National Safety Council and numerous other associations and institutions had undertaken the task of accident prevention. The engineers also became interested with this problem.

Research has shown the various factors that contribute to the causation of accidents. Today the problem of reducing the number of industrial accidents can be approached from many different angles. Propaganda work has given excellent results. Safeguarding machinery, improving working conditions, training of operatives and efforts towards securing better selection are sure steps in the direction of reducing accident rates. The use of recommended safety measures, such as safety goggles and safety shoes is also essential in some industrial situations. The clinical method is also fruitful.

The Role of Psychology

When industrial safety first began to be given serious consideration by management, the main emphasis for prevention was stressed upon the mechanical improvement of equipments and also through warnings. But these safety measures failed to show the desired results. These failures of the safety engineers and other individuals to prevent

accidents led to the search of the true causes of accidents. Extensive investigations proved that the presence of "human factor" in- the causation of accidents is obvious. It is the "personal peculiarity" which has been regarded as clue. It is accepted that accidents are sometimes inevitable, particularly to some persons, because of the way in which they have been born. Moreover, the statements of accident report, like, "did not notice" or "did not get away soon enough" point directly to the psychological characteristics of the personnel concerned. It is evident from the various research works that these accidents are almost invariably due to carelessness, to faulty training, to inattention, or to personal qualities which are inadequate for the situations in which a person allows himself to be placed. Thus with the rapid progress of research works in the prevention of accidents, the individual aspect of the problem comes into exsistence. Today the psychological or personal factors in causing accidents are widely accepted.

Prevention not only depends upon the machine but also upon the mind of the working people. If mind becomes disturbed and tortured, it fails to work properly. Accident may be inevitable to some persons in such cases. Thus psychology comes into this field because of the fact that many accidents are caused by shortcomings of the worker rather than of the machine. The probable value of psychology in accident prevention can be well-imagined from the statement that 'some individuals are more prone to accidents than others.'

Greenwood and Woods were the first to study individual differences in accident incidence. They carried out researches mainly in the line of statistical analysis. Thus the scientific study of mental causes of accidents has taken up the form of an analysis of differences in susceptibility to accident. The examination of any accident records, makes it clear that some people have more accidents than others exposed to the same amount of risk. This difference in accident rate among the individuals is mainly due to the factor known as "accident-proneness."

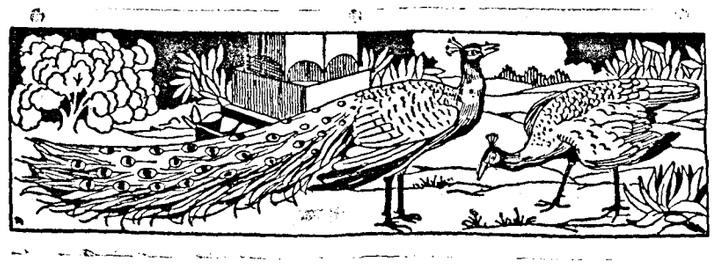
Many interesting and useful researches have been carried out to reduce incidents of accidents caused by human factors. Efforts have been mainly directed to (i) analyse the conditions of work which may lead to accidents, (ii) find out persons who are likely to cause more accidents than others under the same condition of liability to accidents, and (iii) rehabilitate these persons as far as possible by subjecting them to special training. Today, it is widely accepted that accident-control measures may be directed toward mental conditions (fatigue, worry, unrest, attitude, etc.), co-ordination of muscular and mental faculties, mental and physical reactions, improper motive or lack of motive, and other similar factors that serve to influence the causation of accidents. The psychologist's collaboration in the prevention of accidents has borne fruit in the form of avoiding unnecessary financial loss and human misery.

Safety psychology rightly directs research to worry and fatigue, home conditions, long hours of work, frequency of accidents after holidays and early in the morning, age, and other mental conditions included in the list of psychological accident factors.

Today emphasis is placed on the fact that safety would be improved if mechanical designs were more intimately related to the psychological characteristics of operators. The wider use of psychological tests and psycho-techniques for adjusting and fitting workers to their jobs offers promise in accident prevention work. Effective collaboration between safety engineers and safety psychologists is essential in industrial safety-programmes. Carefully planned and executed research studies will have to be undertaken by the safety psychologists if significant progress is to be made in the modern accident reduction problem.

We may now conclude that the solutions of the accident prevention or reduction problem depend upon psychology and specially upon industrial psychology, which is both a science and a technology.

"Safety engineering has held the field for two decades; it is now the turn of safety psychology."



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

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. III : *Science and Society. Bhavan's Book University Series. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 1-4.*

This is the third volume of the series published under the above title, the two previous volumes bearing the captions 'Literature, Philosophy and Religion,' and 'Arts, History and Culture' respectively. The present volume consists of selections from the writings of 13 scholars and public men including a few well-known names. It is divided into two unequal sections. The only paper in the first section entitled 'Science' consists of a good summary of the achievements of the Ancient Indians in the positive sciences (Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Physiology and Medicine) from the pen of Dr. A. L. Basham of the London University. The second section bearing the somewhat unsatisfactory title of 'Society' comprises not only the topics 'Origins of the Indian village system' (dealing with the Munda-Dravidian survivals and the resemblances as well as contrasts between the Aryan and Dravidian features in this system) by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, 'Our social heritage' (a sympathetic study of the Indian system of *Varnasrama Dharma*) by Dr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Samanya Dharma* and *Rajadharma* (a comprehensive and authoritative summary of the Ancient Indian ideas on these subjects) by Dr. P. V. Kane and 'Our social dilemma' (a thoughtful analysis of our composite culture and estimate of its problems in our present context) by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, but also a series of studies of historical (or quasi-historical) characters. These last consist of papers on 'Kautilya' by Drs. Beni Prasad and R. C. Majumdar, 'Amir Khusrau' by Dr. A. K. Majumdar, 'Rana Pratap' by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'Akbar' by Laurence Binyon, 'Tukaram, Ramdas and Shivaji' by C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis, and lastly, 'Guru Govind Singh, by Sardar K. M. Panikkar. Of this series of studies it may be said that they are of unequal merit, one or two giving adequate critical estimate of the personalities of the characters as well as of their place in history, while the rest are filled with tedious biographical (sometimes legendary) detail quite out of place in a general survey of our cultural heritage.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CURRENT STUDIES (Vol. I, May, 1953, Vol. II, August, 1953, Vol. III, 1954, Vol. IV, 1955), *being the Journal of the Patna College and edited by K. Ahmed, Principal, Patna College.*

To few colleges in India belong the distinction of bringing out in print the fruits of the study and thinking by its learned body of teachers. The above volumes, being solely the contributions of the Patna College teachers, naturally do credit to them. Volume I, complete in 90 lithographed pages, includes a dozen papers on such subjects as History, Economics and Sociology, Psychology (both Experimental and Applied), and Geography. Of them, K. Ahmed's *The Meaning of Criticism* provides delightful reading alike by the lucidity of expression and the power of critical appreciation. Dr. D. M. Datta's *The Teaching of Indian Philosophy in the American Universities* makes a strong plea for the study and understanding of the different systems of Indian philosophy in the West.

Vol. II, complete in 108 lithographed pages, contains seven articles. In one of them Dr. K. K. Datta points out, on the basis of contemporary evidences, that Sirajuddaulah's war with the English was not of his own seeking but forced upon him. In another, "Civilization and Culture," K. Ahmad makes an appraisal of the basic features of ancient and modern civilization, the bearing of science on human civilisation and its proper place in a rational scheme of education. "Science should be *handmaiden, not the directing power,*" (p. 74). *"An interest in the arts* is synonymous with an interest in culture. And *to neglect them is the greatest folly imaginable."*

Vol. III, complete in ninety-three printed pages, has interesting papers including Bihar's role in the Home Rule Movement, 1916, (ii) The Poetry of Sri Aurobindo, (iii) The Plato and the Veda. Mr. Devidas Chatterji concludes in this issue the fine essay on an appreciation of "Anatole France" continued in Vols. I and II of this journal, while K. Ahmad, by an analysis of the aims and objects of Communism, endeavours to set in proper perspective the relation between it and culture.

Volume IV is rather lean, complete in sixty printed pages. Prof. S. H. Askeri who has specialised in the study of hagiological literature draws here attention to "Fragments of Chandain and Mrigavati," while S. K. Prashad writes on "Population Dynamics and Economic Growth."

Would it be too much to say that the Patna College has set an example for similar institutions to follow?

N. B. ROY

INDIA'S VILLAGES (A collection of articles originally published in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay): *Published by the Development Department, West Bengal Government Press. Pp. 198. Price—Indian Rs. 4-8, English 7s. 6d.*

The volume is a collection of village studies by anthropologists from India, the United Kingdom and

U.S.A. The contributors have tried to make these studies as realistic as possible: knowledge has been verified by field-experience. The villages described in the essays cover a large part of the Indian Union and offer a wide variety. This is worthy of note, for each village has its own way of life, its uniqueness. The village community has been studied in its various aspects—social, economic and cultural. As Sri M. N. Srinivas says in his Introduction, "While each contributor was invited to write on the social life of the village he had intensively studied he was given the freedom to write on an aspect of it which he either found most interesting or considered important." This has made some surveys rich and comprehensive. A few sketches possess an additional attraction: they depict the village community in transition and point a moral. Urbanisation, industrialisation, democratisation—in fact, all the forces of modernisation—are creeping in and affecting the tempo of life in the quiet countryside. The gulf between the 'noisy' town and the 'drowsy' village is narrowing. A new awakening, a levelling-up is evident. On the whole, this multi-coloured picture of village life in India will not only stimulate scholars but also welfare workers, planners and Development Departments of State Governments.

The sooner we 'discover' the village, the better for the country. In the first place, the Indian village community, like the Greco-Roman city state, contributed considerably to human civilization and progress. Its revival has, therefore, a lot of cultural value. Secondly, there are about 560 thousand villages in the Indian Union. The majority (83 per cent) of the population of 362 millions live and move and have their being in the villages. National welfare is thus to be measured in terms of rural welfare. Lastly, the village will play a very responsible role as the autonomous unit of the Indian Rephblic.

Let us hope that the immense significance of the present publication will not be missed and that village studies will be extended in the near future to areas yet untrodden. Indeed, we look forward to the day when the Cinderella of the British Administration in India will leap once more into the sunlight of history.

The Development Department, West Bengal, is to be thanked for their enterprise in bringing out this useful volume.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

THE CONCEPT OF SPACE IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: *By Swami Madhavatirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, Valad Post, Ahmedabad. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.*

Swami Madhavatirtha, who is a learned monk and author of several books on Indian thought, discusses in this booklet the concept of space according to the philosophy of Vedanta and the Science of Relativity. He means to say that the Western Theory of relativity and the Indian doctrine of *maya* both give similar concepts of space or *desha*. Modern physics proves by means of higher mathematics that space is derivative and depends on the functions of an observer. Though this applies only to the experiences of the waking state, yet its results are identical with our dream experience. As the Relativity theory proves the relativity of space and time so the Advaita philosophy as propounded in the Mandukya Upanishad shows the relativity of dream, waking and sleep experiences. In this point modern physics and Indian philosophy shake hands to prove the doctrine of *maya* which is inexplicable and means literally a finitising principle.

When the modern physicists like Einstein and a modern philosopher like Alexander observe that an event is nothing but a space-time unit they support indirectly the *maya* theory of Indian philosophy. While elucidating this interesting subject the thoughtful author rightly remarks as follows: "A dream mountain does not occupy any space because it is not an object but a phase of an event. A mountain in the waking condition of any one observer is also not an object but a phase of an event since it does not occupy any fundamental space. For instance, if a waking man is transformed into a dream man the mountain seen by him in the waking state loses its boundary for him as he cannot carry that mountain in the dream state. Both the waking and dream states are therefore *sthana dharma, i.e.*, viewpoints of an observer." Philosophically speaking, space originates from the idea of simultaneity. This book introduces a very serious discussion and certainly deserves a perusal of thoughtful readers.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE CITY OF TWO GATEWAYS (The Autobiography of an Indian Girl): *By Savitri Devi Nanda. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Pp. 278. Price sixteen shillings.*

This is a warm, sunlit book, a testament of a sweet and wistful childhood spent in the hills of the Punjab. The author, who is a practising physician in England, tells her story simply and with great modesty and charm. Reading this utterly captivating memoir one is quickly transported to one's own dreamy childhood days, when everything was big and lofty, when good and wise men ruled the roost, guiding kindly by the hand the neophyte in life's journey, when grandmothers, spinning by starlight, talked in hushed voices to coveys of wide-eyed grandchildren about lofty ideals and about the many great and noble men and women who once graced this ancient country.

Savitri Devi Nanda gives us a completely convincing portrait of a happy, virile and well-knit family in which she grew up, recording the many overtones and undertones of little pleasures and benumbing tragedies that stalk the traveller of life. She invests her narrative with such simple power and infectious verve as are not very often in the lot of a reviewer to encounter.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

SOCHI RAUT ROY (A Poet of the People: A Symposium): *Edited by Basudha Chakravarti. Prabasi Press, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 4.*

The only object of this symposium . . . is to stimulate active interest of the educated intelligentsia of our country . . . in the creative efforts of Sri Sochi Raut Roy, a popular modern poet of Orissa. The writers who have participated in this symposium, include Dr. Parija, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen and Harindranath Chattopadhyay. They have pointed out the salient features of his poetry. In his foreword Sri Humayun Kabir observes: "If he remains true to his vocation as a poet he may achieve greater distinction. Whether he will actually do so is more than one can say. . . . In the *Boatman Boy and Forty Poems* he has shed immaturity of adolescence and achieved a deeper note born of feeling and experience."

D. N. MOOKERJEA

THE CO-OPERATIVE WAY (A Hand-Book): *By Sunil Guha. Published by Indian National Congress, New Delhi. Pp. xiii + 193. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a useful publication of the Economic and Political Research Department of the Congress for the benefit of the Congress and other constructive workers in the field of co-operation, particularly during the Second Five-Year Plan period. It must be admitted that socialistic pattern of economy and society can only be suitably built upon co-operative methods.

The book contains chapters on principles and forms of co-operation, Congress and Co-operative Movement, Progress of Co-operative in India, Co-operative in selected foreign countries, scope of co-operative in the Second Five-Year Plan and co-operative education and training. Besides, the Appendix contains a summary of the recommendations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee, How to organise a co-operative society and co-operative as a subject of study in the Universities.

The book is well-documented and up-to-date facts and figures have been given. Besides workers in the field, students of the Universities will find it helpful in the study of the subject.

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN INDIA: *Pages 21.*

Contains short notes on Importance of Rural Development in India, Community Development Projects, concept, aims and objects and scope of activities, administration and organisation, financial and technical aspects, review of the progress and national extention service, etc.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA: *Pages 21.*

Contains short notes on the importance of the problems, nature, trends, causes and solution of the problem, Government employment policy, progress of Five-Year Plan, etc.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN INDIA: *Pages 22.*

Contains short notes on the need, development, analysis, progress and critical estimate of the First Five-Year Plan together with an outline of the Second Five-Year Plan.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA: *Pages 22.*

Contains short notes on emergence, need of check, causes and nature of the problem, population control, etc.

The above "Advanced Critical Studies" by Dr. Ambu Prasad Gaur, Head of the Economics Department, V.S.S.D. College, Kanpur, published by N. S. S. Publication, Agra, priced As. 4 each, will be helpful to the students of undergraduate classes of Indian Universities.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BHARATE JYOTISHCHARCHA O KOSTHIBICHARER SUTRABALI: *By Narendranath Bagal Jyotissastri. Indian Associated Publishing Company Ltd., 93, Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. xvii + 496. Price Rs. 10.*

In ancient India Astrology and Astronomy went hand in hand. In order to have a correct estimate of the development of Indian Astrology a knowledge of the history of Indian Astronomy is necessary. Eminent Indian scholars like Balkrishna Dikshit, Sudhakar Dwivedi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and, Jogesh Chandra Roy have done a great deal to reconstruct from forgotten sources the history of Indian Astronomy. Though something has been done further research is necessary to have a fuller account of this science. The author Narendranath Bagal is an indefatigable research-worker. But he is primarily interested in Astrology. Though we get some new, and for the matter of that very important, things from his short history of Indian Astronomy and Astrology he has not, for obvious reasons, pursued it to its full limit. The fundamental principle on which Indian Astrology is based is the doctrine of *karma* and rebirth. Man is born again and again, and in this birth he has to reap the fruits of his actions in his previous births. Thus a man's life is in a way predetermined. The position of the planets at the moment a child is born indicates his life and destiny. This helps an astrologer in predicting events and casting a new-born child's horoscope. The author has differentiated *drirah karma* and *adrirah karma*. Though in the main a man's life is predetermined by the acts done in a previous state of existence, in the case of Adrirah Karma he may, if he tries hard and follows a virtuous course of life, get over the consequence of some of his actions. In addition to two valuable introductory chapters and an Appendix the book comprises twenty-one chapters. Art may be indigenous, science is universal. In the case of science scholars all over the world have not from time immemorial hesitated to borrow from foreign sources. The primary motive of the author is to restore the science of Indian Astrology to its pristine glory. The science of Astronomy and Astrology as developed in India originally influenced the ancient world, but in its turn was in later years influenced by the Greek, the Egyptian and the Arabic science. The author in dealing with terminologies shows the influence of foreign science on Indian Astrology. Curiously enough the Indian, the Egyptian and the Greek conceptions of the Zodiac are all alike. From the illustrations published in the book we find that these three different countries adopted the same signs of the Zodiac. The author does not merely reproduce in translation the *slokas* from ancient authors. He has thoroughly assimilated the knowledge of Indian Astrology and thus sets forth lucidly what he has derived from ancient sources and from his personal investigations. Bhava-bichar or appraisal of Bhabas is a difficult subject, and in the course of several chapters he deals with the Dwadash Bhava or twelve Bhabas in a masterly fashion. The bibliography at the end of the book will be of great service to research-students. The author is connected with the Bisuddha Siddhanta Panjika and is associated with the Calendar Reform Committee that was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. Meghnad Saha. Written in a lucid style and chaste Bengali *Bharate Jyotishcharcha O Kosthibicharer Sutrabali* will prove to be an authoritative work on Indian Astrology.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BAGH O AJANTA: *By Devavrata Mukhopadhyaya. Ratnasagar Granthamala. Distributed by Grantha Jagat, 71, Panditiya Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1-8.*

Equally deft in the use of the pen as well as the brush, Sri Mukhopadhyaya has given here his impressions of the caves of Bagh and Ajanta. They

preserve until this day wonderful specimens of Ancient India's sculpture and painting and are, to the student of Art and Indian culture, places of pilgrimage, so to say. The artists of our new Oriental school drew inspiration from them. Careful handling of materials, descriptive power and finely drawn sketches have contributed to the merit of the book.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

SWATANTRA KI KHOJ MEN (An Autobiography): *By Swami Satya Deva. Nivaran Ashrama, Ranchi. Pp. 568. Price Paper-cover Rs. 4, Bound Rs. 5.*

Swami Satya Deva is a pilgrim of the open road. His search for freedom, therefore, is not conditioned by any one country or church. Consequently, in the course of his quest he has found himself in India, Europe and America. His autobiography is, however, like the conversation of a congenial friend who shares with you in all sincerity what he has learnt in the hard school of experience. Listening to him one lives over again some of the most heroic moments in our now-past national fight for freedom and our individual efforts for personal freedom and takes to heart the wisdom of his words: "Not freedom we need but self-control—freedom begets licentiousness, while self-control gives blissful peace, releasing us from the snares of selfish freedom."

G. M.

GUJARATI

APANA BHASHA: LEKHAN ANE VYAKARAN: (Our Mother Tongue: Writing of it and Grammar), Part I: *By Prof. Kantilal B. Vyas, M.A., F.R.A.S., (Bombay). Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay. Printed at the Bombay Baibhav Press, Bombay. 1951. Paper-cover. Pp. 148. Price Re. 1-12.*

A novel method has been adopted by Prof. K. B. Vyas to make the dry subject of Grammar easy and interesting for students of the age of 10 and 12 years. Illustrations to explain the matter have been selected from the writings of well-known writers, with the double purpose of introducing them to the authors at this early age, and because they were written in easy language, so that students would become interested in them. In writing this book, rather text-book, the writer has conformed to the standards of the Government Education Department.

MADHYAM VYAKARAN NE SAHITYA RACHNA: *By Principal A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B. Garda College, Nabasari. Published by MacMillan and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay. 1952. Paper-cover. Pp. 303 Price Rs. 2-10.*

Middle Grammar and Literary Composition is meant for students, both of schools and colleges. The writer's deceased father, Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi, had written two Treatises on Grammar, Middle—*Madhyam* and Large—*Brihad*, which have become noted as standard books on the subject. Principal Trivedi has added to the composition of his father and in about 125 pages explained how correct Gujarati should be written. The slip-shod way in which immature and callous youths write it at present is pointedly set out, and they are asked, in a very persuasive way, how to avoid pitfalls in their way.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tilak and Gokhale

D. Anjaneylu writes in *The Indian Review*:

While the country celebrated the birth centenary of the "Father of Indian Unrest" (as his enemies considered him) or the "Father of Indian Revolution" (as we honour him), one is instinctively reminded of another great Indian who had nothing to do with 'unrest' or 'Revolution.' Tilak and Gokhale were both equally genuine and selfless patriots, second to none in their love for the motherland or concern for the people's welfare. Gokhale was born ten years later than Tilak and predeceased him by five years. Both were Maharashtrians and came from the same Chitpavan stock of orthodox Brahmins. Both were born in humble circumstances and ended their lives in comparative poverty. Both were good students of Mathematics and Sanskrit and took up the teaching profession as a mission, working in the same New English School and the Fergusson College at Poona in the first years of their public life.

There, however, the comparison ends. For, very soon, the difference in character and temperament led to an inevitable parting of ways. Tilak had to leave the Deccan Education Society, along with his friend Agarkar, owing to differences on matters of principle, while Gokhale stayed on for some more years. While Tilak took a new line of public service by starting the *Kesari* and *Mahratta*, Gokhale extended his activities to the Sarvajanik Sabha and later founded the Servants of India Society. Curiously enough, it was the younger leader that stood firmly for go-slow methods and came to be closely identified with the Moderates. The older man was the prime mover and chief source of inspiration for the rising forces of resurgent nationalism, dubbed by their opponents as the 'Extremists.' It is quite well-known that both the groups came to an open clash at the Surat Congress in 1907 and the gulf was never to be bridged.

Though they had a similar upbringing at home and not very different training at school and college, Tilak and Gokhale were cast in altogether different moulds. Stormy and combative in his make-up, though he could often assume the calm before the storm, Tilak drew his life's inspiration from the gospel of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the lives of heroes like Shivaji and Samartha Ramadas. With self-restraint as his distinguishing characteristic, Gokhale was influenced by the Liberal doctrines of Mill, Gladstone and Morley and modelled himself on the lives of Ranade, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha. Tilak was intensely religious in his outlook and his nationalism was based on the firm foundation of religious tradition. Known to have been an agnostic in his youth with his share of admiration for Maj. Bradlaugh, Gokhale considered religion as a matter of personal belief that should not be allowed to interfere with one's politics or public life. Sacrifice and suffering were the mottoes of Tilak's life and service was the badge of Gokhale's tribe.

Education and social reform were dear to the heart of Gokhale as they were to his master Ranade and his friend, philosopher and guide, G. V. Joshi. He belonged to the old school of thought which believed that an enlightened populace and a progressive society were the first requisites for political autonomy. They were quite ready to seek the aid of Government in forcing the pace of social reform, as, for example, in passing the Age of Consent Bill. To the Lokamanya, Swaraj was the inalienable birthright that could not be denied to any nation. Good government was to him, no substitute for self-government. The removal of social anomalies was a question of the society's internal regulation in which the foreign rulers had no moral right to meddle with. A revival of Hindu orthodoxy, without its evils, was an effective counterblast to stem the tide of modernism and Western materialism and defeat the forces of atheism and agnosticism.

In the British connection with India, Gokhale, and those who thought with him, saw the unmistakable hand of a benign Providence. He could never imagine a self-governing India outside the British Empire whose blessings it would be foolhardy to deny oneself. Tilak never laid much store by this mystic tie and the foreign rulers were not different from 'Asuras'. Though he did not mind a free nation continuing as a Dominion, the real substance of Swaraj was what he wanted and strove for. Home Rule was to him, as to the Irish, not the shadow of constitutional reforms, but a transfer of power, not merely office, to Indian hands, with full control over the purse and all branches of the Government—legislative, executive and judiciary.

If, in their aims, they were not identical, in their methods, they were poles apart. The Prince of Moderates swore by constitutional methods and peace and order were of supreme importance and without them all was nought. Believing in the gradualness of inevitability and the inevitability of gradualness, he had a horror of non-co-operation and passive resistance, not to speak of armed violence. Peace without freedom was, to Tilak, not different from the peace of the graveyard, and the law of a foreigner, imposed against the people's will, was only a "Lawless Law." Though the means were important enough, Tilak put them next to the ends in view. Diplomacy should be met with diplomacy, he said, as there was no place for absolute Truth in politics. Reforms could be accepted when they were offered, but only as a stepping stone in marching to the ultimate goal of Swaraj. Council entry was not objectionable but only as a stage in the fight for entry into a free state. Tilak never advocated violence or armed rebellion as such, but he could not help it if the intrepid youths of Bengal and Maharashtra were inspired by his speeches and writings to tread the path of revolution.

Gokhale's appeal was mainly to the intelligentsia whereas Tilak's was to the masses. One was the best example of the Western influence on the Indian mind while the other, also a cultivated mind, was a true son of the soil with his moorings in the hearts of

its people. As Dr. Pattabhi aptly put it in his Congress History, one was on level with the times and the other was ahead of them. Tilak had lighted the torch of freedom and shown the way in the struggle that followed, culminating in the achievement of independence. Gokhale, with his unshakable faith in peaceful progress and good government, may be said to have laid the founadations for political stability and national consolidation.

Principal Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

Prof. T. A. Kulkarni observes in *Prerana*:

Of all the great men that India produced during the last hundred years, two renowned patriots, who were born in July 1856, namely, the Late Principal Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and the Late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, can be mentioned as the most outstanding personalities. Agarkar was born on 14th July and Tilak on the 23rd. Blessed are the mothers who gave birth to such illustrious sons of India. The ideal of Agarkar stands out prominently as the beacon-light of inspiring guidance to us who claim to be public workers. In spite of his struggle with poverty, what a tremendous amount of work he rendered in his short span of life of 39 years! At the age of twenty-five in the year 1880 he passed his M.A. Examination and with the co-operation of Tilak and the Late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, he opened the New English School of Poona, which soon became a model High School. This was the foundation of national education according to the ideals of these great stalwarts. The aim of this school was to train our children to be ideal citizens capable of discharging their onerous duties of free India. The Deccan Education Society was soon founded and the Fergusson College was opened by this Society. In this way a class of selfless lifeworkers who pledged themselves to lead a life of poverty for doing noble work in national institutions was brought into existence. In no other part of India can we find this tradition of self-sacrifice.

The amount of work performed by these institutions is so formidable that our heart is filled with deep feelings of gratitude. Other similar institutions soon came into being framed on these models. The responsibility of Secondary and Higher education is to a very large extent taken up by these non-official agencies. To this extent the Government has been relieved of this burden by all workers who followed the noble example of pioneers like Agarkar and hence the credit of creating an atmosphere of self-confidence goes to him and his colleagues.

Agarkar and Tilak soon felt that educating children was not enough for the regeneration of the country and therefore with a view to prepare the minds of adults for new thoughts and ideas, they started publishing the *Kesari* and Agarkar became its Editor. An article was published in this paper about the ill-treatment given by the Divan of Kolhapur to the Maharaja. Both Agarkar and Tilak were sentenced to four months' imprisonment, an account of which was soon published under the heading 'Hundred and One days in Dongri Jail.' Agarkar's conviction was that national regeneration required political as well as sicial reform. But in the *Kesari*, he could not find sufficient scope for his theme of social uplift and he gave up his connection with the *Kesari* and started his own paper *The Sudharak* (Reformer). Through the columns of this paper, he preached his views on social problems in a fearless manner. This compelled him to face the wrath of many enemies. His opponents were of various types. One group maintained that we should try to win Swaraj and then it would be easy to secure social justice by legislation. Another group of his opponents argued that social evils existed in all countries. Then why should we be ashamed of them? We should try to remove them gradually. This line of thinking was repugnant to Agarkar's mind and hence his paper *Sudharak* carried on a merciless campaign against ignorance, poverty, exploitation of helpless people, evils of caste, extravagance, untouchability, child marriage, persecution of widows and the miserable and helpless condition of women. His reform was based on the dictates of reason. He did not recognise tradition or religious sanction for the support of his social reform. Whatever was good according to the necessities of the time was acceptable to him.

All this splendid work was achieved by Agarkar in a short span of 14 years. He struggled with poverty and disease and expired at the early age of 39. His views were the views of the Late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who looked upon political and social reform as of equal importance, and Mahatma Gandhi, who looked upon Gokhale as his Guru, maintained the same importance of social reform with great fervour and faced public opinion in his campaign against untouchability. Let us, therefore, pay our humble tribute to Agarkar on the occasion of his birth-centenary and let us follow his footsteps in the work of national regeneration.

Archaeology in East Africa

Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhat contributes to *The Aryan Path* an interesting article from Africa where he has been for some time:

Africa is called the Dark Continent, possibly, on account of its inaccessibility to outsiders and the absence of written history. The past history of East Africa is practically a sealed book. The only sources of information are the local traditions of the various tribes, most of which narrate the stories of intertribal quarrels and tribal migrations. In many cases they may turn out to be mere fictions, based upon contradictory anecdotes. In the absence of other sources, however, the historian can resort only to them. If archaeology helps him, he can verify the oral traditions with the aid of discovered antiquities. The written history of East Africa begins practically from the period of the arrival of European missionaries and explorers about a hundred years ago. Still this country is not poor in its archaeological wealth or in relics of ancient civilization and culture. Many European archaeologists, Professor Van Riet Lowe, E. J. Wayland, T. P. O'Brien, Dr. K. A. Davies, K. Ingham, Lanning, K. P. Wachsmann and others, have done a good deal of work in this field and aroused much interest in the ancient culture and dynasties of this country. The great ruins of Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia, for example, afford a rich field to the research worker. The discovery of the *linga* and other soapstone images in the sacred enclosure of the conical tower, the Sanskritic names of places and rivers, the worship of the Moon, the traces of the Swastika, the soapstone eagles perched on the walls—all these have driven such scholars as Walker, Van Oorddt and Leo Frobenius to the conclusion that the Zimbabwe is a replica of Dravidian culture. Professor Leo Frobenius is of the opinion that an iron industry flourished in the interior of Africa about three thousand years before it was known in Europe and that some bellows found in Central Africa had travelled from India *via* Madagascar.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler said in a recent lecture which he delivered at Kampala:

"The history of East Africa began, as nearly as we can possibly place it, two thousand years ago, with one of the most remarkable books ever written by a traveller from Greece. He wrote a most vivid account of the traffic around the shores and across the Indian Ocean which linked East Africa, Arabia, the Mediterranean and India and China."

Owing to this intercourse among the coasts, Arabs and Indians were working and living together with Africans, Greeks, Italians and others in the first and second centuries, producing a wonderful conglomeration of races that is seen even to this day down the East African coast. Sir Mortimer adds:

'If you find a drinking cup, made in Italy in the first century, in the same layer of soil as a mass of African material, then you may be sure that the African material belongs to the same phase."

We are told that for the Middle Ages China may provide the clue to the sequence of events on the East African coast, and that there are places where one can fill one's pockets with pieces of Chinese porcelain. Dr. Gervase Mathew and Sir Mortimer Wheeler visited the islands off the Tanganyika coast and found remains of the great mediaeval trading centres, which were ruled by powerful Sultans who issued coins and built palaces, mosques, shops and fortifications. In Uganda too there are a few ancient structures of importance for antiquarian research.

The grim but fascinating history of the recently unearthed ruins at Gedi, near Malindi on the Kenya coast, was explained by Mr. James Kirkman, Warden of Coastal Historical Sites and of the Gedi National Park. He said that when he started his excavations he had thought he might find a pre-Arabic culture but there was no evidence of that. There are remains at Gedi of a mysterious city with a stone gate overgrown with the roots of trees. Scholars are puzzled as to the reason for its abandonment. Some are of the opinion that the city might have been Persian or Arab in origin. Mr. Kirkman suggested that one of the reasons why Gedi was deserted was droughts which had followed regular and ample rains. Scholars believe that the Phoenicians had trading posts along the coast around 500 B.C. and that Hindus were trading and settling in East Africa even before that. Interesting evidence of the existence of an ancient civilization is afforded by the so-called Pemba heads, which can be picked up even to this day on the beaches of Pemba Island.

The Uganda Museum at Kampala has exhibits of domestic utensils, objects of a magico-religious nature, musical instruments of various types and the regalia of the rulers of Buganda, etc. There is great evidence of Stone Age cultures and some Iron Age ones in this country. Some evidence of the existence of indigenous iron industries centred in the kingdom of Bunyoro has also been gathered. In this connection G. A. Wainwright says:

"It has been shown that the iron industry, and, therefore, no doubt the name for iron which accompanies it (*-uma*, *-chuma* and *-dzuma*) was ancient in Bunyoro and Buganda, dating from a time long before any trade with the Arabs on the coast had reached those countries."

Dr. G. Mathew and Mr. Lanning had found iron objects at sites in Western Uganda which are traditionally associated with the Bachwezi, who are said to have been clever smiths, and iron is plentiful near the traditional Bachwezi headquarters, Mubende Hill. Iron slag is found at the sites of Munsa, Kalisisi and Bugargadzi. A square block of stone, in the grounds of the N.A.C. School, Munsa, is supposed to have been used as an anvil by the builders of the Munsa earthworks.

Mr. Lanning, an administrative officer, has done wonderful work as an amateur archaeologist and published many papers in the *Uganda Journal*. He has discovered and studied many earthworks "clustered between the Bugoma Forest and the south side of the Katonga River" and found the one at Bigo to be the most extensive, the best preserved and most fascinating. The middens of Ntusi, about eight miles to the south-west, have yielded animal bones and potsherds in some profusion. There are earthworks of ancient origin in many places—Kagago, Kasonko, Munsa, Kalisisi, Kibengo, Karwara, Bujogolo, Kakindu and Buwekula—showing extensive systems of trenches, spreading over an appreciable distance, and traces of forts. Mr. Lanning has classified the trench systems into three types. Dr.

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Mathew observes that the earthwork at Bigo might have been used more as a cattle pen than as a fortress.

About nine miles south of the Kibengo earthworks there is a small reservoir, 40 feet by 300 feett which holds much water. Its name is Nyangate-gera. (Note the similarity of *gera* and the Kannada *kere*, tank.) Wayland has recorded the discovery of traces of a number of dams, built to form irrigation works, near Ntusi. It appears from this that there was ample provision for the watering of cattle and for the needs of a rather large population. Similar traces of irrigation works have been reported at Bukulula in Buddu.

From the mound at Ntusi some vessels have been recovered. Some of these resemble the potsherds found at Zimbabwe. In 1950 Wayland discovered an egg-shaped clay cylinder with a flattened top and bottom. This has made Dr. Mathew come to the conclusion that it must have been a centre for worship drawing pilgrims to its gates. Mr. Lanning opines that even to this day there is a fertility cult at Masaka Hill, in which the haft of a spear is carefully buried amidst the roots of a tree.

The Geological Survey Department of the Uganda Protectorate has unearthed several primitive stone tools, the most primitive Kafuan pebble tools and the finely worked and well-developed microlithic tools of the neolithic period, thus providing an excellent background for the study of archaeology. The people of Uganda hold the Bachwezi in great esteem. They are supposed to have been the originators of a pattern of social organization and a religion which were sedulously imitated by successive dynasties. According to Roland Oliver they handed down a working system of administrative officialdom accustomed to ruling small districts . . . . and a regimental organization under which young men were conscripted into the military service of the king.

There are conflicting theories about the Bachwezi and Roland Oliver hopes that "with the contribution of archaeology, it should be possible to add a chapter to the history of Uganda which would be of significance for the whole mediaeval history of Africa."

An important feature of the finds in Uganda leading to further knowledge of its prehistory, is the series of rock paintings in the Teso district. Mr. Lawrence has written an excellent article with illustrations on this subject in the *Uganda Journal* for March 1953. It appears that a European missionary was the first to discover it some ten years ago. Near Nyero are numerous granite outcrop hills arising to heights of two or three hundred feet above the surrounding area. This is called in the native language "the place of the cowry shells." This name might have been suggested by the paintings inside, resembling cowry shells. In two of the many rock shelters paintings have been discovered. The author says that one group contains the remains of an acacia-pod design; the next, a canoe with paddlers; the third, unidentifiable faint markings; and the fourth and largest, two or three canoes, acacia-pod designs and many concentric circles, besides many designs formed like U's, dots and exclamation marks. Besides these there are line drawings probably representing human beings. Another group of rock paintings, at Ngora, five miles from Nyero Hill, consists of geometrical designs executed in red pigment. At this place a small trench dug by Harwich has yielded bones, teeth, a carved bone implement and potsherds with different designs. He has also found artefacts in both lava and obsidian, and admired the skill in design. He thinks the remains discovered in the main shelter suggest "a long occupation from Stone Age times." It is believed that these paintings were executed by Bushmen who occupied the shelters.

On the flat top of the Masaka Hill there are portions of an earth rampart about 6 feet wide, enclosing a circular area about 180 feet in diameter. Broken pots of some antiquity were discovered in the centre of the circle. This place is supposed to have been a great centre of worship for the local people. Three cereconial vessels of different shapes and sizes and an old elephant tusk have been discovered in this place. Other articles found are one receptacle of baked pottery, a pot used for drinking beer, a spear haft, a spear and a large and unusual type of clay bead or amulet.

Of considerable historical importance are the *Imagasani*, shrines, of the Babito dynasty of Bunyoro in Uganda. Some of these are well kept, others neglected. From these it is possible to reconstruct the practices connected with the burial of royal personages. In one such shrine the following articles were discovered: an iron carpentry tool, a metal bell, strings of beads, red, pink, blue and white, etc. The dead man's personal spear, drums and shield were also kept there.

Marshal attaches great importance to the Entebbe Peninsula on account of its having remains of prehistoric cultures lying scattered, often on the surface. The artefacts discovered in the Aerodrome Cave "represented an industry which was homogeneous and represented an advanced phase of the Late Stone Age Culture," according to Professor Van Riet Lowe. There are also some "open stations," where a dense scattering of quartz tools like crescents and awls has been discovered. The pottery found therein is of special interest in that it does not resemble in paste, form or decoration the sherds found in other sites, but compares with discoveries made by Leaky in Central Kavirondo, in Kenya. Marshal says that all these pots are reminiscent of the Peterborough (Neolithic B) culture of the South of England. Some low mounds discovered nearby suggest that it was once inhabited by people. The microliths finely worked in quartz show a high degree of skill.

At Engaruka, Tanganyika, there are stone ruins of a great village, where the inhabitants were perhaps once concentrated for defence against the Masai. On a frostage of about three miles tier upon tier of terracing is still clearly visible and a closer inspection shows the rock-built homes, the graves and the huge cairns of a vanished people. There are some prehistoric wells at Naberara in Masiland.

In many East African cities there are amateur archaeologists and Archaeological Societies which are doing very good work to unearth the past of these regions. In all the important towns there are museums which exhibit the archaeological finds and other interesting articles and specimens. After all, Africa is not so utterly a Dark Continent.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Germany and the Study of Romance Civilizations

Dr. Eugen Feihl writes as follows, on the 70th birthday and subsequent death in Rome of Ernest Robert Curtius of the Bonn University;

Dk Bonn.—The recent death of Ernst Robert Curtius who was a distinguished leader among present-day scholars in the field of Romance civilizations, has torn a yawning gap in the ranks of this truly European branch of the humanities. During his lifetime, Curtius added new lustre to the chair of Romance studies at Bonn University once occupied by Friedrich Christian Diez. It has always been one of the glories of Bonn University that the great scholar Diez, the uncontested and recognized founder of the systematic study of Romance languages and civilizations, taught in its lecture rooms. As a matter of fact the teachers of Romance languages and civilizations in the Latin countries were among the first proudly to acknowledge themselves disciples of that master, so for instance Gaston Paris, Joseph Bedier and Paul Meyer in France, G.J. Ascoli, G. Bertoni, U.A. Canello, and Monaci in Italy, R. Menendez Pidal in Spain, and many others.

Gaston Paris was brought to Bonn in 1859 by his father, Paulin Paris, a famous French historian of literature, who wanted his son to continue his studies under Diez and at the same time learn the German language. Although Gaston Paris did not stay long in Bonn, he soon became not only the admiring student but also the friend of his German teacher. He adopted his scientific method and moreover, worked for decades to translate Diez's fundamental works into French, as, for instance, his *Grammar of Romance Languages*, published in 1836 of which the French edition appeared in 1882, and Diez's *Etymological Dictionary of Romance Languages* in three volumes, whose fifth German edition appeared in 1853 and which Gaston Paris published in a French edition in 1888. The introduction by Gaston Paris to the translation, published in 1870, of Diez's book *Old Romance Glossaries* contains the following sentence: "Nowhere has the founder of Romance philology ddmonstrated all his rare qualities more impressively than in the etymological and phonetic studies which he joined to the two oldest lexicographical Romance monuments." One of these glossaries, incidentally, had been discovered on the island of Reichenau in Lake Constance, and the other at Kassel.

The *Enciclopedia Italiana*, a masterly work of its kind, has this to say about Diez: "In the second and even more glorious half of his life Diez devoted himself almost completely to linguistic studies. An earnest sincerity combined with elegance of presentation, a sense of proportion and symmetry, clarity, and brilliance especially in syntax—these are the distinguishing marks of his grandiose work which in its design and in some of its details almost enjoys the privilege reserved to art, *i.e.* to defy obsolescence . . . . All in all Diez was a great systematician but also a creator, a man of scholarship but also a man of genius."

Inspired by Goethe

Who had given the first impulse that resulted in this strange phenomenon of European cultural association, namely, that of all men it was a German scholar who became the uncontested founder of Romance philology and of the history of the languages of all those nations whose languages originated in late Latin and its dialects: Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, French, Provencal, Romansh, Sardinian, Italian, Dalmatian and Rumanian? It was no less a person than Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

At the beginning of the 19th century the German Romantics had made mediaeval sagas and their topics fashionable. Under the influence of this trend young Diez, who was born at Giessen in 1794, had translated old Spanish romaunts into German: In 1818 the young scholar, then 24 years old, met Goethe. The latter directed his attention to the poetry of the Provencal troubadours, which was just then publicized in a literary way by the French poet and author Francois Raynouard, himself an adept of the Romantic movement. Diez eagerly followed Goethe's advice and became more and more enthusiastic about his new subject. His studies were reflected in two books, *The Poetry of Troubadours*, and *Life and Letters of Troubadours*, which appeared in 1826 and 1829 respectively. In the meantime, in 1820, Diez had become a university lecturer at Bonn. In 1829 he was promoted assistant professor and in 1830 professor-in-ordinary. By that time Jakob Grimm had developed comparative philology in the field of Germanistics, and Diez applied his method to the Romance languages with surprising success. Soon he and his work were recognized all over Europe. In all European countries a new generation of brilliant students of the Romance languages grew up who acknowledged themselves the disciples of Diez.

The chair once occupied by Diez at Bonn University was last held by Ernst Robert Curtius whose 70th birthday and subsequent death in Rome provoked a wave of public appreciation throughout the world.

Heritage and Commitment

I had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of that great scholar and outstanding author on the occasion of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the College de France. At the time the distinguished Romance scholar and literary historian Joseph Bedier

was administrator of that College. Many speeches were made at the memorial banquet. In spite of a certain fatigue that had already set in, everyone listened attentivtely when it was Curtius' turn to speak. Most of those present later called his address the most important as regards contents and the most beautiful as regards diction. When a Polish participant congratulated Curtius on his "wonderful French free of any accent" he answered modestly and with a little sideward glance at these of his colleagues who also were not French; "After all, I am teacher of French." Professor Bedier afterwards remarked with a gracious smile: "The most substantial and judicious speech was made by Curtius."

For Germany and the University of Bonn the names of Friedrich Christian Diez and Ernst Robert Curtius constitute a precious heritage and a sacred commitment. —*Deutsche Correspondenz*, May 26, 1956.

Islamism in China

Islamism came to China in the Tang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.), more than, 1,000 years ago. It is called the Hui religion by some people because the Hui people who embrace the Islamic faith are widely dispersed in cities and towns having more contacts with other nationalities. Actually, there are other nationalities in China besides the Huis which believe in the Islamic faith, namely, the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, Tajiks, Tartars, Uzbeks, Tunghsiangs, Salas and Paoans.

These Islamic nationalities are living mainly in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area and Kansu and Chinghai Provinces in North-west China. A large section of the Hui people is widely dispersed in all the big cities and villages throughout China. Their main occupations are agriculture and livestock raising, while some of them are engaged in commercial undertakings.

There are nearly ten million believers of Islamism in China, with 40,000 mosques as the centres of their religious activities. Together with other nationalities, they help develop China's economy and culture and have made great contributions to the country.

They suffered ruthless oppression under he past regimes, and particulaly under the reactionary Kuomintang rule. They suffered harsh political oppression and economic exploitation and had no freedom in religious belief. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Islamic nationalities together with other nationalities began a new life.

It is explictly laid down in the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic that all citizens enjoy freedom in religious belief. Religious activities of the believers of Islamism are given legal protection by the state.

Special attention is paid to their customs and traditions. It is laid down in the Marriage Law that government of provinces which have large communities of national minorities should formulate variant and supplementary provisions in accordance with the actual condition arising from the marriage question of local minority peoples. Such supplementary provisions are to be enforced after they are approved by the central authorities. It follows that Chinese Moslems can get married according to Islamic traditions.

It is also explicitly stated in the Land Law that with the consent of local Moslems, mosques and temples can keep the land they own. When land reform was carried out in North-west China, land belonging to mosques and temples were generally left intact.

The Government has helped Moslems to repair a number of well-known big mosques, as for instance, the Niuchieh Mosque and the Tungszu Pailou Mosque in Peking, the Kwangtaszu in Canton, the Hsiaotaoyuan Mosque in Shanghai, the Fenghwangszu in Hangchow and the Imperial City Mosque in Chengtu.

The Central People's Government has decreed that the slaughter of cows and sheep to provide meat for Moslems during the Bairam (Id-Al-Fitr), Corban (Id-Al-Adha) and Birthday of the Prophet (Molid Napadi) Festivals would be exempted from tax. It also provides that special holidays should be given during the three big festivals to Moslems in government institutions, schools, factories, armed forces units and various enterprises.

In 1953, the China Islamic Association—a national religious organisation—was founded by the Chinese believers of Islamism.

In 1955, the Institute of Islamic Theology for training Imams to acquire a knowledge of Islamic doctrines and Arabic language was formally set up in Peking with government help.

Since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Islamic peoples together with other nationalities achieved the right to administer their own nationality affairs. It is laid down in the Constitution that all nationalities are equal and nationality regional autonomy is to be instituted in areas entirely or largely inhabited by national minorities.

Up to the present, 17 autonomous localities for Islamic nationalities of the country level or above have been set up throughout China. The biggest among them is the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area, with the Sinkiang Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chow, the Kuyuan Hui People's Autonomous Chow and the Wuchung Hui Peoples Autonomous Chow in Kansu Province coming next.

The believers of Islamism like other nationalities are taking part in the administration of the state. In the First National People's Congress there were 41 deputies from various nationalities embracing Islamism. One of them was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and one was elected Chairman of the Nationalities Committee under the Standing Committee. Among the 85 members of the Nationalities Committee, 16 are Moslems.

Noticeable improvement in the life of Chinese Moslems and a rise in their standard of living were evidenced following development in China's economic reconstruction. During the Land Reform, Moslems as other nationalities in the villages were given land, farm implements and draught cattles. In the upsurge of the agricultural co-operative movement, nationalities co-operatives have been set up in areas entirely or largely inhabited by national minorities and joint nationalities co-operatives in areas where a number of nationalities live together. In the latter, the peasants of different nationalities carried out mutual aid, respected each other and drew up co-operative constitutions which were beneficial to every nationality. This has engendered greater unity among different nationalities.

In urban areas, commercial undertakings and street stalls owned by peoples of Islamic faith have been appropriately placed during the upsurge of socialist transformation. All these helped the Chinese Moslems on the road to prosperity and happiness.

The cultural education of Chinese Moslems was extremely backward before liberation and illiteracy in the villages was as high as 80 per cent. After liberation, the Moslems, under the effective help of the people's government, revived and developed their cultural education. Moslems throughout the country have their own primary schools and wherever Moslems are many, they have their own middle schools, as for instance, the Hui People's Institute in Peking, the Hui People's Middle Schools in Shanghai, the North-west Middle School in Lanchow, the 13th Middle School in Kunming, the Hui People's Teachers Training College in Szechwan, the third Middle School in Sian, the Hui People's Middle School in Changchow, and the Hui People's Middle Schools in Chengtu, Pingliang and other places. Besides, there are many Moslem youths studying in 9 institutes for nationalities throughout China. Moslem students are also admitted to other colleges, middle and primary schools throughout China.

The policies of freedom of religious belief and of equality among nationalities of the Chinese People's Republic have inspired Moslems in China to love their motherland and enhanced their enthusiasm in building a socialist society. Their sad fate in the past has made them sympathetic towards the people in countries suffering under imperialist aggression. They and other Chinese Nationalities firmly support their Moslem brothers in different countries in their just fight against colonialism and for national independence. They will keep close contact with their brothers of the same religion in the world through appropriate channels, strengthen mutual understanding and unity and struggle jointly with them for the elimination of war, for peace and the coming happiness of mankind.—*News Bulletin of the People's Republic of China*, May 31, 1956.

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

রামায়ণ (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ১০৷৷০

সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ—
রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ৷০

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The Khyber Pass

Pakistan Today, July 16, 1956, reproduces the following article by A. T. Chaudhri from *the Golden Digest* :

In the great mass of tangled mountain and plateau, geographically known as the "Pathan Highlands," stands the historic Khyber Pass, towards the North-West of Pakistan. It has been the most important of gateways from Central Asia into the plains of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent.

The tourist finds his excursion, in the heart of this narrow defile, richly rewarded. For no other pass in the world is dowered with such strategic importance, and no other pass unfolds so many historic ups and downs before the visitor's eyes as this beautiful but blood-strewn Khyber.

It is not exactly beautiful. Its beauty has a weird touch, inspiring awe. Situated in the midst of a jumbled lanscape of crags and boulders, and harsh treeless hills, with an angular skyline of lofty mountains behind, the Khyber Pass, however, draws its charm more from history than geography.

Its stones bear the memories of many a conqueror's thumping feet. It has seen Persian and Greek, Seljuk and Tartar, Mongol and Durrani conquerors force their way through its rocky defile, during twenty long centuries.

Alexander of Macaedon and Mahmood Ghazni marched through this gateway on the smiling plains stretching beyond it. Timur, Babar and Nadar passed and re-passed through it. Then Ahmad Shah Abdali and others pierced through this narrow route; and finally the Britishers marched in the reverse direction and advanced into Khyber from the Indian soil. That was during the first and second half of the last century.

The Name

The pass draws its name from the hills through which it runs, the Khyber mountains, which form the last spurs of the great range of Safaid Koh, as that mighty range, with its long straight line of rugged peaks, sinks down into the valley of the Kabul River. The connecting ridge has an elevation of more than 3,000 feet rising to more than 6,000 in the Tartara peak. On either side are the sources of two small streams. One runs north-west to the Kabul River and the other south-west. The beds of these two small streams together form the Khyber defile.

Since times immemorial caravans laden with merchandise from Central Asia trekked through this Pass to Peshawar whose plains stretch from the Eastern mouth of the Pass. Outside this Eastern gate there is a very remarkable collection of caves at Kadam. On the western mouth of the Pass are many interesting remains of Buddhism and of ancient civilizations.

The pass lies along the bed of a torrent and is visited by sudden floods. The elevation of various points varies from 1,400 to 3,000 feet roughly. Previously the main railway terminated at Jamrud, the eastern entrance to Khyber, but in 1925, it was extended to Landhi Khana at the other end of the Pass. The railway lies hidden in the folds of the hills and presents a beautiful aerial view.

The Pass

Going by the main road, strtching from Peshawar to Kabul, a visitor's first attraction is the fort of Jamrud, which stands some ten miles west of Peshawar. Massive in appearance and grim-looking, it guards the eastern entrance. Here the modern sentry stands tip-toe, proud of the new responsibilities which he has assumed with the establishment of Pakistan.

From Jamrud the Pass goes zigzag for about 33 miles towards the North-West. Among the main places of interest in its course are Ali Masjid, ten miles from Jamrud, Landi Kotal ten miles farther, and Torkham where the Pass enters the Afghan territory, about six miles beyond Landi Kotal.

Starting from Jamrud and covering about three miles, the tourist enters the mountains at an opening called "Shadi Bagiar" and there, in fact, begins the Khyber proper. For a short distance the highway runs through the bed of a ravine and then joins the road built by the Britishers in the Eighteen-forties, until it ascends the plateau called Shagai. From there one can see the Fort of Ali Masjid, which commands the centre of the Pass and has been the scene of many fierce battles in history.

Going westward the road swings to the right, descends to the river of Ali Masjid, with a graceful zigzag, and runs along its bank. The road just beyond Ali Masjid passed over rough and slippery rock. It is the narrowest part of the Khyber which is hardly 15 feet broad.

Three miles farther and the valley begins to widen. On either side of it lie the hamlets and towers of Afridis. Here and there the visitor may see an Afridi herdsman with his long locks, with strings of beads thrown wantonly roundly his neck, with a long staff, a coiled turban, a spade beard, inevitable moustaches and with a half-muffled face, protected from the sun by a swathe of this turban. Though primitive looking, this Afridi has a rare combination of vehemence, vividness, and effervescence.

After the belt of Afridi villages, one comes to the Shinwari Plateau some seven miles in length and, at the most, three in breadth. It ends at Landi Kotal, where there is another fort garrisoned by the Khyber Riflemen, which closes this end of the Khyber and overlooks the plains of Afghanistan. Beyond Landi Kotal one can see on the road some concrete road blicks tao, which were installed by the Britishers in 1941, against the expected invasion of the Germans, via Russia. The Landi Kotal Bazaar is also seen here cupped beneath the skyline of hills.

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Leaving Landi Kotal, the highway passes between low hills, reaches the world-famous signpost of Torkham, repainted on August 14, 1947, to indicate the Pakistan-Afghan border. From there the pass debouches on the Kabul River and ends in Dakka.

THE MEN

In this Upper Khyber the traveller's eye will catch Shinwari villages with their typical and numerous watch towers. At places he will find nomad encampments. Outside these lovely encampments, a solitary camel or a cow may be seen standing with a lofty air about it. As the nomads wend their way from place to place, and the evening shadows lengthen on the Khyber Road, it is a rare spectacle for the tourist. Equally charming in winter is the noonday halt of the Khyber Riflemen on the heights. They are in lightly armed mobile patrols and make jolly good company.

Recently tanks have also moved up the tracks in the Khyber Pass and the Frontier is regularly patrolled by aeroplanes. At intervals in this wilderness, a smart and sturdy rifleman is seen perched behind a rock, on his knees, to guard the track of the Railway. This stiff figure, true to his hoary traditions, has an endless zest for life. With the quick charm of his smile he loses no time in making friends with the visitors. But if his friendship is to be won, you have to be conversationally alert and ready for brisk rejoinders.

Though simple-minded, he is unbending like the rocks around him, and has a peculiar individuality of his own. Even the Englishman, in the heyday of his world supremacy, found him a hard nut to crack. The British were singularly unsuccessful in their attempts to subjugate him; for they found him and his race implacably hostile and his native land a bed of thorns.

With the coming of Pakistan, however, the political outlook of the Khyber Afridis has undergone a vital change. These virile tribes have now been united in the service of Pakistan by the unifying bond of Islam and the political history of Khyber has turned over a new leaf.

The Khyber Pass is indeed a place of pride for Muslims and as a leading poet of Pakistan puts it, the Khyber is the cradle af countless civilizations, the place where the sword of Islam flashed with dazzling brilliance, where the voice of Islam rebounded against the rocks with endless echoes, the place where even the skies bend down with reverence.

"Too poetic," one might say, but it truly represents sentiments of an average Pakistani for this historic, beautiful blood-strewn Khyber.

Scientific Research in Antarctica

Several members of the Soviet Antarctic expedition have made a trip to one of the largest oases of East Antarctica, 370 kilometres east of the Mirny observatory.

The oasis covers a territory of some 500 sq-kilometres on the Queen Mary Land.

The explorations which the Soviet scientists were the first to make, are of great scientific interest. Notably, they reject the theories on the origin of the oasis resulting from volcano activity, underground burning of coals, and others. In the opinion of the members of the expedition, the oasis emerged thousands of years ago after the glaciers had receded. The high degree of solar radiation, and the intense heating of the rocks cause the rapid spring thawing of the snow which falls during the winter; thus rivulets and streams are formed, which fill the lake reservoirs. By the middle of the summer there is no snow cover left.

The oasis has a climate of its own, unlike that of the surrounding spaces. Local winds blow there. At noon the ground gets heated to a temperature of +25°C, while the snow temperature is 0°C. Powerful streams of warm air, like those over a ploughed field, rise over the rocky ground.

The vegetable kingdom is scanty. It chiefly comprises several species of black, gray and white lichen which grows on the rocks. In the beds of the rivulets moss is sometimes encountered.

Of surface animals only birds are to be found, namely snow stormy petrels building their nests in the rock crevices, the south Antarctic skuas and a small black petrel. Minute animal organisms and cyclopes, freshwater red crawfish have been found in the lakes. Small crawfish and starfish are encountered in the fiords, isolated from the sea by shore ice: sea-calves sometimes come there.—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

Painters Bearing Witness to their Times

"Painters as witness to their times" is the name of a French organization of painters which has brought together French and foreign painters who are recording the personalities and movements of their times pictorially, and is encouraging and exhibiting these pictures. It was first projected in 1947, and began its exhibitions from 1951. So far, it has held five exhibitions. The first of these, held in Paris in 1951, was devoted to factories and Labour. The second, held in 1953 and devoted to the "Sunday," travelled successively from Paris to Bourges, Nice, Lyon, and Angers. The third exhibition illustrated life in cities and was shown in Paris, Avignon, and Tunis in 1954, and the fourth illustrating "Happiness" took place last year.

This year's exhibition has for subject "Portrait," and is devoted to eminent contemporary personalities in literature,, science and art, and is intended to rehabilitate the art of portrait painting. A reproduction of one of these portraits, that of the eminent scientist Jean Rostand, is published in this bulletin, a few more will be published in the coming issues.

The organization was able to enlist the support of such eminent painters as Fernand Leger, Henri Matisse, Raoul Duty, and Maurice Utrillo, among the masters who are recently dead, and it continue to have the support of a large number of talented contemporary painters. —*News from France*, 16th June, 1956.

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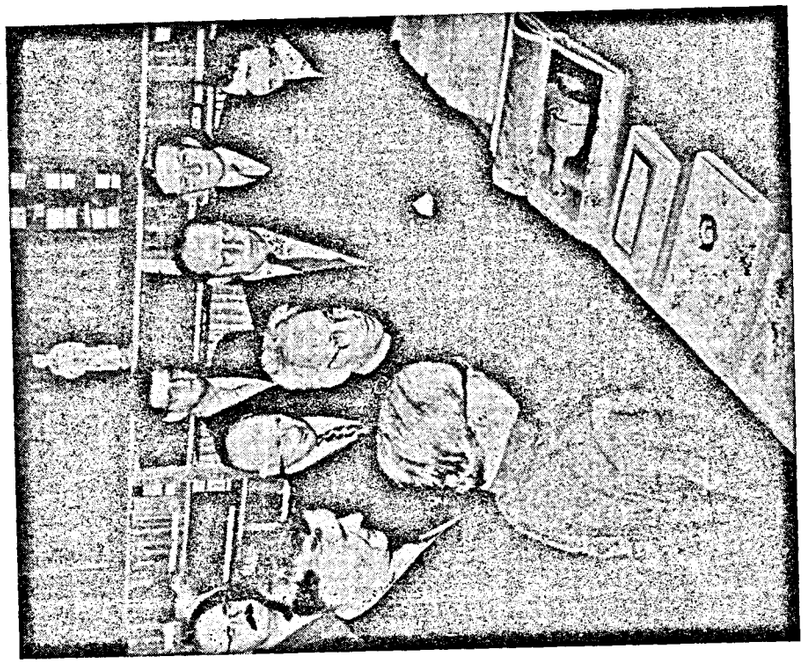
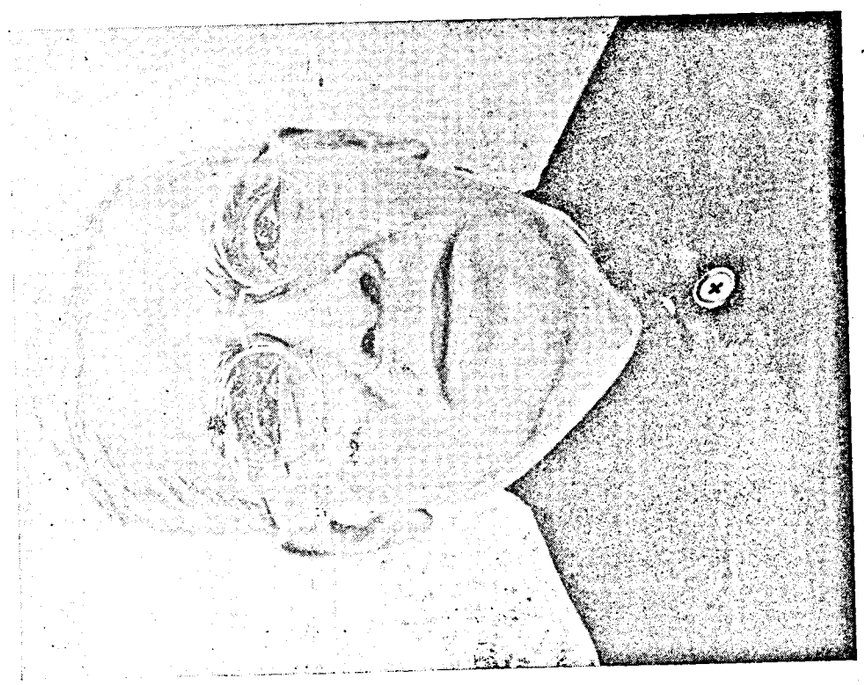
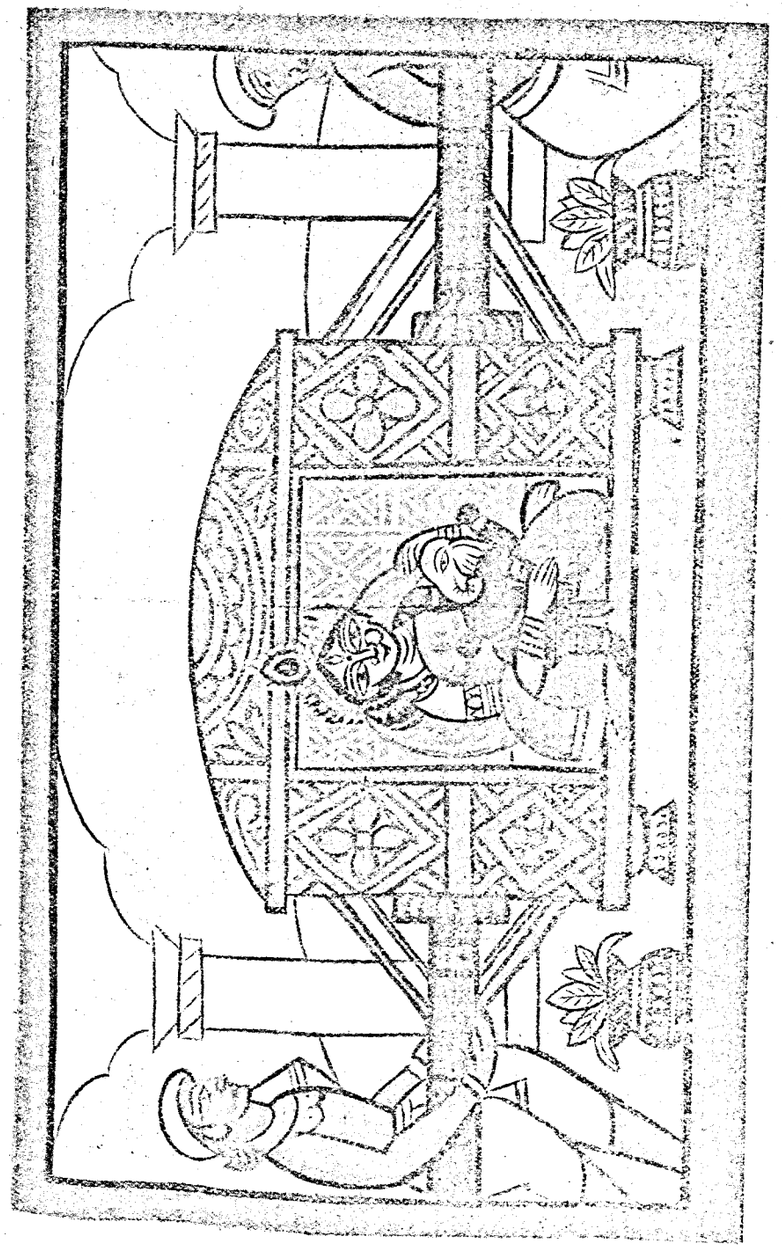


Dr. Radhakrishnan being conducted round the library of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences at Prague



Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, who passed away at Calcutta on August 7, 1956



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NOTES

Law and Order

The Central Government seems to have been much exercised by the outbreak of hooliganism over the publication of a book on religious leaders. It seems to have woken up to the fact that, due to some lacunae in law, it seems impossible to bring the recalcitrant to order or to control the outbreak of mob-violence. It is further discovered that due to the wonderful arrangements of the External Affairs Ministry, the illegal influx and overstay of undesirable aliens cannot be dealt with.

What the Central Government seems to have failed to understand that in the curious conglomeration of legalistic junk which we call our Constitution, there is no provision whatsoever to safeguard either the country against traitors, fifth-columnists and foreign enemies, or its nationals against the disruptive action of anti-social elements.

The situation has been further aggravated by the highly legalistic attitude of both the administration and the executive on the one hand and the judiciary on the other. Excessive emphasis has been put on the rights of individuals and collective groups, like labour unions, without any reference whatsoever to their individual or collective obligations to society. As a result we find the paradox of the law helping the wrong-doer and the corrupt at every step, without affording any protection to the honest individual or to society at large.

The direct outcome of this curious state of affairs has been a total perversion of all ethical considerations. It is no exaggeration to state, categorically, that today to be honest is a sin and a mark of mental depravity. For only the law-breaker, the law-evader and corrupt flourish, whereas the honest are ground down from all sides.

Labour unions do not give a hoot, either for the law or for the rights of society. They care only for themselves, without any consideration of the sufferings they may cause to millions. And they never suffer a defeat seemingly.

The corrupt official flourishes, thanks to the ignorance, inefficiency, and sometimes crass incompetence, of the ministers and high officials in charge. The income-tax evader goes about, flaunting his wealth, with impunity, whereas the honest tax-payer has to meet increasing demands of taxes, direct and indirect, till his vitality is at an end, or till his moral outlook gets perverted—and thereby adjusted to the working of the Welfare State.

The First Five-Year Plan is over. Has any honest individual—excepting the few that might be amongst the myriads of the Congress claequers—gained any relief?

We have been writing in these columns about the rapid degeneration of our peoples due to the total perversion of moral values and the consequent cynical outlook on life. The root cause is the rampant corruption and degradation of the Congressmen. A country cannot be set on the path to real progress by mere agglomeration of iron, steel and cement. This is what Pandit Nehru fails to understand.

Administrative Reform

Dr. Paul Appleby's Report on administrative reform has evoked much interest from those who support it and those who are against it. Anyway, it makes stimulating suggestions which are bound to be controversial. Dr. Appleby is a noted American authority on administration and he was invited by the Government of India some time ago to study the problems of Indian administration and suggest means for improvement thereon. Dr. Appleby's report should be viewed against the acknowledgedly glaring pitfall of democracy—the red-tapism. As against the swift moving hierarchy of a Totalitarian administration, Democracy is very slow to move, particularly in the face of national emergency. President Hoover's indecision in 1933 in the face of ever-widening national economic crisis is the classic example of democracy's inaction and slowness. Since the 30s, democracy has been passing through a decadence and it is only after the Second World War that there is coming a resurgence in the wake of planned economies.

The nineteenth century pattern of democracy and a modern Welfare State are fast becoming incompatible, particularly with reference to the administrative machinery. A democracy is hedged with many procedures and tethered within the grooves of checks and controls. Until nearly fifty years ago, the State had all rights, and practically no duty. Now the State is coming in progressively in a wider scale into the diverse aspects of the life of the people. Naturally, the State's administrative machinery requires to be overhauled in the context of changing events.

Dr. Appleby's report puts primary emphasis on accelerating the pace of the administration. He is after breaking down the barriers of democratic administration that create hurdles in the progress. He finds that a particular decision of the Government has to pass through various checking authorities before it can be put into action. It is reviewed "by too many persons in too many organs of the Government in too detailed, too repetitive and too negative terms." He points out that "by a curious proliferation of the conceptions of parliamentary responsibility and cabinet responsibility and by reliance on excessive procedures of cross reference, there has been built an extraordinary evasion of individual responsibility and a system whereby everybody is responsible for everything before anything is done." He asserts that every process of review is unbelievably petty and frustrating. Under the present procedure of scrutinising a plan by the Finance Ministry, Dr. Appleby rightly observes that a well-thought out plan may be scotched by a stroke of pen by an assistant of the Finance Ministry who may not have proper mental equipment to appreciate the real implications of the plan. Over such a delay, Dr. Appleby remarks that it is "particularly tragic, when it is based only on trivialities or downright ignorance."

Although most of the Ministers are not in favour of Appleby's suggestions, Pandit Nehru seems to have correct evaluation of the suggestions made by the eminent authority during the debate of the Report in the Indian Parliament. On 12th September, in the Rajya Sabha, Pandit Nehru rather defended the report when he said that a high Soviet leader had told him that India was making the same mistake as Russia had originally made of being too careful. Soviet officials were now being given much wider discretion so that they could get things done, the leader told the Prime Minister of India. Pandit Nehru is in favour of setting up an organization to make a regular audit of achievements. This, he explained, would keep a check on how much was being achieved rather than the amount of money being spent. Pandit Nehru thinks that since such an organization would have to evaluate scientific and technological achievements, it would have to be entrusted to specialists rather than the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

As a measure of lessening delay between decision and execution, Dr. Appleby suggests to limit the functions of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The execution of any plan has to cross two hurdles, firstly, the Finance Ministry and secondly, the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor-General causes unnecessary delay in the execution of the plan and he is greatly responsible for inaction of the administrative departments. In the opinion of Dr. Appleby, the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is not really a very important one. Auditors are not administrators and as such they know little or nothing about the needs and problems of administration. He says that auditing is a necessary but highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness. Dr. Appleby remarks that a Deputy Secretary is better acquainted with the problem in his Ministry than what the entire staff of the Comptroller and Auditor-General can discern by auditing. He maintains that many of the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are mere "substitutions of hind-sight for the kind of judgment possible and necessary and proper at the time of action and too many merely raise questions that are really questions of difference of judgment." The members of the Parliament have been indicted by Dr. Appleby for their exaggerated reliance on the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General and that "increases the timidity of public servants at all levels, making them unwilling to take responsibility for decisions, forcing decisions to be made by a slow and cumbersome process of reference and counter-reference in which everybody finally shares dimly in the making of every decision, but not enough is got done, and what gets done is too slowly."

Obviously what Dr. Appleby says has some degree of truth and it is the universal drawback of democracy. But we should also take into consideration of the other side of the picture. In reply to Dr. Appleby's observations, Mr. A. K. Chanda, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, states that "Dr. Appleby seems allergic to audit which he describes as a highly pedestrian function with a narrow perspective and very limited usefulness. This attitude of mind has obviously coloured his observations on the Indian audit organization. I should have thought that any expert invited to report on a problem must inevitably examine in detail, undertaking a study of all relevant material. Dr. Appleby has, however, formulated his proposals without an examination and study of the structure, relevant procedural, technical and other rules and regulations of the Audit department. He did not consider it even necessary to have any discussion with those in charge of the organization. His report has thus become a reflection of his prejudices rather than an objective appreciation based on a careful study."

With regard to Dr. Appleby's observations that "the function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India is in a large measure an inheritance from colonial rule," Mr. Chanda said: "I do not know the historical basis for such an observation. I do not know of any colonial system which had or has an analogous post, independent of the executive with freedom to criticize administrative lapses. The conception of such a post runs counter to that of a colonial or autocratic system." Mr. Chanda further said that any student of constitutional history would be aware that this post was an essential one in a democratic form of Government as its functions were so defined as to secure public accountability of the administration. In the USA, the Comptroller-General's audit covered banking and insurance institutions and other corporations in which the Government had any financial interest, even when it was not a majority. The US Comptroller-General has also been given powers to issue surcharges against corporations and individual officers to effect recovery of expenditure which in his opinion is illegal. The powers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of the United Kingdom, as defined in the Exchequer and Audit Act, are not also different from the present powers of his counterpart in India, except that they are more comprehensively defined.

In our view there is scope for securing a golden mean between these two extreme views. Admittedly, the Auditor-General's auditing is a useful machinery in controlling illegal public expenditures and it provides the Parliament with a weapon to control the vagaries of administrative expenditures not authorised by it. But it is also imperative that some liberty should be given to the administrative staff in the matter of executing important and urgent decisions. In this respect, shackles of auditing calls for liberalisation so as to impart greater initiative and dash to the executive. What is, therefore, desirable in the circumstances is that executive officers may be empowered to undertake expenditures in urgent and important cases without the prior sanction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General; but there must be auditing of the expenditure so under-

taken and the officer will be held responsible for illegal expenditures, and as in the USA, the officer concerned shall be liable to surcharges for reimbursement of Government funds illegally expended.

In recent years the volume of public expenditure has immensely increased and there should be some change in the way of sanctioning expenditures. In the First Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 57 crores was spent in the public sector; during the Second Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 569 crores would be spent in the public sector and this is a ten-fold increase over the First Five-Year Plan. The administrative staff needs must be given some initiative in executing plans, but they will be held responsible for illegal expenditure. To wait in the queue for all and sundry expenditures before the Auditor-General is to convert the exalted officer into a supra-executive which is not contemplated in our Constitution. But his authority of auditing must be *ex post facto* and thereby control of public expenditure in this country will be achieved and the Parliament will also retain its power to control.

One thing should, however, be stressed in this connection. The Parliament should not be peevish nor should it create a scene over a stray case of default or failure to perform a duty. An entire department should not be castigated for the fault of an individual member of the staff, nor an entire scheme need be denounced if some part thereof prove to be defective. This is not intended, however, to limit the sovereignty of the Parliament over the entire range of our administration. But for the sake of public interest, the Parliament should impose upon itself some voluntary restrictions on its power of scrutiny and supervision of public administration. The responsibilities of the executive in a Welfare State tend to be pyramided on a hierarchical basis and overall performance is to be looked after, ignoring stray pitfalls as administrative aberrations.

Dr. Appleby's other suggestions for administrative reforms include greater autonomy for State-owned enterprises, development of *intra*-Ministerial financial competence in the programme agencies and transfer of the accounting functions to the Ministries, subject to the general direction of the Finance Ministry. Under the present practice, spending departments must obtain prior sanction of the Finance Ministry for every individual item of expenditure, although such an item might be within the total sum approved to the Finance Ministry by the Parliament. Dr. Appleby says: "If the Ministry of Finance previously has decided broadly how much of the Government's limited funds can be made available for a particular programme, it should have little further special role in the specific allotments of funds to various parts of that programme. Such allotments are related to the question of how to achieve the programmatic object within the financial limitations already established. For this the programmatic agency has superior judgment. Only when the agency is given wide discretion in the deployment of those already predetermined funds can it be held accountable for results. Financial control will be ample in the basic determination of the amount by holding the agency more rigidly than now to that first determination. If the agency decides that something not planned for in its original budget is more important to the programme than something that was provided for, let it shift the funds earlier provided to the new activity. Much more will be saved by forcing agencies to re-examine their own priorities in this way than is saved under the present method, programmatic responsibility will be heightened and action will be expedited."

It will be recalled that sometime ago the present Comptroller and Auditor-General of India made similar suggestions against which the former Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh, raised objections and even threatened resignation. Sometime ago it was reported in the Press that the authorities were moving in the direction as was suggested by the Auditor-General. The Government is now setting up a financial adviser in each Ministry who will represent the Finance Ministry.

Finally, before we conclude, we must say that modern administrative problems are enormous in their magnitude and a few piecemeal patchwork in administrative machinery will not cure the malady. It is not merely the question of machinery, it is also the question of personnel, from the Minister down to the clerk. Efficient personnel is all the more important. Democracy is a government by the mediocre people and the recent performance of many of

the Ministers will vouchsafe that. What is required is better selection of personnel in all administrative strata and the Parliaments.

Economies of the Suez Politics

Now that the Suez problem has become an international issue, it is proper to have a resume of the economic importance of the Canal. The Canal was officially opened on 17th November, 1869. It connects the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and is the largest man-made canal. It is 101 miles in length as against 50 miles of the Panama Canal which is the second largest artificial waterway. In 1869, the Canal was 177 feet wide and 26 feet deep; in recent years much improvements have been done in order to ensure passage of large vessels and for that purpose excavation work was done in 1953. Now the Canal is 510 feet wide and 46 feet deep. The following table will indicate the position of the Suez *vis-a-vis* the Cape in trade between Asia and Europe:

	Sea Routes Miles via Suez	Miles round Cape	Round trip (days) Suez	Cape
London to—				
Persian Gulf	6,400	11,300	37	65
Mombasa	6,014	8,675	30	43
Bombay	6,260	10,720	31	54
Calcutta	7,933	11,450	40	57
Colombo	6,702	10,350	34	52
Singapore	8,240	11,575	41	58
Penang, Malaya	7,950	11,285	40	56
Sydney	11,630	12,450	58	62
Wellington, N.Z.	12,650	13,250	63	66
Hong Kong	9,680	13,015	48	65
Netherlands to—				
Indonesia	8,502	11,150	43	56

The Suez route saves much time, as for example, the distance between London and Bombay *via* the Suez is 4,460 miles less than that of the route between the Cape of Good Hope. In 1955, nearly 116 million net tons of cargo moved across the Canal and on an average it comes to about 120 million metric tons a year. About 50 ships pass through the Canal every day. In recent years the volume of cargo sailing through the Canal has been on the increase and today the cargo is four times larger over that in 1938 and twice as much as in 1948.

The Suez Canal is the artery of trade between Asia and Europe, particularly that of Britain. A large volume of strategic materials passes through the Canal, including raw materials, fuels, manufactured goods, oil and oil products, the last two forming the largest proportion of cargoes. In 1955, the share of oil and oil products passing through the Canal was 65 per cent of the total volume of cargoes, the remainder of the cargoes consisted of raw materials and finished goods. Ores, metals, cereals, oil-seeds and oils, fibres, and rubber move from Asia and the East to West and from the West to East come manufactured goods, plant, machinery, food-grains, cement, fertilisers and certain raw materials in which the East is deficient. Of the total trade done through the Canal in 1955, about 11 per cent of the total was the export and import trade of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma; 14 per cent to and from Malaya, Indonesia and the Far East; and 7 per cent to and from East Africa. The share of the American trade through the Suez is not very appreciable, being only one-eighth. But Europe, as the Western origin or destination, accounts for 85 per cent of the Suez Canal traffic.

Among the individual countries, Britain's trade is the heaviest through the Suez. Raw materials, oil and finished goods for Britain are brought through the Suez. Nearly one quarter of Britain's imports and exports are with the countries to which the Suez Canal is the speediest and the most economic route. In 1955, 67 million tons of oil moved across the Canal and of this Britain's share was 21 million tons. Through the Suez Canal, Britain imports rubber from Malaya; wheat, meat and wool from Australia; cotton, chrome, etc., from East Africa; tea, jute goods, cotton and cotton goods, manganese, hides and skins from India; raw jute from Pakistan, and oils from Ceylon. The nationalization of the Canal has, therefore, vitally affected Britain's foreign trade and with regard to her import of strategic raw materials, particularly oil, she stands to suffer.

The movement of the Middle East oil and oil products and the Suez Canal are the part and parcel of the same strategic importance. About 66⅔ per cent of the proved oil resources of the world is located in the Middle East and it will not be an easy job to replace the Middle East as a source of oil. The alternative route of oil transport will be too costly for European countries. A proposal is being mooted to build another canal, linking Gulf of Aqaba to the

Mediterranean via Israel. But that will involve a large capital expenditure. In 1955, 145 million tons of Middle East oil were exported. Of this volume, 67 million tons passed through the Canal to the West and 40 million tons through the pipe lines from Iraq and Arabia to the Mediterranean. Of the remainder, 22 million tons moved to the East of Suez, 10 million tons to East and South Africa and 5 million tons to Australia. Western Europe consumes nearly 120 million tons of crude oil per annum. Three-fourths of this volume are imported from the Middle East and about half of it passes through the Canal. In 1955, 21 million tons of crude oil, representing 75 per cent of Britain's requirements, were imported through the Suez. Oil constitutes 17 per cent of the total energy requirements of Europe and the corresponding figure for Britain alone being 15.

The Suez Canal, apart from its strategic importance, is also economically vital to Egypt. The region across which the Canal now passes was virtually an arid desert, with a fringe of swamp at the Mediterranean end. Today the Canal region has brought prosperity to Egypt, with cultivated land, modern well-planned towns and good road and rail communications. The Canal is a source of employment to thousands of Egyptians, some of whom get a very lucrative income. Both to Egypt and to the Middle East countries, the Canal is economically and strategically a vital route. Without the passage of the Middle East oil across the Canal, it would be economically unprofitable. The traffic of the Middle East oil is essential for the upkeep of the Canal and for that the goodwill and support of the Western nations are also needed. Unless the Western nations continue to import the Middle East oil, the Canal would lose much of its present revenue earnings. "Egypt has the Canal, but no ships to use it, no capital and technical know-how to develop it. Similarly, the Arab countries have oil, but not the wherewithal to drill, refine and ship it. The European countries have ships, skill and capital but not the oil which they badly need and the shortest route to Asia and the East with which their economy is closely tied." As regards India's interest in the Canal, it may be stated that 67 per cent of India's exports and 72 per cent of the imports pass through the Canal.

Suez Developments

The first London conference on the issues arising out of the nationalisation of the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez by the Egyptian Government on July 26, 1956, had concluded with an open division among the twenty-two participating nations. The majority (18 nations) backed the Western proposal put forward by John Foster Dulles of the USA for the international management of the Canal, knowing fully well that such a proposal would not be acceptable to Egypt. In contrast the Indian proposal (supported by Ceylon, Indonesia and the USSR), Egypt's willingness to discuss on the basis of which was made known soon, however, failed to make any impression on the threatening obstinacy of the Anglo-French politicians. According to the majority decision, a five-nation committee (composed of Australia, Ethiopia, Iran, Sweden and the USA) under the chairmanship of Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, was deputed to present the Western point of view to President Nasser of Egypt whose willingness to meet the committee was made known on August 27.

The Menzies Mission arrived in Cairo (which was finally selected as the venue of the talks as President Nasser did not accept the other suggestion of a meeting at Geneva) on September 2. It held extended conference with President Nasser from September 3 until the 9th. The failure of the Menzies Mission, a foregone conclusion in view of the expressed Egyptian disapproval of the Dulles plan even as a basis for any discussion, was finally announced on September 10 when the Mission left Cairo.

The meeting between the Menzies Mission and President Nasser opened with the presentation of a memorandum by the former to the latter. After the Egyptian rejection of the Dulles plan the Menzies Mission drew the attention of Egypt to the Spanish proposal recommending international participation on the present Egyptian body administering the Canal (as contrasted with the Western proposal for Egypt to be represented in an International Board to administer the Canal).

President Nasser in his letter to Mr. Menzies said: "We find ourselves in agreement with the eighteen countries when they state that the solution (of the Suez Canal question) must

"(*a*) Respect the sovereign right of Egypt;

"(*b*) Safeguard the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal in accordance with the Suez Canal convention of October 29, 1888;

"(*c*) Respect Egypt's right of ownership;

"(*d*) Ensure the efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the Canal.

"When, however, we come to consider the ways and means proposed by the committee to attack these objectives," President Nasser said, "we find that they are self-defeating and that they lead to opposite result than those aimed at."

The "definite system" of guaranteeing freedom of navigation through the Canal, as proposed by the Menzies Committee on the basis of the 18-nation resolution, President Nasser said, "is bound to be considered and treated by the people of Egypt as the hostile infringing upon their rights and their sovereignty, all of which precludes real co-operation."

Referring to the question of freedom of navigation through the Canal, President Nasser said, "Was it not, indeed, the Government of Egypt who safeguarded, and still safeguards, that freedom of passage? Would this freedom be, or could its actual practice be, safeguarded by the proposed Suez Canal Board?"

President Nasser further said: "Strangely enough, those who pose as protagonists of 'insulating' the Suez Canal from politics have been the authors of many acts which diametrically contradict this announced purpose."

"What is the 'internationalisation' of the Suez Canal, the convening of the London conference on the Suez Canal within the most particularly selected invitees, the delegating of the five-member committee, the threats, the deployment of the armed forces and the economic measures—what are all these, if not politics?"

The "real insulation of the Canal from politics," President Nasser said, "would be best guaranteed by a solemn and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or a renewal of the 1888 convention, either of which, as we have already declared is acceptable to us."

Turning to the question of international confidence in the future of the Canal, President Nasser pointed out that "confidence is a two-way proposition and that, while the confidence of other nations is important, that of the Egyptian people is at least of equal importance in this respect."

President Nasser reiterated Egyptian willingness to do everything possible to keep the Canal open to the ships of all nations at all times and to provide adequate finances to ensure the efficient upkeep and development of the Canal. To do so was also in the self-interest of Egypt; and she was also ready to "enter into a binding arrangement concerning the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges."

Summing up the Egyptian stand President Nasser said that his Government's policy "remains to be:

"(*a*) The freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its secure use without discrimination;

"(*b*) The development of the Suez Canal to meet the future requirements of navigation;

"(*c*) The establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges; and

"(*d*) Technical efficiency of the Suez Canal."

For a satisfactory solution for questions relating to the above-mentioned points the Egyptian Government proposed on September 10 in a memorandum to the UN Secy.-General, for the formation of a negotiating body representative of the different views held among the Suez Canal users. The Egyptian Government further urged for discussions to settle the composition, the venue and the date of the meeting of such a body. To that body might also be entrusted the task of reviewing the Constantinople convention of 1888, the memorandum said.

The failure of the Menzies Mission came as a surprise to none. Reporting from London, Thomas P. Ronan wrote in the *New York Times* of September 10 that the abortive conclusion of Cairo talks "came as no surprise to British officials." Yet this was made an occasion of a

renewed sabre-rattling against Egypt. The proposal put forward by Egypt on September 10 was totally disregarded. In a joint statement issued in London on September 11, Premiers Guy Mollet of France and Sir Anthony Eden of Britain said that the failure of the Cairo talks had engendered a "very grave situation," and that "full agreement" had been reached between them about the future measures to be taken. Simultaneously the former Suez Canal Company at Paris Headquarters announced its direction to its non-Egyptian employees to stop work from the 14-15 September. Reporting on the decisions arrived at in the talks between the two European Premiers, Kennet Love wrote in the *New York Times*: "The two countries would take all action short of war, with emphasis on economic measures, to break unfettered control of the Canal by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. This long-term goal was regarded as more important than keeping the Canal operating efficiently in the immediate future."

"Military forces would be kept ready to act in the event of an Egyptian provocation.

"Entanglement in the United Nations would be avoided, if possible, but respectful gestures would be made toward the world organization."

Substantial confirmation of the report came the day after (September 12) in the British Premier's announcements in the Parliament, which was called back from summer recess to debate the Suez developments. Sir Anthony said that the Western Big Three—USA, UK and France—had decided on setting up provisionally a Suez Canal "Users' Association" (SCUA) which would undertake responsibility for traffic through the Suez Canal. The broad outline of the proposed Association given by Sir Anthony indicated that besides the three Western Powers other users of the Canal would be invited to join it. "The Users' Association will employ pilots, will undertake responsibility for co-ordination of traffic through the Canal and in general will act as a voluntary association for the exercise of the rights of the Suez Canal users," he said. The Egyptian Government, who would receive appropriate payment from the association in respect of the facilities provided by them, would be asked to co-operate with the association. "But I must make it clear," Sir Anthony said, "that if the Egyptian Government should seek to interfere with the operation of the association or refuse to extend to it the essential minimum of co-operation then that Government will once more be in breach of the convention of 1888."

Sir Anthony added: "I must remind the House that what I am saying is the result of exchanges of views between three Governments." He said the three Governments would take such further steps "as seem to be required either through the United Nations or by other means, for the assertion of their sights." A reference to the United Nations was not outside the range of possibility and the President of the Security Council had already been informed of the situation jointly by UK and France, he added. The Prime Minister said that Britain had no intention of relaxing her military precautions. "If military precautions were justified a month ago, they are justified today."

The British Government's announcement caused widespread surprise and doubt even amongst its own supporters. It was rightly looked upon as completely unrealistic or only a provocation against Egypt for military intervention.

The origin of the Canal Users' plan was traced to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. Yet Mr. Dulles himself was reportedly "irritated over the way Prime Minister Eden presented the plan in London," writes Homer Bigart, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*. In a Press conference in Washington on September 13, Secretary of State Dulles said that the formation of the Users' Association had been decided upon on three things: (1) The users had rights under the 1888 Treaty; (2) Those rights could not legally be nullified by unilateral Egyptian action; and (3) Co-operation among users was normal in times when they are jointly in jeopardy. Mr. Dulles said that though the USA would join the Association, in the event of Egyptian opposition USA would not try to "shoot its way through the Canal" and would rather detour its shipping around Africa, the Cape of Good Hope. It was neither her purpose "to try to bring about a concerted boycotting of the Canal."

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on September 12, Prime Minister Nehru said that Sir Anthony's speech in Parliament "seems, to say the least, surprising and the consequences that may flow from it may well be grave."

"One thing is clear," Shri Nehru said, "the action proposed (formation of the Users' Association) is not the result of agreement, co-operation or consent but is to be taken unilaterally and thus is in the nature of an imposed action. The Government of India deeply regrets the development which is very unusual and which will render peaceful settlement more difficult of realization. It is not calculated to ensure to the users peaceful and secure use of the Canal." He appealed to the USA and the UK to take the path of peaceful settlement of the problem through negotiation—a way for such negotiated settlement has been provided in the Egyptian Government's reply to the Menzies Mission, he added.

A second London conference, attended by the representatives of the eighteen States who had supported Western Dulles Plan during the August London conference, was called on September 19 to consider the establishment of a provisional Suez Canal Users' Association. The conference lasting three days concluded on September 21. During the conference wide differences of opinion within the participating nations about various measures came to the fore. At the end of the conference the eighteen nations agreed to put to their Governments a plan for setting up a Users' Association. Much of the edge of the original proposal was lost when the conference decided that payment of dues to the Users' Association would not be compulsory for the users of the Canal.

Meanwhile on September 23, the British and the French Governments lodged a formal complaint with the Security Council against Egyptian action. Egypt also lodged a protest against Britain and France on September 24. The Security Council decided to discuss both the complaints which would be taken up by the Council on October 5 for regular discussion. Thus the Suez issue which threatened immediate war now seems to be destined to be solved through discussion and negotiation.

The Suez Canal Users' Association formally came into being on October 1, 1956, with unreserved participation of fifteen countries.

World Conference on Atomic Energy

Representatives of eighty-one nations—the largest number of nations ever to attend an international meeting—were currently discussing the draft statute of the proposed international "atoms for peace" agency. Participants in the conference included all the seventy-six members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The draft statute for the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency, drawn up with the participation of twelve countries including India, USA, UK, USSR, France, Canada and Australia, said that the agency "shall seek to accelerate and enlarge contribution of atomic energy to the peace, health and prosperity of the world." To that end the agency would be authorized to provide "materials, services, equipment and facilities to meet the need for research on, and development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, including the production of electric power, with due consideration for the needs of the underdeveloped areas . . ."

The scrappy reports appearing in Indian newspapers on the proceedings of the conference, being held in Washington since September 20, seem to suggest a wide difference of outlook among the different Powers over the scope of the proposed agency. The Indian point of view was presented by Dr. Homi J. Bhaba, who said that the various safeguards proposed to be included in the statute would divide the world into atomic "haves" and "have-nots."

Criticising the draft statute, Dr. Bhaba said that it gave the agency power to interfere in the economic life of States which came to it for aid, "though a control over the fissionable material required their future electric power generation. It, therefore, constitutes a threat to their independence which will be greater in proportion to the extent that this atomic power generation is developed through agency aid."

Dr. Bhaba pointed out that the safeguards would not affect the countries already ahead in the development of atomic energy and atomic weapons. The safeguards would hit hardest the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The present safeguards will give the agency maximum powers of interference in such areas," he said.

Further, many technically advanced States might find it convenient to take aid from the agency fulfilling all the conditions to start atomic projects with a view to utilise the experience thus gained in running parallel pro-

grammes of their own which would be outside the agency's supervision.

In an editorial article on September 26, the *Hitavada* deplores the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the international conference on atomic energy—especially as non-members of the UN also were invited to join. The fact that the efforts of two of the sponsoring powers—India and the USSR—were ineffective in securing China's representation in the conference, indicated the "dominating position of the Western Powers," the *Hitavada* notes.

The *Hitavada* writes: "India has had an uphill task in seeing that the statute does not give the Big Powers a preponderant position in the Board of Governors. Had the original plan been adopted the Afro-Asian representation on the Board would have been negligible. Under the new arrangement the Afro-Asians will get 6 or 7 seats out of a total of 23. This is an improvement on the representation originally proposed, but even this is not satisfactory considering the fact that the Agency is being set up to benefit the under-developed countries which are mostly to be found in Africa and Asia. By denying adequate representation to the densely populated Afro-Asian countries, the more advanced countries of the West have arranged to keep the control of the agency in their hands. It is to be hoped that during the current discussions an attempt will be made to further modify the draft statute so that the under-developed countries will be adequately represented on the Governing Body."

The newspaper emphasizes the need for ensuring the sovereign equality of nations in the proposed Agency's Charter and to see that no Big Power could gain predominance in the Agency. It says:

"We can understand the need for reasonable safeguards in the matter of atomic development, but if these safeguards are unduly severe and far-reaching they will hamper rather than assist the under-developed countries in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Atomic Energy Agency is being set up to benefit the less developed countries; hence any assistance which these countries receive from the Agency in the shape of materials and services, should be on liberal terms and not hedged in with irksome safeguards and conditions."

Gold Coast to be Independent

The Gold Coast would be granted independence within the Commonwealth on March 6, 1957, the British Colonial Office announced in London on September 18. This proposal of the British Government now awaits statutory ratification by the Parliament which may not be long delayed. The new member of the Commonwealth will be known as Ghana.

At the suggestion of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lenox Boyd, who had said in May last that the British Government would be willing to consider a proposal for granting independence to the Gold Coast if such a motion were approved by freshly elected legislature "by a reasonable majority," elections were held there in July in which the ruling Convention People's Party, led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, which favoured immediate independence, gained 72 of the 104 seats in the country's single-chamber legislature. The newly-elected legislature approved of a motion calling for immediate independence on August 3 by 72 votes to none, all Opposition members boycotting that session as a protest against the Government's decision to introduce the motion for independence before the future constitution of the country had been decided upon.

The British Government has, as is evidenced by its latest announcement, however, accepted that the majority for the independence motion was "reasonable" and has promised early action.

According to British Government pronouncements, the trust territory of Togoland adjoining the Gold Coast would also be transferred to the new State Ghana if the United Nations' General Assembly endorsed the resolution passed by the UN Trusteeship Council in July, 1956, noting that the will of the majority of the inhabitants of the Togoland was for union with an independent Gold Coast and recommending that steps be taken for the trusteeship agreement to be terminated on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast.

In a message of congratulation to the Prime Minister of Gold Coast, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the occasion of the forthcoming independence of the country, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said that it "is an event of great significance in the history of Africa, the Commonwealth and the world."

While the British Government deserves praise for taking this bold step in the case of Gold Coast it is impossible in this context to forget that Malaya and Singapore are yet to get a fair treatment from them. It is to be fervently hoped that the British Government would be able to see reason in their cases also until it is too late.

Indians in American Eyes

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, one of the leading experts on world economy, recently had undertaken a journey to India in the course of his nine-month Asian tour. After his return to the USA he has summarised his experiences in India in a series of four articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

India, which was passing through a state of political, economic, social and cultural revolution, presented itself as the "most confusing spot in the scene of Asian turmoil" to the Western observer, Dr. Woytinsky notes. In the 17th century the country had been far ahead of the West in wealth and artistic skills. Two centuries later it was now of the poorest countries of the world.

The present-day India struck this leading economist by its great contrast of wealth and poverty. Indeed, Dr. Woytinsky says, "There are, however, few places in the world where poverty of the masses is combined with such an ostentatious display of wealth." He was also impressed by the striking contrast in the Indian scene between what he describes as "the illiteracy of the masses and a brilliant intelligentsia." He says, "The intelligentsia is the ruling class in modern India. The proportion of scholars and thinkers in the upper layer of its bureaucracy is probably higher than among professional politicians in other more developed nations."

Dr. Woytinsky's views about India's position *vis-a-vis* the ideological clash between the West and the Soviet Union are expressed in the following words: ". . . Indians are far from being neutral in this historical clash of ideas of our time. They have rejected the Communist idea of progress through violence and dictatorship and have chosen the road of evolution followed by the free Western nations." He says that the events accompanying the reorganisation of States within India were "the best evidence of the democratic nature of this state"—since no decision was being imposed by force all disputes were being settled in a democratic way, by persuasion.

"Another characteristic feature of modern India was the state of nationalist ferment. 'Indian nationalism, however, is free from blind hatred of foreigners,' Dr. Woytinsky notes. While, according to him, Indian newspapers were not always fair to the United States, and some had even 'specialized in America-baiting as an expression of nationalism,' during his stay in India Dr. Woytinsky 'met no sign of hostility or suspicion of us as Americans'."

The nationalism of Indian intellectuals was reflected in their "unrealistic appraisal of the role of their country in world affairs" and in their sensitivity to the lack of respect for their country on the part of foreigners. "Its clash with Pakistan appears to them far more important than unification of Germany or the conquest of eight East European countries by the USSR after World War II. Indeed, Kashmir is for them not only the central issue of their country's foreign policy, but also one of the main problems of Asian policy. May be India's attitude towards regional military alliances, SEATO, the United States, and the USSR would have been different if its liberation had not been followed by the clash with Pakistan," Dr. Woytinsky writes.

With all deference to his views we must point out that Dr. Woytinsky is seriously mistaken in his appraisal of India's foreign policy and the sentiments behind it. The fact that even the unequivocal support of the USSR to India's stand over Kashmir has not induced India to join the Soviet orbit (Dr. Woytinsky himself notes: "Nehru leads India in *our* direction, and is among the outstanding champions of the free world") should have been deemed by an acute observer of Dr. Woytinsky's standing to provide sufficient clue to a proper and more balanced appraisal of India's position in world politics than the learned economist has provided. No country's foreign policy is devoid of self-interest. So, while it would be naive to deny India's interest in the manner in which the Kashmir question is

looked upon by the Powers—an interest openly proclaimed by India—it would in no way be correct to conclude that India's expressed concern for world peace has its roots no deeper than in a narrow self-interest. Equally unacceptable are his remarks that Nehru's neutralism was an attempt to play the West and the USSR one against the other "in pursuit of his own nationalist policy." Indeed, the learned economist here contradicts himself as would be evident from his remark quoted earlier in this very paragraph. Again it is difficult to agree with Dr. Woytinsky when he says that words meant for Indian intellectuals "more than the *substance* of the problem." If this be true of the Indian intellectuals it is equally true of the intellectuals of every other country in the world—and to the same extent. Is it not a mere jugglery with words to put SEATO as a "Defence" organisation? Yet many of the Western intellectuals, including Americans, are doing so. There is no point in making this weakness appear as a specific Indian phenomenon.

Religion and Fanaticism

Strange are the ways of Muslims who are of this sub-continent! Otherwise how one is to account for the orgy of hooliganism displayed by a section of the Muslims of India and Pakistan over the reprint of an American book in India?

The facts are as follows: The Bharatiya Vidya Bhaban recently brought out an Indian reprint of a book entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* written by two Americans and originally published in America fifteen years ago. Though the book has been in circulation throughout the world for fifteen years no Muslim of any description considered it necessary to protest against the contents of the book. However, soon after the publication of the Indian reprint it dawned upon an ingenious Kanpur editor that there was a Hindu (Indian) conspiracy to throttle Islam in India, and his hue and cry was in turn duly adopted by the rabidly communal section of the Indian Muslim leaders now turned Congressmen with the able and discreet support and encouragement of a highly selected batch of co-religionists across the border who were imported into the country in an apparently pre-planned manner well in time to add fuel to the passionate fanaticism of the unfortunate and misguided Muslim masses.

Even then at the very first indication of Muslim indignation the publishers and the editor of the book apologised and withdrew the book from circulation. The book was proscribed in several States. Prime Minister Nehru condemned the book. Even the President of the Hindu Mahasabha condemned the derogatory remarks made against the Prophet (an attitude yet to be reciprocated by the Indian Muslims, by the way). One might have thought that there was then no case for any agitation of any kind over the matter. But how could that be? Would so much painstaking planning and expenditure then go in vain? Moreover, the Hindu Nehru was getting (at least in so far as Pakistan's record stood) a very very good audience among the Muslim countries of the Middle East. He was shortly to leave for talks with King Ibn Saud. Could there be any greater opportunity for the traitors and agent-provocateurs to prove their usefulness to their masters?

So, apology or not, Islam must be considered to be in peril in India against whom the support of the whole Muslim world has to be invoked. The result has been appalling indeed and quite reminiscent of the independence eve in Bengal when the life, liberty and honour of the Hindus were at the mercy of the Muslim League hooligans. People have been murdered and Hindu temples desecrated on Indian soil where a Hindu Raj is supposed to be conspiring to obliterate the Muslims. All this was done in the name of upholding Islam! As if this was not enough the Muslim students of Aligarh University publicly burnt an effigy of their Chancellor, Shri K. M. Munshi, whose sole "crime" lay in the fact that he happened to be one of the editors of the Vidya Bhabana. His unequivocal regret made several days earlier was not deemed to merit any consideration whatsoever. Some speakers in a Calcutta meeting wanted to have his head as well! Karachi Muslims went one step further and burnt the effigy of Nehru himself.

The strangest spectacle in the whole affair was the curious reluctance of the responsible Indian Muslim leaders in the registration of protest against the hooliganism of their co-religionists. Whatever was said eventually came much later on when the movement had done all the mischief and had died down in India and had crossed the borders. So that it was left to the Muslim leaders of Pakistan to denounce the hooliganism of the Muslims in India and Pakistan in the name of religion. The great moral courage shown by Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, himself a life-long devotee of Islam, and the responsible newspapers of Dacca in decrying the orgy of violence and loot indulged in by the Muslims, deserves the unstinted praise and genuine admiration of every peace-loving and democratic people, whatever may be his nationality or religion.

We would have been glad to be able to say as much of the official attitude in Pakistan. Though the promptness with which Dacca quelled the riotous Muslims must be commended it is difficult to see how the Pakistan Government could find the publication of a reprint of an American book in India an occasion for diplomatic representation. Such a protest becomes the least intelligible when considered against the fact that the publishers had already publicly apologised for having brought out the book and had withdrawn the book from circulation. Moreover, the Government of India had at no time had lent any support to the publication of the book. On the contrary, the Prime Minister got the first opportunity to condemn the book and its publishers. It is not understood what else the Government of India could do about it.

The Pakistan Central Government in its note to New Delhi asked the latter to take steps to ensure communal amity in India. As an abstraction such a sentiment is unexceptionable. But if the death of a few Muslims (in the regrettable disturbances which were the reaction to the original Muslim outrages on Hindu property and sentiments in India over the trifling affair of a reprint of a book,—which was severely condemned by all sections of public opinion and the Government in India—can by any stretch of imagination be utilized to invoke the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of 1950 what one has to do with regard to the lootings of Hindu shops in Dacca and killing of Hindus in Chittagong and the enforced migration of Hindus from Pakistan. The Pakistan Government cannot be serious about its complaint though it has to do it to keep the Opposition League at bay. But it is dangerous to be so playful.

We, on our part, never did, nor do condone the barbarism perpetrated either in the name of Hinduism or in the name of Islam. That has helped us only to the extent of making us a target of attack from the fanatics on either side. Yet it would be criminal naivete if one should fail to muster the courage to put the blame where it lay. In our desire to be conciliatory many of us had in the past had showed an inclination to turn away from facts. That did not get us to our goal of communal amity nor could it forestall the realisation of even such an unrealistic demand as that for the creation of Pakistan (that same slogan is now being sought to be raised in the Muslim League memorandum to the US Embassy in Karachi to press for the creation of yet another 'homeland' for the Indian Muslims). Escapism in any sphere of life is dangerous—it is thousand times more so in politics. The harrowing tales of the millions of refugees are a constant reminder of that fact.

The major share of the recent disturbances lay with the fanaticism of a section of the Indian Muslims. This fact must be recognised before any effective measure could be adopted to prevent the recrudescence of such events. But for some reason or other no political leader of any stature (except the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha) could muster the courage to say so. One obvious reason is the approaching elections when everyone expects to exploit the Muslim to further its power position.

In this connection one cannot but refer to the nefarious role of the Communists of India. True to their anti-national tradition when they had tried to pass off the subversive slogan of Pakistan as the Muslim's demand for self-determination, they are now repeating the treasonable slogan of "Islam in danger" in India. The utterly distorted fashion in which the party's weekly mouthpiece, *New Age*, has featured the incidents in Aligarh clearly demonstrates this.

Lastly, a word is due to Shri Munshi whose "able and conscientious" editorship of a responsible publishing house has landed us in the trouble. His behaviour has been, to use the mildest terms, utterly irresponsible, both in the manner of bringing out the book and in the

manner of tendering apology for that. On his own confession he had not gone through the book. Yet that did not deter him from writing an introduction to the Indian edition commending the book to the Indian public. Again, he had no hesitation in denouncing the book at the first indication of protest, this time also without taking the trouble to verify the justice of the criticism. Thus both in praise and criticism of the book Shri K. M. Munshi, who has a fair reputation as a historian, has given an example of an irresponsible conduct which it will be difficult to surpass.

Theft in Indian Secretariat

An employee of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India and his wife were now facing trial on charges of having stolen the file containing the Indo-Egyptian correspondence over the Suez issue. According to the *Statesman's* Delhi office, the information had allegedly been sold to two foreign countries. The theft was detected on the eve of Shri Krishna Menon's departure for Cairo on September 16.

The employee concerned, Shadi Lal Kapur, made a confession to a New Delhi Magistrate on September 22 in which he had reportedly involved certain officers of the External Affairs Ministry as being part of an international spy ring.

It was further reported that the foreign agent, to whom the contents of the file had been communicated, had left the country; and that along with him had left two other foreign diplomats stationed in India.

In a statement on September 23, a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry denied the existence of any spy ring in India or the involvement therein of any officers of the Ministry. He categorically said that there was no truth in the report that two or three diplomats had suddenly left India.

The Ministry's promptness in countering speculative rumours is commendable. However, the real story still remains to be told since nobody in his senses would believe that the clerk had removed the Department's top-secret file at the moment of utmost urgency to have a chat over it with his wife and children. No ordinary man could be so much interested over the file. The inescapable conclusion is that foreign agents, hostile to India, were at work in New Delhi, as possibly in all capitals with, perhaps, this difference that their efforts were now concentrated on the Indian capital for some reason or other, and the Indian Security Department had miserably failed in its duty to keep on to their track. Crores of rupees were being annually spent on the security forces, yet they could not forestall the enemy agents from pinching India's topmost secret.

The public has a right to know who were responsible for such a bungling.

Trade in Narcotics

A six-day All-India Narcotics Conference was held in Simla from September 24. In his presidential address Shri A. K. Ray, Secretary, Union Ministry of Finance (Revenue), said that following the resolution adopted by the All-India Narcotics Conference in 1949, measures would have to be taken for the eventual elimination of such narcotics as *ganja* and *bhang* in the same manner as had been done in the case of opium.

In this context the Report of the Permanent Central Opium Board on the legal trade in narcotics throughout the world in 1954 is of some interest. According to summary of the report published in the January-March, 1956, issue of the United Nations *Bulletin on Narcotics*:

"In 1952 and 1953, the licit production of opium had exceeded requirements and large stocks were piling up, mainly in the producing countries, so that at the end of 1953 the amount of opium available in those countries and in the morphine-manufacturing countries would have been enough to meet the world's licit requirements for two and a half years." Even a considerable reduction of licit production in 1954 could not reduce the stock of narcotics appreciably so that the stock at the end of 1954 was enough to meet the world requirements for two years without any production.

The *Bulletin* reports: "The Board continues to feel some concern with regard to available supplies of opium, by reason of the fact that Governments are not invariably able to ensure that all opium harvested is surrendered to them and their production figures accordingly represent only the quantities bought from producers by State monopolies. Positive evidence that the Board's apprehension in this respect are well-founded has been provided this year by the disclosures in Iran," where out of an average annual production of 700-1200 tons of opium the State purchases accounted for only 140 tons a year from 1945 to 1954.

Referring to the danger from narcotics the *Statesman* points out in an editorial article on September 26 that narcotics control was necessarily an international affair. "Investigation has shown that gangs of international traffickers exist who shift their operations from country to country wherever Governments are lax or inefficient," the newspaper notes.

"Among the agencies of the UN, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs is one of the most successful. But here too, as with slavery, a single convention and a single International Narcotics Board which would take over the work of the Permanent Central Opium Control Board and the Drug Supervisory Body have not yet been possible. Nationally, India's contribution has been greatly satisfying and its policy of control of opium through governmental monopoly has been accepted as a model. Eventually, as Mr. Roy forecast, *ganja* and *bhang* must go the way of opium," the *Statesman* concludes.

Colliery Disaster at Asansol

About 40 persons were killed on September 27, when a roof of a coal-mine belonging to the Burra Dhemo colliery near Asansol caved in crushing persons working in it. About sixty men were at work in the mine when the disaster took place. Further details were not available at the time of writing.

The Burra Dhemo colliery, managed by a Calcutta firm, was not involved in the current strike in which about 40,000 workers belonging to 24 Raniganj coalfields had stopped work since September 17 demanding higher wages, reintroduction of the rationing system, payment of bonus, and distribution of free rice.

The frequency of accidents in Indian coalmines in the recent years has given rise to great alarm. In December last year 65 persons lost their lives in an accident in the Newton Chikli colliery in Madhya Pradesh. In another accident in the Amlabad colliery, Jharia, in 1955, 51 persons were killed by an explosion. In February, 1955, nine persons died when a roof caved in in the Model Dharmabad colliery, Jharia.

The Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate into the causes of accident in the Newton Chikhli colliery found gross dereliction of duty on the part of the management to provide safety measures in the mines. The committee also laid part of the blame on the shoulders of the inspection officers of the Government of India for their connivance with the management's omission and commission. After the publication of the Enquiry Report the Government of India was reported to be considering measures for prosecuting the guilty officials and coal-mine managers. But nothing appears to have been done. The latest mine disaster would seem to suggest that nothing was done to examine the safety measures in the coal-mines.

There is a Bengali saying that an intelligent man learns from other's experience, but a lesser man can learn only from his own experience. The repetition of the same pattern of accidents—in coal-mines, railways, roads, etc.—naturally leads one to the question: Is even the intelligence of the lesser man beyond the authorities in India?

Political Fasts

In an article in the September 12 issue of the weekly *Bhoodan,* Dada Dharmadhikari examines some of the fasts recently undertaken by different political leaders in India. The fasts had been variously commented upon and some, notably Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, had even questioned the use of the method of fast to get any particular grievance redressed in a democracy.

Discussing the compatibility of political fasts with democracy Shri Dharmadhikari writes that no serious objection could be raised against a purely self-purifying fast in which nobody else than the person undertaking the fast was involved. Self-purificatory fasts might also be undertaken in another way. When a person found that he could not convince others about his own point of view he might ascribe that inability to his own lack of moral stature and might resort to fasting to go through a process of self-sacrifice and thus to obtain the necessary moral authority to put through his own views. This second type of purifactory

fast, "it is well to remember," he writes, "is not open to all. Only those who have sincerely accepted non-violence as a faith and have renounced violence completely may have the right to undertake such a fast if they have a feeling of real affection for the people whom they are anxious to influence and if there is no desire to coerce."

Elucidating further Dada Dharmadhikari writes: "I would like to emphasise that fasting, even when it is in the pure non-violent way, has to be undertaken in very rare and extreme circumstances." Since fasting might be undertaken as a last resort in very rare circumstances it would not be correct to taboo fasting in a democratic India. But the light-hearted political fasts frequently restored to with a view to irritating the opponents or making them look small had absolutely no justification.

All things considered, however, the recent fast of the Communist leader Shri A. K. Gopalan and the Bombay Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, had some special significance. The Communists had not yet had completely given up violence as a means for achieving their end. In such circumstances, the fact that even Shri Gopalan considered it expedient to resort to a fast to make his voice heard "proves that in the conditions under which we are living today the non-violent method is more appropriate and is likely to be more successful than the violent method."

Shri Morarji's fast was unique in that it was the first time when a person in high authority had resorted to fasting. Some had pointed to the incongruity of his fasting and the police violence in Bombay. While there was obviously some relevance and substance in such criticism, writes Shri Dharmadhikari, "it must be confessed that his fast had a special meaning for the leading men who are running the country. They must learn a lesson from it." The political leaders of India, especially those in authority, had a pathetic faith in police methods and violence. They rarely thought staking the personal popularity and goodwill they had. "Shri Morarji Desai has it to his credit that he showed the courage to stake his leadership."

The fasts, among others, of Shri Gopalan and Shri Desai, had a lesson for the leaders of the Government and of the other parties. It was: "Everyone must sincerely abjure violence and agree to tackle all our problems by strictly peaceful methods. All our parties must recognise that the non-violent method, in the present circumstances of the world, is the only practical method. It can no more be called idealistic or utopian," writes Shri Dharmadhikari.

Distressed West Bengal

West Bengal has been tormented by thousand and one problems in these days. Even difficulties common to other parts of India assume a particular intensity and character here. For example, while there is the problem of the educated unemployed also in the rest of India in this state it has assumed the acutest form. The recent sample surveys highlighted the economic distress of the people of the State. War, famine, partition and the influx of the refugees have combined to reduce its inhabitants to the lowest level of existence where they have not much resistance left in them to cope with any new crisis.

In recent years floods and droughts have become a familiar annual feature to the residents of Southern and Eastern India. This year has been no exception. Parts of U.P., Bihar, Assam, Orissa and West Bengal have been seriously hit. Everywhere the suffering of the common people beggars description. For reasons, already noted, the effect of the recent rains and flood have been particularly appalling in West Bengal. Eight districts have been severely hit. Five rivers are in spate. The result has been the officially confirmed destitution of more than a lakh of people in the State. Four days' rain have killed 15 and have injured about 60 persons. In some regions crops and vegetables have also been adversely affected. Roads, Railway lines and Telegraphic system have been breached in many places resulting in difficulty in the proper assessment of the havoc caused and of sending help to the needy.

Pakistani Influx in India

Misrule and economic muddle in Pakistan has not only driven the Hindu minority in Pakistan into desperate straits, but the Moslem majority also is flitting across the border, intensifying the economic pressure on India. This influx in the main consists of labour, skilled and unskilled. But a very substantial number of

grossly undesirable elements also come over and go back to evade the law. New Delhi seems to have at last realised it as the following report by the *Statesman's* political correspondent indicates:

"New Delhi, September 26.—The Government of India, I understand, is giving serious thought to the problem created by an almost unregulatable influx of Pakistani nationals into this country.

"The problem is not a new one, but there have lately been signs of aggravation and the activities of some of these non-nationals have had repercussions on the State of law and order and even on national security.

"Formerly this kind of traffic was regulated by the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act of 1949. This law lapsed on October 15, 1952, and now the passport-cum-visa system, which can easily be sidetracked, obtains. The Passport Act and rules require that Pakistani nationals should in addition to passports hold a visa issued to them by Indian diplomatic missions.

"The Indian authorities are in effect powerless to make those who overstay in India go back to their country because such persons can go to courts and obtain injunctions claiming that they were Indian nationals.

"The presence in India of non-nationals is governed by various Acts such as the Foreigners Act, the Registration of Foreigners Act and the Indian Passport Act.

"While the Indian authorities have full control over the entry and movements of foreigners and can even send them back, Commonwealth citizens can enter the country with an endorsement on their passports by their own Governments. They do not have to register and no information about their presence in the country need be given to the Government.

"In the case of Pakistanis there is also the visa requirement. Now the Government of India proposes to arm itself with powers to send back those who have overstayed. This will most likely be done by amendment of the existing law rather than through a separate Act."

Anti-Social Activities

The *Statesman's* political correspondent sent the following communique a little while ago. The Government of India should realize that both the Constitution, as it stands, and the administrative machinery as it runs today, would foil any attempt to check such activities by the formulation of new laws alone.

What is needed is a thorough enquiry in both directions. Too much stress has been laid hitherto on the rights of individuals, without taking any count of society as a whole, as affected by anti-social elements, or corrupt and/or grossly inefficient administrators and executives of law:

"New Delhi, September 21.—Attempts by extraneous agencies and unpatriotic elements to stir up unrest in the country and further steps which the Government of India should take to deal with this problem were discussed at a high level conference summoned at his residence by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, this evening.

"Among those who attended it were the Home Secretary, senior police officers and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

"Attention was concentrated not so much on any specific aspect but, on the whole series of incidents somewhat variegated and baffling in pattern which have occurred in the past few weeks and which have generally pointed to the existence of activity which seems to be aimed at disrupting national solidarity and therefore at the creation of embarrassment to India's external relations.

"The same context of events also seems to have posed a problem of internal security.

"The limitless freedom of expression which is permitted to all sections of the community, it would appear, has provided fruitful opportunities to anti-social and antti-national elements to whip up trouble and conduct campaigns which can have no other effect than that of weakening the country and injuring its interests.

"Among the specific incidents which have come to notice lately is the organized agitation which was conducted against a book written by Americans more than ten years ago.

"Evidence reaching here indicates that much finance and organized manpower were put behind the agitation which was conducted in such a way as to hurt feelings and lead to a breach of the peace.

"As was, perhaps, calculated by the men

behind the scenes, the agitation produced reactions which unfortunately have not yet died down and also an opportunity for some of the Opposition parties to exploit the situation in their favour.

"The bomb explosions in Delhi and other incidents of more recent happening have in addition drawn attention to the problem of internal security.

"The whole series of incidents has also revealed a lacuna in the existing law of the land and its inability effectively to keep a check on the presence of unauthorized elements in India.

"The Government of India, I understand, is maintaining close contact with the State Governments and is assisting them in getting on top of the situation.

"All these questions were reviewed exhaustively at today's meeting and measures were devised whose effect should become visible in course of time.

"These measures should also assist in maintenance of accord during the coming weeks which will be marked by a number of religious festivals."

Election Fever

The Congress is attacked with Election Fever. Hence this resolve, made in order to be observed in the breach. What we would like to know, is, why victimise one-third, when nine-tenths consist of rubbish?

"New Delhi, September 24.—The Congress High Command is understood to have decided that at least one-third of the sitting Congress legislators should be replaced with a view to drawing in fresh blood from within the party.

"It is stated that for the general elections every prospective Congress candidate's record of service would be the main factor which would weigh with the High Command while making selections. If a candidate is a sitting member, his work and experiendce in that capacity would also be considered but this qualification, in the opinion of the High Command, should not override special merits of another candidate who does not happen to be a member at present.

"The High Command is stated to have thought it essential that sufficient scope should be given to younger people and decided that they should be given at least one-third of the candidatures."

The Naga Problem

The following bit of news, by the *Statesman* correspondent, indicates an improvement:

"Shillong, September 23.—For the first time since disturbances started in Naga Hills last December a whole village has surrendered arms. Hitherto such surrenders were made by individuals.

"The first village to surrender arms along with a group of rebel Nagas is Zakhama village in southern Angami area. Village elders yesterday produced 20 men along with two Sten guns, eight service rifles, three Japanese rifles and seven muzzleloading guns and surrendered them to the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima.

"It is understood that those rebel Nagas who had surrendered arms in response to General Kochar's proclamation had been pardoned and set at liberty.

"Troops on patrol captured six Service rifles, four Japanese rifles, five muzzleloading guns, two Sten guns and a quantity of ammunition near Hanema village in Kuki area.

"In Kohima yesterday, two Nagas with a Japanese rifle and a muzzleloading gun surrendered to the civil authorities there. An army patrol in Tuensang Frontier Division rounded up five hostiles near Shamnyu village. Two Service rifles, seven muzzleloading guns and some ammunition were captured in the area.

"Nagas of Merema village, five miles northwest of Kohima, with their confidence restored by the presence of troops ,are returning to their homes in increasing numbers. Nearly one-third of the population has been resettled and villagers are going about their normal work.

"Rice, salt, tea and sugar are being distributed in villages. To combat epidemic diseases army doctors equipped with mobile dispensaries are touring the area, attending the sick."

Water Transport

The following grandiose plan was released in the news a short while ago. In view of the muddle and confusion over the Ganga Barrage and the consequent deterioration of river traffic in the Hugly river and the Ganga, to say nothing of the ruin of the Calcutta Port, we might be excused for asking our readers to use salt liberally in taking notice of this plan:

"New Delhi, September 22.—A master plan for developing inland waterways in the country in order to provide adequate cheap transport in a developing economy is understood to have been drawn up by the Central Water and Power Commission.

"The plan envisages the linking of Calcutta port on the east with Cochin on the west *via* Cuttack and Madras by a network of canals connecting some of the major rivers of Orissa, Andhra and Madras, a continuous waterway from Western India to Northern and North-East India *via* Central India, and a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast through the hinterlands of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra.

"The Commission feels that while sufficient attention has been given to the development of railways and road transport in the country, no attention worthy of mention has so far been paid to the development of inland waterways whose potentialities are great.

"The Government of India, it is learnt, will shortly appoint a committee to go into the question of development of inland waterways in the country.

"The total navigable inland waterways at present in the country is estimated at roughly 5,760 miles as compared with 36,000 miles of railways. River navigation is now confined to the Ganga and the Brahmaputra, and the Godavari and the Krishna in the south to some extent. The Commission feels that the Godavari, the Krishna, the Narbada and the Tapti hold navigation potentialities similar to that of the Ganga.

"The Commission says that from information received from the States, it is found that it is possible to connect the Western and Eastern Coast through multi-purpose works on the Narbada, Sone, Chambal and Ken, thus connecting the Narbada with the Ganga River system and the Narbada with the Godavari system. These rivers are at present not navigable except at their lower reaches. A number of dams, weirs, locks and, probably later, canals will have to be constructed to make these waterways navigable.

"On account of partition, inland navigation in the eastern parts of India has been dislocated. Assam has no direct water link through Indian territory with West Bengal. The latter has also lost her connexion, by waterways with the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Inter-communication between these States by waterways now means a detour of nearly 450 miles through East Pakistan.

This has caused much hardship and uncertainty to the merchants. Therefore, the Commission suggests that the River Tista can be utilized to provide an all-India waterways connexion between the Brahmaputra and the Ganga River systems, that is between Assam, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

"The Commission has also suggested certain improvements to be made in the River Bhagirathi in order to have a continuous waterway throughout the year from Calcutta to the hinterland of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh through Indian territory. These schemes, according to the Commission, will necessarily be very costly and will take a long time to be executed.

"For linking the Ganga River system with the west flowing rivers in order to provide a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast, the Commission has suggested four schemes for preliminary investigations. These are:

- Connecting the Narbada with the Sone (a tributary of the Ganga) *via* the Johilla (a tributary of the Sone);
- Connecting the Narbada with the Sone *via* the Biran and the Katni Nadi (tributaries of the Narbada and the Sone, respectively);
- Connecting the Narbada with the Chambal (a tributary of the Jamuna) *via* the Karam (a tributary of the Narbada); and
- Connecting the Narbada with the Jamuna *via* the Bearma and the Ken.

"For providing a continuous waterway from the West Coast to the East Coast through the hinterlands of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra, the Commission has recommended connecting the Narbada with the Godavari River system.

"It has also suggested the linking of the Tapti with the Godavari river system *via* the Purna, a tributary of the Godavari, for an alternative waterway connecting the West Coast with the East Coast.

"It has suggested the linking of the Ganga River with the Mahanadi *via* the Sone and the Rihand (tributaries of the Ganga and the Sone, respectively) and the Hasdo (a tributary of the Mahanadi) for providing a continuous waterway between northern and north-eastern India and Orissa *via* Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh.

"For speeding up traffic in the existing inland waterways, the Commission has suggested the introduction of modern self-propelled tugs and barges. For this considerable enlargement and other improvements will be necessary in all the navigable canals of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra and Madras.

"For linking Calcutta with Cochin on the west coast by a network of canals *via* Cuttack and Madras the commission says that in the past Calcutta was connected with Cuttack by waterway through the Orissa coast canal which had been abandoned since 1928 by the Orissa Government. This could be revived to have a continuous inland waterway from Calcutta to Cuttack along the east coast.

"Similarly Cuttack could be linked with Madras by constructing a new canal from the Mahanadi to the Chilka Lake and again from the Chilka lake to the Godavari River. Already there exist 400 miles of canals from the Godavari down south along the east coast where there is a fair amount of trade. These canals could be linked with the west coast canals and backwaters of Travancore-Cochin via the existing Vedranyan Canal (35 miles), situated about 105 miles south of the Buckingham Canal.

"For the development of these waterways detailed survey for collection of up-to-date data will be necessary."

Raniganj Collieries Strike

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of September 19, give an idea of the strike that has been called in the Raniganj coalfields. It shows how little the labour-leaders care for the Labour Tribunals or the administration:

"There was little change in the situation in the Raniganj coal fields on September 18, about 35,000 workers of 22 collieries continuing on strike for the second day. The staffs of the power house, water supply installations and offices carried on work as usual.

"Two more collieries started work on the same day, bringing the total number of collieries working, despite the strike call, to four. Reports have reached Calcutta that willing workers of other collieries have been prevented from going to work.

A spokesman of the coal industry told me on Tuesday that the strike was illegal for three reasons: (1) the Tribunal award of May 25 was binding on all parties for a year unless appealed against within a month. The P.S.P.-controlled Colliery Mazdoor Congress which had called the strike, had not appealed against the award within the stipulated time and must therefore be presumed to have accepted it. (2) Certain other parties to the dispute before the Tribunal, including the Communist-controlled unions, had appealed against various terms of the award and these appeals were now before the appellate Tribunal. As the different managements were a party to these appeals any strike during their pendency was illegal. (3) Conciliation proceedings, which had been started last week by the Government, were still effective.

"The spokesman pointed out that about 80 per cent of the workers had benefited very considerably under the award, the increase in emoluments in many cases exceeding 50 per cent. Others who had not benefited—clerks, chaprassis, engineering staff and mining sardars—had been made certain offers which in effect would give them between Rs. 8 and Rs. 15 a month extra."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 11th October to 24th October, 1956, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor.

THE CHANGING COMMONWEALTH

BY PROF. G. D. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., P.E.S.

THE dominating trend of the British empire during the past generation was centrifugal. Self-government as the guiding principle of British colonial policy was first laid down in the Durham Report of 1839 and the conception of dominion self-government was derived from the British North America Act of 1867. The term 'dominion' was first used in a resolution of the Colonial Conference of 1907 to designate the self-governing units of the British empire though Canada was known as the dominion of Canada ever since the passing of the British North America Act. The Balfour declaration of 1926 defined dominions as

"autonomous communities within the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The then existing administrative, judicial and legislative relations of the dominions with Britain were not wholly in accord with the above position as the Declaration was an attempt to define dominion status only in non-legal terms. The legal framework was, therefore, provided by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. No information about the criteria which determined the status of a dominion was, however, given, as Section I of the Statute defined the dominion only by enumeration, *i.e.*, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The preamble to the Statute declared the Crown to be the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The substance of independence, both internal and external, was granted to the dominions though the legal sovereignty of the Parliament remained intact. The grant of internal sovereignty to the dominions by Britain implied the removal of the legislative and judicial dependence of the dominion on the Crown. In the executive sphere the provision for a responsible executive was not specifically made by the Statute, but by convention the Governor-General of a dominion began to act as the representative of the Crown holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in a dominion as is held by His Majesty in Britain and he acted not as the representative of His Majesty's Government but of His Majesty.

Analysing the relationship Prof. K. G. Wheare finds three indisputable elements in dominion status.[1] A dominion was a territorial community other than Britain which first owed allegiance to the king in common with Britain, secondly, was equal in status with Britain, and thirdly, was freely associated with it. Allegiance to the common British Crown was the legal tie which acted as a strong bond but the link could be broken or abolished at will by any dominion. The dominion might constitutionally and factually repudiate the Statute and thus become a fully independent State outside the Commonwealth. Ireland ceased to be a member when in April, 1949, it passed the Republic of Ireland Act which repudiated all the three elements postulated by the Balfour Declaration and the Westminster Statute. Ireland did no longer wish to recognise the king as the symbol of its free association with Britain and other dominions; it did not wish to be a kingdom; it did not wish to continue as a member and so it walked out of the Commonwealth.

COLOURED DOMINIONS

India and Pakistan attained dominionhood through the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and Ceylon through the Ceylon Independence Act and the Order-in-Council of 1948. The acquisition of dominion status by these countries introduced a new factor in dominion relationship. The multiracial character of the Commonwealth and the diversity of the political and economic interests of its component units not only brought about a change in Commonwealth terminology but also profoundly influenced the underlying legal and constitutional theories.

India continued to be a dominion till it became a republic in 1950 but unlike Ireland India wanted to repudiate only one of the elements implicit in the Statute of 1931. India found the

1. K. C. Wheare: *Dominion Status*, p. 33.

old monarchical symbolism of dominion status inconsistent with her republican status. She would not continue to owe allegiance to the Crown but wanted to retain her association with the Commonwealth. The declaration of the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1949 while permitting India to remain a full member of the Commonwealth introduced a significant change in the Commonwealth concept.

"The governments of Canada, U.K., Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe a common allegiance to the Crown which is also a symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that India shall become a sovereign republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the king as the symbol of the free association of its independent memberrations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of the Declaration. They declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

The Commonwealth now became a Commonwealth of seven kingdoms and one republic with the king as the head of the State in the law of seven kingdoms but with no position in the law of the republic. The Head of the Commonwealth had no legal basis and therefore had no legal powers. The reference in the last paragraph of the Declaration was to the king and not to the Crown.

"So the king had no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth, as such, is not a body. It has no organisation through which to function and the king can have no functions."[2]

The Crown was no longer a constitutional link. The Crown-functions became divisible and varied from one country to the other. The Commonwealth tie became purely diplomatic. The declaration, however, preserved the symbolic unity of the Commonwealth. The new arrangement enabled Pakistan in February, 1955, at her request and with the agreement of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to retain, as a republic, full membership of the Commonwealth. Ceylon made a similar request at the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Change in Terminology

During the past decade the practice has been widely adopted in official and unofficial circles to replace the term British Commonwealth of Nations by Commonwealth of Nations and to replace the term dominion status by realm or member status.

"The House will observe in the Royal Proclamation," said Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on February 11, 1952, "the importance and significance of the word 'realm.' The many States, nations and races included in the British Commonwealth and empire have found in the word realm the expression of their sense of unity, combined in most cases with a positive allegiance to the Crown or a profound and respectful association with it."[3]

Member status denotes a higher status in so far as the term dominion implied a relation of adolescence to the mother country and signified historically at least some idea of inferiority to the United Kingdom, but, in fact, the new terminology means little more than new names for old things. There is, moreover, no legal and constitutional basis for the distinction. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee observed:

"All constitutional developments in the Commonwealth, the British Commonwealth or the British Empire have been the subject of consultation between His Majesty's governments and there has been no agreement to adopt or to exclude the use of any of these terms. Opinions differ in different parts of the British empire and the Commonwealth on this matter and I think it better to allow people to use the expression they like best."[4]

Multi-racial Commonwealth—New Loyalties

Apart from the change in terminology the Asian element in the Commonwealth has produced a greater variety in constitutional symbolism. The emotional factors which bind the Whites to the mother country are absent in the Asian counterpart of the Commonwealth.

2. Nehru : *Independence and After*, p. 269.

3. Quoted in Wheare : *Dominion Status*, p. 300.

4. Quoted in Palme Dutt : *Britain's Crisis of the Empire*, p. 8.

Addressing the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association in July, 1956, Mr. Bandernaike said:

"The Queen of England is indeed a gracious lady. But we prefer a republican form of government which we consider more suitable to our country and our conditions. We are too far away, with too few personal contacts, to stimulate that feeling of personal attachment which you have for her."[5]

So the development of a Commonwealth sentiment and a sense of loyalty to the Crown are out of question. As a result, the Commonwealth lost its structural and organic unity. India, Pakistan and Ceylon retained their membership not because of sentimental reasons but after considering the relative advantages and disadvantages.

If the Commonwealth is to survive as a cohesive institutional pattern, new loyalties must develop to replace the old ones that have withered away. The Commonwealth is an experiment in co-operation among States of varied race and culture having divergent political and economic interests. The common practice of a parliamentary system of government may provide a new link. At the Commonwealth Relations Conference held at Lahore in 1954 the Prime Minister of Pakistan spoke of the common practice of responsible self-government as the strongest bond of Commonwealth unity. The communique issued by the Prime Ministers' Conference in July, 1956, held parliamentary democracy to be the common heritage of the people of the Commonwealth. But there are countries outside the Commonwealth which also practise various forms of democracy. Moreover, the concept of democracy within the Commonwealth widely differs. Democracy, peace and like-mindedness appear to be but high-sounding platitudes which cannot provide a strong link to bind together States having acute racial and political differences.

What, then, are the conditions of Commonwealth membership? At the Lahore Conference there was general agreement that they are five—a desire for membership, recognition of the Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth, a firmly established parliamentary system, sufficient size and resources to support the responsibilities of a sovereign State and the agreement of existing members to admission.

5. *National Herald*, July 9, 1956.

The outward sign of membership was attendance at the Prime Ministers' Conference not by courtesy but as of right. These conferences have become a factor of unity which holds the Commonwealth together and makes formal and informal consultations possible. The meetings are largely a continuation of the unceasing exchange of views on matters of common concern which is an important element in the relationship between member-countries of the Commonwealth.

Crisis within the Commonwealth

While the cohesive forces tend to weaken, the multi-racial Commonwealth is increasingly becoming vulnerable to political, racial and economic tensions. There has been recently a limitation in the area of common experience as between the old European and the new Asian members of the Commonwealth. Writing in the *Times* in June, 1956, Mr. Menzies admitted that there were now two Commonwealths—the hard core of the old dominions whose association possessed an integral character and the new Asian republics which were only loosely associated for functional purposes and which could not be drawn into any joint conclusion on any matter of international policy. The Commonwealth no longer possesses an operative principle of unity in terms of a common purpose and outlook or a sense of direction. The points of agreement between the old European and the young Asian members of the Commonwealth have recently diminished. They had to face different problems and certain temperamental differences have given rise to divergencies of thought, ends and means. There is a deep distrust in Asia of Western imperialism; the willingness of any imperial power to transfer the responsibility to colonies is very much doubted. On the other hand, formal and rigid relationships like the NATO, SEATO and ANZUS have emerged because of the European concept of security. Pakistan's membership of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact and her stand over Kashmir has produced intra-Asian tensions. At the same time the so-called neutralism creates further irritations in the West. India and Ceylon stand for the policy of non-alignment while other members of the Commonwealth are deeply committed. Differences in foreign policy are inevitable as each country in the Commonwealth is free to go its own way, but

they may not go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. The communique recently issued by the Prime Ministers' Conference emphasised the points of agreement, though somewhat vaguely. The Commonwealth, they said, was committed to the gradual liquidation of the empire. In the pursuit of peace, the Prime Ministers attached great importance to a comprehensive disarmament programme and welcomed the Soviet decision to reduce their armed forces. They agreed on the civil use of atomic energy. At the same time open references to expressions of differences were artfully avoided. The Prime Ministers were 'informed' of the activities of the NATO; they were also 'informed' of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and Singapore, and they 'heard' a report from the Prime Minister of New Zealand about his visit to Japan. Reference to the admission of China was, however, avoided.

RACIALISM

While disagreement on foreign policy may be unavoidable and permissible, racialism provokes such deep-seated passions as may destroy the Commonwealth unity. Apartheid poses difficult problems for India and Pakistan whose nationals have been the victims of South Africa's efforts to maintain the Christian civilisation and establish the supremacy of the White Man. For Britain also racialism raises in an acute form the future of the three Protectorates, largely enclaves within the Union of South Africa. The Union wants to incorporate these territories but the Africans are opposed to it. As the Commonwealth family grows race oppression is likely to be attacked from within the Commonwealth with increasing intensity. The Gold Coast is at the door of independence; Nigeria and Uganda are preparing for it. The future of African States within the Commonwealth depends on the solution of the problem of colour attitude. There is something unreal about a relationship which claims to be a free association of free peoples but at the same time supports a State which bases its policy on the concept of the White supremacy and denies the Queen's subjects on racial grounds the freedoms which are associated with that status elsewhere. Respect for human rights and acceptance of human equality seem to be the conditions of Commonwealth survival.

On the economic plane the Colombo Plan is an attempt to increase production, raise the standard of living and enlarge the volume of trade so as to advance through co-operative effort the economic development in South and South-East Asia. The Prime Ministers' Conference also agreed that each country through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area and move steadily towards the agreed objectives of the widest practicable system of trade and payments. But the divergencies which have become increasingly manifest within the Commonwealth on political and racial issues are likely to extend to economic attitudes. India is moving towards a socialist pattern of society and ere long other Asian members are likely to move in that direction; as no such tendency is visible in other Commonwealth countries, difference of approach might arise.

FUTURE

The Commonwealth tends to become internally and externally anomalous. Addressing the Commonwealth Association Mr. Menzies doubted the value of an association which might become

"so loose and vague that it might almost pass for a committee of the United Nations. Differences are natural in an association of sovereign equals but if too much disagreement on fundamental questions is allowed, the Commonwealth would only provide a forum for discussion and would come to mean a small United Nations without a charter and without the obligations under a large United Nations."[6]

There has been recently some thinking about the means to establish closer collaboration among the Commonwealth countries in order to make it more effective. The Australian Prime Minister suggested more functional conferences, more specialised meetings on ministerial level and more frequent use of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The suggestions might improve the means and spirit of contact but cannot by themselves establish stronger bonds. In his articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. K. M. Panikkar proposed the setting up of a Commonwealth Tribunal for settling justiciable intra-Commonwealth disputes. The suggestion is not likely to appeal to any member of the Commonwealth as it might amount to the establishment of a super-body which might bring about by its supervisory activities a diminution in the sovereignty of member-nations. The recent Prime Ministers' communique contained platitudes like world peace, parliamentary democracy, rule of law, economic prosperity, etc., and these alone are supposed to represent the common outlook of the Commonwealth. In fact, Commonwealth thinking has been an exercise in political escapism. The evolution of the Commonwealth along the traditional lines appears to be blocked. A stage of disentanglement has arrived. In the absence of common allegiance and common institutional pattern and without any legal or ethical unity the Commonwealth may survive only as a forum for international co-operation on a small scale. The Commonwealth could, however, act as a third force as a way of life between the two extremes on the Right and the Left. In welcoming the Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces and taking note of the recent changes in the Soviet Union, the Prime Ministers' Conference has already worked for a friendly relation between the rival blocs. The multi-racial community can, however, survive only if the intra-Commonwealth tension is lessened and the moral unity of the Commonwealth is rehabilitated by the preservation of fundamental human rights and values. The Commonwealth family would gain more force and flexibility by the addition of more Asian and African members.

6. Speech as reported in the *National Herald*, July 10, 1956.

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COMMITTEES IN THE MODERN PARLIAMENTS

BY N. L. GUPTA, M.A.

PARLIAMENTS in democracies represent the people and rule on their behalf with responsibility to them. The representatives consist of laymen and amateur politicians. They represent the various parties and programmes and the main trends of public opinion in body politic. The representatives are not experts.

Primarily they are elected to Parliament to make laws. Law-making, today, has become the job of an expert. Every law involves so much of statistics, technical details and expertness that a member cannot be expected to have all such knowledge. The amount of laws to be made by every Parliament is so enormous that no Parliament can do more than decide on general issues leaving aside details. The Committees have provided for these deficiencies, at the same time not shifting the control of law-making from the hands of Parliament to outside experts. These Committees discuss bills in detail and examine all technicalities involved before a bill is passed by Parliament. They may call for evidence, records or witnesses. They may hold investigations and hear the interests affected by such bills. The bills are thoroughly discussed, debated and analysed. These may be amended, modified and even changed. These Committees reflect the party strength and discuss bills clause by clause; much of the time of the Parliament is saved because the arguments advanced by the Government and the opposition parties in the Committee are not generally repeated on the floor of the Chambers. These Committees save the time of Parliament and provide it with expertness and technical knowledge. Even some compromises may be arrived at between the Government and the opposition. They meet in private beyond the glare of publicity. The Government may accede to the opposition's point of view and make concessions, of course barring concessions in the principle of the bill. The Government may not agree to such concessions on the floor of the Chamber. In the Chambers of Parliament, the Government and the opposition parties meet like armies and fight a battle of wits more to influence the voters with a view to win the next election.

In certain countries, these Committees not only provide the 'expertness' but also the 'control,' 'unity' and 'direction' in legislative policy. This is true of the U.S.A. and France. The Committees of the House of Representatives in the U.S.A. have been described as 'real legislatures' or 'little legislatures.' The House legislates with their permission. In Britain and in India, Parliaments are controlled by the Cabinet and discuss, examine or pass only such bills as are initiated by the Cabinet Ministers or which receive their approval. Because of the

majority at its back, the Cabinet is the master of the Parliament and controls the initiation and formulation of legislative policies subject to final adoption by the Parliament. The Cabinet in practice controls time, procedure, and priority of legislation. Due to the absence of Cabinet Leadership in the U.S.A. and due to weak, unstable and short-lived Cabinets in France, the content and substance of legislative policy is provided by Committees. All bills introduced in the House of Commons and Lok Sabha are discussed by the House and Sabha in the first instance. A bill is referred to a Committee only after its principle or main broad outlines have been agreed to by the House. Thus the Committees perform a secondary, though important, role in law making in these Houses. But in the U.S.A. and France, every bill first goes to a Committee and the House discusses it only after it is reported back from the Committee. In the U.S.A. the Committees kill about 4/5th of the bills by not reporting them back to the House. The House can force them to report a bill back under a 'discharge rule' by passing a resolution on two Mondays in a month with absolute majority (218 members). In practice it is a difficult process. Bills are often initiated by a member to satisfy the constituents. No other member is interested in such measures. During 1923 to 1939, eight such 'discharge' resolutions were passed, the House approved 4 such bills and only one could go to the statute book. Hence the bills to be discussed by the House and the contents of the legislative policy are determined by the Committee. The 'Committee on Rules' not only presents the 'rules of procedure' to the House for adoption and may suggest their amendment, but it may also indicate to the House what clauses of a bill shall be amended and what shall not be. It may even intervene when the House is discussing a bill and may stop its discussion. It may introduce a bill of its own on the same subject and demand the House to proceed with its consideration. Thus the Committee in U.S.A. controls the direction of procedure on the floor of the House.

In France, 'Commissions' consider every bill in the first instance; the House considers it only if and after it emerges from the 'Commission.' The Reappateur (Spokesman) of the Commission controls the proceeding of the bill in the House. Amendments introduced by members may be required by the Commission to be referred to it. If a suggested amendment concerns the financial aspect of the bill, it may also be referred to the 'Finance Commission.' The Commission may intervene itself. Even when a bill is finalised by the House, the 'Commission' may get a recommital of the bill to itself for further consideration. The Commissions exercise supervision over finance and administration. They challenge the budget. A 'Commission' has real authority and members may replace positions from the Cabinet to the Commissions. One Commission alone included 12 ex-ministers. In Britain the Committees have no such powers of intervention or decision.

The Indian Parliament has, in the main, followed the practice of the British House of Commons. The Committees play a secondary role in law-making and work within the limits imposed by the House. They can neither kill a bill nor exercise the power of intervention and decision. They act as subsidiary bodies to thrash out technical details and provide expertness and save time of the House.

However, the Lok Sabha has not followed the Committee System of the Western Parliaments very rigidly. It has no 'Standing Committees.' There are 19 such Committees in the U.S.A., 6 in U.K. and 18 in France. A 'Select Committee' is appointed with every bill. Its members are appointed by the House. The number of members differs with each Committee. They are appointed proportionately to the party strength in the House. The Chairman is appointed from amongst the members by the Speaker of the House; in case the Deputy Speaker is a member of such a Committee, he acts as its Chairman. The quorum is 1/3 of its members. The time for reporting is fixed by the House; extension may be given on the request of the Committee. These Committees follow the procedure identical to that of the House. In case of doubt, the Speaker's decision is final. The Committees meet in the precincts of the Lok Sabha; they meet even when the House is in session. In such cases, their meeting must be adjourned to enable the members to participate in the division in the House. The Committee deals with a bill in details, clause by clause; amendments are moved, accepted or rejected, *every clause is voted upon.* The Committee can call for evidence or witnesses —official or non-official. It may call for records. The witnesses are allowed to tender evidence through counsels. It may appoint a Sub-Committee on certain points. The meetings are held in private.

In case of important bills, like the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, Hindu Marriage Bill, etc., a 'Joint-Committee' representing both the Houses may be appointed. The House, where the bill is initiated, may pass a resolution for appointing a Joint Select Committee and request the other House for nominating its members. If the other House agrees, the Joint Committee comes into existence. The number of members differs with every such Committee. Its membership generally is about 50; the Lok Sabha nominating 2/3 members and Rajya Sabha one-third. It follows the same Procedure as the ordinary 'Select Committee' does. It may appoint Sub-Committees on specific points.

To exercise control over finance, the Lok Sabha appoints two Committees: Public Accounts Committee and Estimates Committee. The Public Accounts Committee consists of 15 members, elected by the House in accordance with proportionate representation, on single transferable vote system. The Chairman is appointed by the Speaker. The Lok Sabha has not followed the practice of the House of Commons of appointing a member of opposition as its Chairman. Its tenure is one year. Its quorum is 5. It may appoint Sub-Committees. It may call for officials, records and witnesses. The decision of the Speaker on matters of procedure is final, though the Committee may pass a resolution for his consideration and approval. It examines accounts of various departments to see that the money has been spent in accordance with appropriations sanctioned by the Parliament and no unauthorised expenditure or no diversion has been made by the departments. This Committee examines accounts of previous years. To take an example, the Commitee in 1952-53 examined accounts of 1948-49 and 1949-50. It does not and cannot examine accounts of all the departments every year. It examines accounts of one or two departments every year and may examine accounts of one of the Government enterprises or Semi-Government enterprises, like the Chittaranjan Locomotive Enterprise, the Bhakra Dam or the D.V.C. Its work is of retrospective nature. It sits not for a very long time. The 1952-53 Committee held 35 meetings and devoted only 83 hours during the whole year. Yet its very existence and its findings are a great restraint upon the executive in matters of finance. Its report is discussed in the Lok Sabha and necessary action is taken on its highly commendable recommendations.

The Estimates Committee consists of 25 members, is appointed in the same manner as the Public Accounts Committee and follows a similar procedure in conduct of its business. Its quorum is 8. Its function is to examine the estimates presented by the departments in the budget for grant by the Parliament. It examines whether the estimates have been properly framed. It suggests to the Lok Sabha if economy could be effected in estimates and suggests alternative policies for bringing efficiency in the administration. It again examines estimates of one or two departments every year and goes on examining them even when the budget has been passed by the Parliament and estimates have been granted. The 1952-53 Committee held 21 meetings covering 55 hours throughout the year. These two Committees provide to the opposition the opportunity to have a peep into the inner working of the administration besides providing to the House devices to control finance.

The Committee of Subordinate Legislation consisting of not more than 15 members is appointed to scrutinize and report to the House whether the powers to make rules and regulations, sub-rules, by-laws, etc., delegated to the executive under acts of Parliament or conferred by the Constitution, are properly exercised or not. It may recommend to the House that any order should be annulled wholly or in part or should be amended in any respect.

Besides, there are Committees like the Committee on Petitioners, the Committee on Government Assurances, the Rules Committee, the Committee on Private Members Bill, etc., like the sessional committees in the House of Commons.

Finer has well summed up the importance of Committees :

"In England the Government, in France the Government and the Commissions . . . . in the U.S.A. the party leaders and the Committees decide and debate, the rest is advertisement, explanation, electoral strategy, the joy of talking, and sealing wax."

In India the Cabinet rules.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

By K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A.

INTERNATIONAL investment has come into the limelight not only as a desideratum of prime importance in a sound system of international trade but also as a potent motive force in moving off an under-developed economy from the dead centre of the vicious circle of stagnation. International Investment is, like the quality of mercy, twice blessed; it blesses him who gives and him who takes. For, apart from its benefit or profitability to a debtor or creditor as an individual, it helps the debtor country as a whole, inasmuch as it provides real savings for capital formation and foreign exchange for importing capital goods from abroad; it also helps the creditor country as a whole to increase income and employment within its borders, being itself in *pari materia* with domestic action for increasing income and employment. Fundamentally it is a means of improving the distribution and use of the world's productive resources. The dictum of Polonius, "neither a borrower nor a lender be," if it is applicable elsewhere, is not certainly applicable here.

It is a fact worth noting at the outset that almost all developed countries did in their time of development rely to a greater or lesser extent upon external finance—not by choice, but by necessity. England used to borrow from Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries, though she herself became the world's leading creditor nation in the 19th century. The U.S., now unsurpassed in its size and solvency, did in fact borrow heavily in the 19th century when her resources were opened up.

In the exceptional circumstances of the 19th century international investment in fruitful conjunction with international migration paved the way for the spread of industrialisation and world trade. Capital flowed in a fertilising stream from Europe—England in particular—to the under-developed countries of the world. The period 1870-1914 can indeed properly be called as the golden age of international investment. Even by the time of the World War I, international investment was at a level of about 1,600 million dollars a year and by the end of the 1920s it was at 2,000 million dollars a year worth about the same in real terms when the change in prices is taken into account. But there was a noticeable shift in the source and direction of capital flow. The U.S. was no longer a net borrower, but had become an overwhelming competitor to U.K. in lending out.

But the epitaph had to be written to the golden age of international investment. The severe depression in the '30s affected international investment as well and reduced it to a tiny trickle. (Strangely enough it was this period that a theory of international trade based on mobility of factors like capital and labour was put forth). Though there has been a revival of world production and trade since the World War II, international investment excluding U.S. Government grants, is only in the range of 2,000 million dollars a year. This is clearly very low not merely when we compare it, allowing for change in prices, with investment before the World War I; it is also low when we take into account the needs of the capital-hungry nations.

The problem of international investment demands therefore an explanation not so much of mobility of capital between nations but of its immobility. Let us first look at international long-term investment by private investors. This type of investment undoubtedly possesses certain special advantages. Being governed by the Calculus of profit, it will be "productively" employed, if not in the social sense, at least in the private sense; it may bring in its wake technical knowhow and better methods of production and management. There are also no such rigid requirements for interest and amortisation as govern loans by international agencies.

But, if this type of investment has special advantages, it has special disadvantages as well. Political factors and economic logic vie with each other in militating against any large-scale investment of this type. Its movement is not only subject to the uncertain weather of international politics; it is also governed by the particular measures and attitudes of the borrowing governments; the fear of nationalisation without adequate compensation may be hanging like a Damocles' sword on private investors investing in certain countries. There is also the harm done by double taxation, which can however be obviated by agreements between the creditor and debtor countries.

There is also the fear of refusal of foreign exchange (by the governments of borrowing countries) for transferring profits or repatriating capital and this stems essentially from the absence of convertibility. This fear is not groundless since in the '30s the refusal of exchange did happen, for no other reason than that no foreign exchange was available. Sometimes the governments of borrowing countries give their assurances in this regard, but it is difficult to see how such assurances would be useful in times of severe exchange crisis. In such times, only the help of the creditor country by way of temporary foreign exchange loans can be useful. Such an idea is reported to be viewed favourably in Washington and is said to be operating in certain classes of investment.

There are also sound economic facts which we may deplore but cannot ignore. It is wrong to think that just because a country is undeveloped and wants capital, it will be profitable for private investors to invest there. The purchasing power of domestic consumers in under-developed countries is too low to be profitable for private investors and investment of this type has usually been concentrated, not primarily because of "exploitation" but because of profit calculus, in the extractive and raw material industries working for exports. Even such investment as usually occurs cannot be expected to be steady and continuous in view of the uncertain demand conditions for raw materials in future and in view of the fact that the state in many under-developed countries has been spreading a growing net over many industries.

Another perplexing problem is posed by the high level of business profits in U.S. in recent years. While the U.S. is undoubtedly the fittest to play the creditor nation in the world the conditions are often more favourable for investment there, not only for Americans but for others. Indeed, though the Point Four Programme originally stressed the role of private foreign investment, more recent pronouncements like the Gray and Rockfeller Reports have desisted from laying emphasis originally laid on it.

Before 1929 private investors also used to lend out to foreign governments (*e.g.*, India used to float sterling loans in the London Market). But such a form of investment is, for more than one reason, no longer possible on any significant scale and if governments have to borrow they have to borrow from other governments only. There is good reason, therefore, to believe that the era of private foreign investment has ended.

International grants, whether they are called as such or as unilateral income transfers or as unrequited capital exports are only an euphemism for that simple word, "gift." The *raison d' etre* of such grants is that a transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor nations is a natural application of the principle of progressive taxation on the international plane. Apart from the question as to how far narrow nationalist feelings will allow for the recognition of the principle on the international plane, the grants are inevitably based on the sandy foundations of domestic and international politics, and will be neither continuous nor equitable. It is hard to think of such grants as a permanent institution.

Under present conditions of international politics and economics, inter-governmental lending offers the best hopes for advocates of international investment. It is needless to say in this connection that the U.S. has been the greatest lender and that President Eisenhower has proposed to send 1200 million dollars on the existing economic aid programmes of all kinds in the fiscal year ending in June 1957, and 590 million dollars on new programmes. Loans have been given by the U.S. Government itself both to war-devastated countries and to under-developed ones. In some countries there are also government institutions for the purpose of granting foreign loans—like the Export-Import Bank of the U.S. and the Colonial Development Corporation of the U.K.

It is important to remember that inter-governmental lending is also in its size and flow a function of domestic and international politics and that a government is rarely wise and fortunate enough to get the loans it needs without sacrificing in any way its international status. There is also another great difficulty—not hypothetical but real—to which inter-governmental

grants discussed above are subjected to an even greater degree. The loans granted may be used not for productive purposes of capital formation, but for increasing consumption. This may be obviated by earmarking loans for particular productive purposes, but in such cases it is possible that domestic resources thus released may be ill-spent. The rationale of international investment then loses all meaning.

International agencies for investment have a great advantage in that they provide for fruitful co-operation between creditor and debtor countries. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which formally came into being on December 27, 1945, has been intended to arrange and guarantee private loans and in their absence or inadequacy to provide finance out of its own capital. Loans granted by it upto 31st March 1955 amounted to 2168.9 million dollars. But while it has satisfied punctilious standards of financial propriety, it has not been able to satisfy the hunger of capital-starved countries.

Proposals for other such international agencies have been in the air but they have not yet materialised.. Particularly noteworthy are the proposals since 1948 for a United Nations Economic Development Authority and the proposal since 1953 for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. Both proposals are said to have "foundered on the rocks of American creditor opposition." Such institutions if established can devote full attention, unlike the I.B.R.D., to under-developed countries, but it is wrong to think that they will be governed by a different financial spirit than that of the I.B.R.D. or that they can by themselves satisfy the demands for capital.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that the *modus operandi* of international lending is also of prime importance. The payment of a loan should be so arranged as not to involve undue strain on the trade and payments position of the creditor and debtor countries. The repayment of the loan also presents serious problems for both countries. Here the creditor country is apt to feel like an inverted Micawber in daily fear of debtors. The reason is that repayment of loans might have damping effects on its domestic business activity. The problem was indeed posed as to "how and at what sacrifice the United States can accept (re) payment." Though the question has been illuminated by economic discussion and cleared of many misgivings, it is still open to debate. The possible solution is to continue renewing loans so that there is not net repayment of capital as long as the position of capital abundance of the creditor country is not changed.

For the debtor country payment of interest and repayment of principal present in each case a budgetary problem and a transfer problem. The budgetary problem is a problem of taxation to mobilise resources for repayment. While an import of capital may dispense with additional taxation at the moment, it does necessitate additional taxation when net repayment is due. But such taxation may be easier of accomplishment than in the case of the absence of the foreign loan itself, since it can be expected that national income of the country will increase between the time of import of capital and its repayment. The transfer problem is the creation of an export surplus to service the loan and its success in this endeavour depends on the co-operation of the creditor country also.

SIGMUND FREUD

By Prof. JANE GEORGE,
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"Who divined the famous riddle and was a mighty man."
—Chanted by the chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and lettered in Greek at the base of Freud's statue standing in the University of Vienna's hall of fame.

One hundred years ago, two months before Bernard Shaw was born, the 21-year old wife of an elderly Jewish woolmerchant in Moravia gave birth to a son who devoted himself in later years to the elucidation of the theory in which the intellectual thought of the 20th century is soaked. Facetiously dubbed "the unholy trinity," Darwin, Marx and Freud are fundamentally responsible for the predominant influences that characterize our age.

Eldest of the eight children born to Jakob Freud's second wife and with two step-brothers as old as his mother, Sigmund was born in Freiberg of Emperor Franz Josef's Austrian Empire and continued to be his mother's favourite all through childhood showing early signs of developing into a diligent student and a voracious reader. When Sigmund was four years old the family moved to Vienna and when he was 17 he passed out of high school carrying the highest honours.

His famous biographer, Ernest Jones, has not been able to state clearly why young Freud chose medicine as a career.

"I felt an overpowering need to understand something of the riddles of the world in which we live," Freud tried to explain much later in life, "and perhaps even to contribute something to their solution."

Completing his studies in medicine at the age of 22, Freud lingered on working at the laboratories until he fell in love with Martha Bernays to marry whom he had to become a bread-winner. He set up practice as a neurologist and after four years of parsimony was able to marry Fraulein Bernays.

At 29 Freud received a scholarship to study in Paris under the famous Jean Martin Charcot whose attempts to use hypnosis to cure hysteria made Freud interest himself in the inner workings of the mind.

Freud did not discover his theory in a flash of revelation. No overflowing bath-tub, no falling apple, no lid of a boiling kettle helped him. Like Darwin, Marx and Einstein, he was a man with prodigious capacity for work. The hysteria of Berta Pappenheim who was being treated by a colleague (Breur) gave Freud the first hints of how a person mentally troubled might relieve himself or herself by talking. As he handled and watched case after case the glimmerings of a theory were discernible to the one-track mind of the genius who continued to mull over the eccentricities of the human mind. The sexual basis of emotional upsets and the free associations of thoughts were slowly becoming corner-stones to a theory of psycho-analysis.

When his important book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, was published it sold a little over 500 copies. But his theories had excited interest in a small group of psychologists in Vienna. Back in Austria, Freud met with this group once a week and discussed and sharpened his theories. One among them was another of the famous psychologists of our age—Alfred Adler. Slowly the new revolutionary theory of Freud spread and one of the heartening pieces of news that Freud received was that Carl Jung of Zurich had begun to use psycho-analysis and was already devising certain tests which seemed to confirm the theory. By 1907 the theories of Freud were attracting attention in Europe and Britain and two years later he crossed the Atlantic and received a favourable reception in the United States.

Power of the Theory

While dissension was developing among the psychologists themselves, the intellectual world of writers, artists and critics became powerfully impressed. The stream of consciousness novel was coming into fashion; literary criticism began to use the analytical principles of Freud; a music critic achieved overnight fame by explaining Wagner's operas in terms which were then ex-

clusively psycho-analytical; a group of artists in Paris which included Picasso and Matisse was powerfully impressed by the sexual overtones of the theory. If Freud did not convince all psychologists he had totally succeeded in capturing the imagination of an intellectual world in flux.

Marx and Freud were the only bull-dozers that cleared the debris of the classical pattern of thought. Even long before them Kepler and Newton had given currency to various 'heresies' hewing away large chunks from the classical conception of man's place in the universe but it was Darwin's theory of evolution that first spelt disaster for the traditional pattern of thought.

Darwinism actually cleared the way for Freud by undermining the Aristotelian teleological theory of natural phenomena which had been reinforced by Stoic philosophy and Christian theology to declare man as the end of the universe. Darwin and Spencer succeeded in reversing this outlook and freed 20th century thought from the illusion of final causes. Since the theory of evolution has destroyed the arbitrary limits between various forms of organic life and since biochemists are slowly unravelling the mysteries of the protein molecule, modern thinkers are able to challenge Aristotle who emphatically denied the possibility of understanding the phenomenon of life by material causes.

At the turn of the century when Freud was enunciating, documenting and improving his theory, man's conception of himself had lost its intellectual centre. In the long history of mankind there have been instances of such discrepancies in theory and opinion, but even in the midst of seeming confusion, there had remained a general orientation, a frame of reference, to which conflicting ideas had been referred. Metaphysics provided this orientation during the heyday of Greece and Rome, theology during the Middle Ages and mathematics from the time of Descartes up to the Victorian era. Through Spencer and Huxley, biology made a bold bid to establish objective standards but did not succeed and had to capitulate quickly in favour of the subjectivism of psychology. In our own generation Planck and Einstein have made physics vie with, but not supersede, psychology as the master-faculty—*l'idee maitresse* of Taine—which interprets and gives homogeneity to the seemingly conflicting branches of specialized human knowledge.

Into this cauldron of disoriented intellectual confusion Freud poured his brew—his scholarly thesis popularized by pseudo-psychologists luridly emphasizing "sexual drives." The intellectual atmosphere of the time, as we have sketchily detailed at the risk of oversimplification, had been conditioned to receptivity and in every sphere of intellectual effort, except in that of psychology, his theory caught on like wild fire.

What Freud had successfully done was to undermine our faith which had its origin in the definition of man by Socrates as "that being who, when asked a rational question, can give a rational answer." This faith had reached its acme in the post-Newtonian era when man imagined the universe to be a super-machine and God to be a super-mechanic. Blasting to bits the conception of the rational behaviour of man, Freud made the effect of emotion, the importance of drives and the critical limitations on behaviour imposed by repression a generally accepted fact. In doing this Freud had conquered a new territory for science—a field until then exploited only by philosophy, poetry, art and religion.

Freud and Dissenters

Freud's main contribution is the extension of scientific investigation to explore mental conflict by exploring the "unconscious." Holding that the nature of man mainly biological, Freud recognized in human beings instinctual drives toward self-gratification. He divided the psyche into the "conscious" and the "unconscious" and then again into "id," "ego" and "superego," The "unconscious" is the pool in which are drowned both forgotten things or those "suppressed" and things painful to remember or those "repressed." The "id" is unconscious and is primitive in attempting gratification of drives. The "ego" is the conscious part of the human mind and the "superego" which belongs to the unconscious is the arbiter permitting the "ego" to allow the gratification of "id" or not. When these three fail to achieve harmony of functions, Freudian "neurosis" sets in, the common cause being "Oedipal feelings" (modern psycho-analytic term for Oedipus complex) in children. The variety of psychological or emotional disturbances that are the result of this lack of harmony is innumerable and these contribute to lack of social responsibility in individuals.

Psycho-analysis is the cure devised to "resolve" this emotional imbalance. On the couch the patient talks in "free association" and "repressed" and "suppressed" experiences are ventilated. In this the language of the patient's dreams plays an important part. "Neurosis" is said to be "resolved" when social responsibility is regained,

One of the earliest admirers of Freud to break away was Alfred Adler in 1911 because he attached more importance to "inferiority feelings" (modern scientific term for 'inferiority complex') than to sexual drives. For instance, organic inferiority, according to Adler, would develop "inferiority felings" but it would, according to Freud develop "Oedipal feelings." Freud, at that time, was chiefly concerned with "libido" and had not, as yet, introduced the theory of "death instinct." Hence Adler's stand was not totally unjustified.

Another reason for Adler's schism is commonly attributed to Freud's overweening admiration for the only non-Jew in the group—Carl Gustav Jung. But two years later Jung himself broke away denying that "libido" (basic mental energy which, according to Freud, converts itself to sexual energy) was overwhelmingly sexual. He once condemned Freud's theories because "the brain is viewd as an appendage of the genital glands." Jung contended that "libido" is composed of both non-sexual and sexual drives and that such a thing exists as "racial memories" or "collective consciousness" within which are emotional stereotypes which he names "archetypes." Parts of Jung's theory are considered scientifically untenable because, according to Jung, dreams (resolution of conflict in sleep, according to Freud) are preparations for the future having prophetic content. Eighty-year old Jung now lives in Zurich interesting himself in Buddhism, yoga, myths, and rituals.

Another of the important dissenters is Otto Rank who said that the real emotional trouble was the "birth trauma"—the shock an infant suffers when it leaves the security of the womb. Normally this shock should disappear when the infant and later the child matures, but if it did not then neurosis would set in. Much of the symbolism of James Joyce's novels is derived from Rank.

Was Freud Scientific?

Freud like a true genius was a man seeking the answer to a question. Many a scholar and saint in India has posed himself the same question: Who am I? Two of India's well-known Yogis who passed away six years ago—Aurobindo Ghosh and Ramana Maharshi—have both asked themselves this question and they have both answered it in terms of Hindu mysticism. But Freud demanded of himself a scientific answer.

Throughout the course of his life Freud constantly checked and modified his basic assumptions at a time when the world was stretching or mutilating the economic man of Marx and the superman of Nietzche on the Procrustean bed of theory. The numerous shifts he made have raised the question whether any theory that changes so frequently as Freud's did can be called scientific. One wag tried to clinch the argument by asking: "Does the multiplication table change?"

Only, the multiplication table is not science; it is only predetermined relationship between agreed symbols. Physics, the most reliable of our sciences, has changed so vastly that only the second law of thermodynamics has survived. On the other hand, science is not capricious either, like fashions by Christian Dior. Much of science relies today on statistical probability and so, according to a modern definition, "Science is the creation of a reliable notion."

Incontrovertibly Freud created a reliable notion. No theory has outmoded Freud's as Einstein's has outmoded Newton's. Despite many variations, psycho-analytical field work has amply borne out the validity of the fundamentals of Freud's life-work. Modern psychopathology owes more to Freud than any other individual. There are 9,000 psychiatrists in the United States alone of whom 619 are "hard-core" analysts. Apart from them there are many "lay" analysts (those who do not have an M.D.). At any one time in the United States there are about 15,000 patients undergoing psycho-analysis and the estimated total of Americans who have tried analysis as a cure is over 100,000.

All through his life Freud waged war to defend his theories. "They may abuse my doctrines by day," he once observed, "but I am sure they dream of them by night." Seventeen years ago on September 23, some days after the world blew up into the mighty conflagration of World War II, stricken painfully for many months by cancer of the jaw, Sigmund Freud died at 83 in London—another Jewish refugee of Hitler's domination of Austria.

He is not alive today to hear from the lips of every one the revolutionary phrases of his which shocked the urbane societies of Europe and America. He did not know that fiction, and consequently motion pictures, would adopt his ideas so completely in a few years that even an Indian peasant in a remote village would become aware of the necessity of a happy environment for his children. Psychologist Charles Baudoin, a staunch Swiss Catholic, declared recently, "Modern man cannot conceive of himself without Freud."

It is peculiar that all criticism one hears about Freudian theory is mostly invective hurled against its indisputable core. The strongest weapon of the anti-intellectuals who decry Freud is oversimplification. They say that, according to Freud, "man is nothing but a bundle of sex instincts," just as they say that, according to Darwin, "man is nothing but a monkey."

Where Freud Was Wrong

Those who preoccupy themselves with sexual instincts do not explore those theories of Freud which scholars consider scientifically unacceptable. These lie in the extension of the field of human behaviour where Freud makes dynamic impulses determinants of cultural patterns. For example, if factors of "death wish" and "agression" were posited, these by themselves do not determine that we should have an organized war. Organized war, if Freud were right, would occur regularly.

When Albert Einstein posed Freud the question in a letter: "Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war?" Freud wrote a very discouraging reply:

"Any effort to replace brute force by the might of an ideal, is under the present conditions, doomed to fail."

Later on in the same latter, summing up his arguments, he said:

"There is no likelihood of our being able to suppress humanity's aggressive tendencies."

At this conclusion Freud arrived by methodical argument in his letter to Einstein and in other works. This part of his theory is today considered obsolescent. The theory of aggressive tendencies in individuals from which society derives its organized force for destruction is at least two thousand years old and nothing new that Freud discovered. The Apostle James wrote in his General Epistle:

"From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?"

The rejection of this theory surprisingly comes from sociologists who are themselves educated on Freudian theses. Since agression in individuals can be traced to childhood environmental factors, the latter could be improved under controlled conditions to such an extent that the former will cease to become a social menace. Plato, by the way, had envisaged this centuries ago and suggested in *Republic* that to build an ideal state children must be separated from the corrupting influences of elders

"by sending out into the country all those who are more than ten years old and by taking possession of the children who would thus be protected from the habits of their parents."

The elimination of war by elimination of individual and social aggression might only be the "wishful thinking" of well-intentioned social scientists. Freudian theory has too often been distorted and viewed as a study of sex and the "unconscious" without recognizing it as socio-psycho-biological one. If, in its role as the latter, it does not provide all the answers we must remember that it does attempt to pose all questions in a scientific manner—an advance over 19th century psychology.

However the "basic urges" which serve as the foundation of Freudian theory appear too much like the theory of "instincts" given currency by 19th century biologists of which Freud himself was highly critical because while components of "libido" lead to hetero-sexual fixations, there are libidinal components homosexually directed. Thus individuals are instinctively race-preservative or race-destructive.

It follows that if behaviour is either race-preservative or -destructive, there are no *basic* instincts independent of environment. Some psychologists, basing arguments on the "instinct theory" contend that socialism and elimination of war are impossible. Others hold that change in the educational system might divert aggression into socially more acceptable forms.

Much argument has gone on and will be mooted on this subject. Scientifically it may not be possible to prove whether the pacifist-minded social scientists of today or the gloom-ridden Freud of yesterday is right. Any such attempt will be frustrated because in social life many conflicting situations will arise which will preclude the limiting of variables.

But science is essentially an accumulative process—the piling up of bits of reliable knowledge. Freud added a large chunk. The present conceptual and methodological difficulties of Freudian theory represent a transition from class-theoretical psychology to a field-theoretical one. Freud began his work when psychology was a class-theoretical science. The genius of Freud forbids a halo round his theories (like that imposed by Communists on the theories of Marx) to render them rigid, inelastic and doctrinaire.

Logical argument and original thinking based on statistical data devoid of prejudice should not hesitate to improve and modify his contribution. But meanwhile, the intellectual and the housewife and the unlettered factory-hand have admitted Freud into their vocabulary, into their very processes of thought, so much so that W. H. Auden writes:

"If often he was wrong and at times absurd
To us he is no more a person
Now but a climate of opinion."

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REGIONAL PACTS AND WORLD SECURITY

By Prof. DINA NATH VERMA, M.A.

One of the most widespread and superstitious beliefs in the modern world is that world peace can be maintained through regional pacts. The concluding of innumerable such pacts after World War II has been sought to be justified on this ground. The usefulness of such pacts has been repeated *ad nauseum* so that the people of the world have begun to cherish the belief that these alliances and pacts are the royal road to international peace and security. Strange as it may appear, even the U.N. Charter has recognised regional pacts as one of the efficacious instruments for world peace. The result is that beginning from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to the newly-signed Jeddah Pact between the three Arab States, the world has been at present honeycombed and meshed with a network of sundry regional, defence and mutual aid pacts and all in the sacred name of world peace. But the logic of this argument can appeal only to those who are innocent of historical knowledge and devoid of analytical thought. The existence of regional pacts in our times is the testimony to the fact that we still believe in the old Roman adage, "If you want peace be prepared for war." Regional pacts have never maintained world peace. On the other hand, they have precipitated international crises and world wars. If there had been any significant exception to this statement that has never been made a matter of record.

The genesis of regional pacts, as of many other things, can be traced back from ancient Greece. The Amphictyonic League, the Athenian Leagues, the Peloponnesian League, the Achaean League in ancient Greece are the examples of such ancient regional groupings which were created to deter aggression and promote co-operation. But in course of time these leagues swerved from their original moorings. Athens, like modern, America became a capitalist plutocracy and self-appointed guardian of public liberty throughout the Greek world. Sparta embraced communism dedicated to "discipline" and "planning." Power politics led these super-powers to try to dominate the various leagues which resulted in incessant fraticidal wars and eventually the complete destruction of ancient Greece.

The mediaeval period of world history was an age of endless confusion and hopeless international anarchy. However, out of this commotion came the conception of balance of power, set up by the Peace of Westphalia which concluded the Thirty Years' war in 1648. But the balance of power soon proved unstable due to disunity among the European powers, and the principle itself degenerated into confused

struggles among various warring camps. It was thought at that time that the security for the individual states could only be obtained by the formation of alliances to offset any attempt to overthrow the existing political equilibrium. But this also ended in disillusionment. Despite several alliances and counter-alliances the period witnessed many wars such as the War of Spanish Succession (1701), the War of Austrian Succession (1740), the Seven Years' War (1756) and the revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars, etc.

At Vienna Congress in 1815 a Quadruple Alliance was formed which gave birth to the Concert of Europe. Though the Concert had been supposed to be the first international organisation, it was in fact a sort of regional alliance, which also failed to maintain peace in Europe. Throughout the period between 1815 and 1871 there were violent revolutions for national unification and democratic rights in whole Europe and the Concert restored *status quo* (but not peace) only through the coercive method of armed intervention in the affairs of other sovereign States. There was also no dearth of wars in this period. The Crimean War of 1856, the War of Italian Unification, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 followed one another and no regional arrangement could prevent them.

In 1871 Germany along with Italy entered the European family of nations. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor of Germany, introduced a new element in international diplomacy. What is known as "Interlocking of International Politics" is solely the legacy of Bismarck, whose ambition was to make the newly-created German Empire secure from the "revanche" policy of France by diplomatically isolating her. He, therefore, cultivated friendship with Russia and finally succeeded in forming a secret Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy in 1882. The interests of these powers were so irreconcilable that Russia finally deserted the Central Powers and formed a counter-alliance with France in 1891, known as the Dual Alliance. Due to the Russian penetration in the Far East, England also abandoned her policy of "Splendid isolation" by concluding the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. When it became clear that Germany was becoming a powerful nation eager to dominate the world, England came to an understanding with France and the Anglo-French Entente came into being in 1904. In 1907 England, France and Russia formed another alliance known as Triple Entente. Thus before the outbreak of the Armageddon in 1914 two opposing alliances—Triple Alliance and Triple Entente—were standing face to face and the spokesmen of each claimed that they had done so for sheer self-defence and world peace. But we all know what happened in 1914 and even before that. Alliances and counter-alliances were mainly responsible for Morocco, Agadir and Balkan crises that set the stage for the great dance of death that followed the Searajevo murder.

Though the aggressive policy of the dictators caused the Second World War, here too defence pacts were no less responsible for aggravating international tension. The Franco-Belgian military alliance of 1920, the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance of 1921, the formation of Little Entente in 1920-21 by Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and later on the French participation in it were all regional pacts created during the period between the two World Wars. In 1934 Mussolini formed an "Italian bloc" by concluding a series of agreements with Hungary and Austria. The anti-comintern Axis and other alignments were all symptoms of a general malady which ultimately brought the Second World War.

Thus it is clear that never since the dawn of history regional pacts have served their ostensible purpose of securing world security. This historical sense of Woodrow Wilson impelled him to remark that

> "There can be no leagues or alliances, or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations."

But this considered opinion of the learned President was contemptuously ignored by Churchill when he made his notorious speech at Fulton in 1946 in which he propounded "the policy of containment" of communism by fair means or foul. If as a matter of practical politcs, pleaded Senator Vandenburg following Mr. Churchill, the free world could do nothing more, "let us by all means help to form a series of special groupings for peace." And on June, 11, 1948, the Senate passed his resolution empowering the Administration to favour the "progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements." The result has been that during the last ten years various regional organisations

Bihar Martyrs—A view of the full composition
Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

The dead falling boy being supported by one of thefollowers of the great march
Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

have cropped up under several treaties among a group of nations such as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Brussels Pact, the NATO the ANZUS Pact, the U.S.-Pak Military Aid Pact, the Balkan Pact, the SEADO and the Bagdad Pact. This growing trend towards regional arrangements and mutual assistance pacts is not in consonce with the aims and objects of the U.N. Charter. Such arrangements divert the attention from the internatioal organisation and may in time, according to Armstrong, "overshadow the organisation's universal character and aim." That such arrangements have led to the formation of well-marked blocs and had aggravated power politics and international tension in recent times is a patent fact even to a superficial observer of every day newspaper.

It is mainly on this ground that the U.S.S.R. has condemned such pacts. But the irony is this that she has done the same thing which she criticises. The Warsaw Pact, the Communist counter-part of the NATO, and the Sino-Russian Mutual Aid and non-aggression pacts are the regional alliances sponsored by the communists.

Historically speaking, therefore, regional pacts are no panacea for world wars. Their very existence creates war atmosphere and international tension. Each country thinks that the pacts or treaties formed by others are so many daggers pointed at its heart and *vice versa*. This compels everyone to be always in a "state of preparedness." It sometimes tempts them to wage even "preventive wars." Now in this atomic age it will serve nobody's purpose to refuse to read the writing on the wall. In the present state of international tension one can say with mathematical certainty that there will be no localised war and this also is equally certain that in any future world war there will neither be victor nor vanquished; the same volcano will engulf both Mr. Ike and John, Mr. Nikita and Nikoli. What is required in this much-tormented world of ours is, firstly, to delete Articles 51 and 52 from the U. N. Charter, and secondly, the affirmation of faith by all nations in the principles of "Panchashila" so sincerely sponsored by our own Prime Minister. And if pacts are at all necessary let there be Locarno-type agreements or Kellog-Briand type Pacts. But covenants, said Hobbes, are useless if the parties are unwilling to observe the solemn pledges they have undertaken. Even Locarno-type agreements would be unnecessary if we are not sincere about our international commitments. And the tragedy is that our international obligations are observed more in their breaches than in their observance and thus we are still, as it were, in the "State of Nature."

The several offers of olive branches by Russia recently, the repudiation of Stalin line, the dissolution of the Cominform and the conciliatory attitude of the Russian leaders led the present writer to believe that these regional pacts would be allowed to die a natural death and they would be given a decent burial. But the recent meeting of the NATO powers and decisions arrived at there have shocked the concensus of enlightened public opinion of the world. The decision to recast the NATO and thus bring the cold war in yet another field is evidently not calculated to throw oil on troubled waters. The only lesson that history teaches, said Hegel euphemistically, is that history teaches no lesson. But there is still time to learn at least this lesson from history that pacts and alliances are really the cause of war and not the harbinger of peace.

Fortunately for the world Mr. Churchill who so assiduously pleaded for regional pacts in his Fulton Speech, and who by no stretch of imagination can be considered an admirer of Soviet Russia, has made a very important statement recently at Aachen in which he has stated that if Russian repudiation of Stalin were sincere she should be invited to join the NATO. That means the NATO would lose its real significance and other regional pacts would naturally follow suit. This is high time to seize the opportunity and act. History should not be allowed to repeat itself.

SUEZ—LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

By H. N. GULATI, M.A.

The worldwide importance which Suez Canal has gained today, on account of a proclamation of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, is due to the fact that this small artery is to some extent responsible for linking Europe and Asia, the East and the West.

In order to have a clear grasp of the legal and political aspects of the Canal, it is essential to keep before us a clear and unblurred picture of its growth, right from its inception and conception.

The credit for this profoundly important link goes to one Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps. Of course the idea was not original. A navigable canal linking the Nile to the Red Sea through Wadi Tumulat had been started by the Pharaoh Necho in the seventh century B.C., and brought to completion by Darvis I after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

Constructed at a time when air traffic was yet unknown, its significance today in an era of air navigation remains undiminished. For transportation of odd, unwieldy, bulky cargoes the usefulness of waterways is unrivalled.

The equivalent to the all-sea route round the Cape of Good Hope figured prominently in the minds of all European nations. Already in 1839 an overland route through Egypt between the Mediterranean and the Arabian through the Red Sea had been achieved through British efforts. Alexandria-Cairo railway link completed in 1856 and the Suez-Cairo railway link completed in 1857, made possible the journey swift and comfortable. The new route, no doubt served well the light and passenger traffic; the commercial proposition was still unsolved.

Out of this commercial proposition emerged momentous political issues. A new all-sea route dispensing with the Cape was highly pungent to Britain. She held an exclusive control over the already existing, water route. Not only would her monopoly be lost, but the new plan would create rivals to the British commercial interests, most of whom being closer to the Suez might hamper the British trade, and upset the political balance in Europe. A canal, "changing as it would the relative position of some of the maritime powers of Europe towards each other," as Lord Palmerston observed, "would involve the possibility of political consequences of great import." Britain saw in the enterprise French intention to assert political hegemony over Europe.

In 1834, the request of a Frenchman Fournel to build a canal was turned down by Mohammed Ali, who at that time was the ruler of Egypt (under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey). The latter with a penetrating political foresight visualized that in the event of a canal being constructed, the independence of Egypt would be jeopardized. Mohammed Ali's successor Abbas followed in the footsteps of his grandfather.

After the death of Abbas in 1854, his uncle Said succeeded him. Ferdinand de Lesseps, a shrewd Frenchman, was quick to grasp the opportunity. He had developed friendship with Said while his father had been the French Consul-General in Egypt. Ferdinand himself happened to be an eleve Consul at that time but was dismissed later by Napoleon III. The friendship fetched to de Lesseps a fat reward. Said granted him in November 1854, a concession for the construction of the coveted canal. It was to last 99 years. It is important to bear in mind at this stage that the concession needed and still awaited ratification by the Sultan.

At that time the political atmosphere in Europe was one of bellicosity. Britain, France and Turkey were ranged against Russia. France did not want to take the political risk of embarking upon the new waterway without taking partners with her. Russia was already arrayed against her. In the teeth of British opposition, the adventure was reckoned unwise. Under these circumstances, the attitude of the French government could be none other than that of aloofness.

De Lesseps, however was fired with great enthusiasm. His zeal would not allow his scheme to be watered down. Propelled by the determination to carry through the scheme, he hit upon the project of making it an international proposition. He would not like to subject the canal to an international control. His only objective was to avoid the possibility of political tensions.

An international Commission was formed, and charged with the duty of furnishing a report on the advisability of the venture.

At the time of granting the concession, it was not stipulated whether the canal was to pass through the Isthmus of Suez or would go *via* the Wadi Tumulat to the Nile. On the basis of the recommendations of the Commission the Wadi Tumulat route was abandoned and the alternative through the Isthmus of Suez adopted.

With the shift from the individual to the international proposition, the original concession was revised in January 1856 in favour of a corporate company named Compagnie Universelle du Canal

Maritime du Suez. Two of the stipulations in the new concession need a special mention.

In the first place, in addition to the express provision for cutting the canal through the Suez Isthmus, the Company was granted for the period of concession a strip of land in the Wadi Tumulat for the purpose of constructing a sweet water canal. This would link the Nile to the Suez Canal and satisfy the essential needs of the Canal zone. Secondly, the Company was exempted from the payment of taxes while it would be enjoying the benefits unhindered.

Financial provisions entitled the Egyptian government a royalty of 15 per cent of the net dividends of the Company. 10 per cent of the net profits were earmarked for the founder shares, allocation of which rested with the Company. Balance of 75 per cent of the dividends was to be the share of the ordinary share-holders.

Said was lured into concluding a secret protocol whereby Egyptian labour might be supplied during the course of building the Canal. This to all intents and purposes was forced labour. The workers were to work hundreds of miles away from their hearths and homes. No willing worker was prepared to undertake the hazardous job, especially when there was no expectation of a commensurate remuneration for the work. The Company by forcing this provision down the throat of Said hoped to solve one of the difficult problems connected with the Canal construction.

In October 1858, a blue-print for financing the scheme was drawn up and subscription list opened. The capital of Fr. 200,000,000 (£8,000,000) was divided into 400,000 shares of Fr. 50,000 each. 207,111 shares were held in France and 96,517 by the Egyptian government. 85,506 shares which had been set apart for Britain, Russia and U.S.A., were unacceptable to them, and as such remained unsold.

De Lesseps dexterously handled Said and allured him into purchasing the unsold shares.

The French nationals and the French government owe not a small amount of gratitude to the ingenuity of Ferdinand de Lesseps who with tireless efforts was bent upon carrying through the scheme. His way was fraught with hazards and hardships at every step. Napoleon III was not sympathetic towards him and had even gone to the extent of dismissing him from the consular service in Egypt. However, he managed to win over the support of Napoleon. De Lesseps could now with confidence count upon the support of the French government. In April 1859, De Lesseps undertook to initiate the construction without the ratification of the Sultan. Viewed at from the legal stand-point the step was highly objectionable.

The impotence of the Egyptian government and the Sultan to take steps against the illegal move of De Lesseps in starting the construction was partly and temporarily off-set by the British opposition which took advantage of the forced labour issue and brought about suspension of the construction till the beginning of 1863. Said's successor Ismail was required to pay £1,520,000 as recompense for having refused to supply the labour in contravention of Said's agreement. An additional sum of £1,840,000 was to be paid, as a price, to the Company which abandoned the sweet water canal concession. Ismail after the death of Said had called into question the validity of 1856 concession granted by the latter. Conscious of his weakness Ismail could ill-afford to ask for an outright annulment of the concessions; he contemplated to negotiate a revision of the concessions relating to the supply of labour and the Wadi Tumulat lands. To that end he commissioned his minister Nubar Pasha. The Pasha found himself helpless amidst his powerful virtual masters; and was constrained in March 1864, to submit the claim to the arbitration of Napoleon. It is a strange case of arbitration where a party to the dispute is made the judge.

The award directed Ismail to pay the price for the abrogation of the two clauses (in respect of forced labour and sweet water canal) in the 1856 concession. Not only was the award unilateral, but it lacked the support of law. The contract was unenforceable by municipal or international law. It was incomplete, wanting in ratification by the Ottomon Sultan, who possessed the sovereign right to grant the concession.

The Egyptians had to buy back their own property against a huge payment as a result of the arbitral award. It was a sort of penalty, so it may be said, imposed upon the Egyptians, on account of the 'generosity' of Said. Let it not be forgotten that the Canal Company had not been deprived of the benefits of the sweet water canal. Rather the new waterway could not possibly have been built without the supply of fresh water from the Nile.

The manner in which the Sultan, in April 1865, was forced to issue a *firman* giving approval to the canal enterprise, brings into lime-light, the high-handedness with which the concessions were secured.

Hoskins in *The Middle East* has correctly remarked :

> "The methods of financing the construction and maintenance of the Canal constitute the darkest chapter in the history of the waterway."

The international commission appointed in January 1856, to advise on the technical aspects of the project, had estimated that the entire project till completion would not cost more than £6,000,000. However, the cost published by the Company put it at £16,000,000, which has not been unimpeachably established. Of this sum, more than two-thirds of the contributions were those of Egypt. The table given below illustrates in detail the Egyptian disbursements:

Amount of ordinary share holding	£3,750,000
Compensation as per Arbitral Award	£3,500,000
Expenses in connection with construction of sweet water canal	£3,250,000
Expenses of opening ceremony plus sundry expenses of missions, etc., in connection with the canal	£1,000,000
Total	£11,500,000

—John Marlowe: *Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, 1800—1953, p. 71.

Putting the things in a slightly different way, it may be said that Said and Ismail paid about £8,000,000 in return for a 15 per cent share in the profits, while approximately the same amount had been invested by the ordinary share-holders in return for 75 per cent of the shares.

Matters do not end there. The Egyptian treasury was unable to contribute. Ismail was forced to borrow money on disastrous terms.

The inauguration ceremony of the Canal took place in November 1869, with great pomp and show. Whatever might be the quantum of opposition offered by Britain, the Canal was a *fait accompli*. The new opening to the heavy goods represented a diplomatic triumph of France. French interests accounted for 50 per cent of the ordinary shares, and probably the entire 10 per cent of the founder shares. The balance largely represented the Egyptian stake. The Canal was controlled entirely by French personnel. The company was not international.

Hardly had a few years elapsed after its construction, when the British Government began to realize the political wisdom of a share in the control over the Canal. Fortunately for the British, Franco-Prussian war was fought and Napoleon III was defeated. Prime Minister Disraeli was quick to grab the opportunity. By this time Ismail was passing through financial difficulties, and negotiating with one M. Dervien, a French banker. Implementation of the project meant 100 per cent ownership and control of France. Disraeli viewed it as having serious political consequences for Britain. Taking advantage of France's weakened position, he did not allow Dervien-Ismail proposal to be carried through. Instead, at a cost of £4,000,000 he in 1874 purchased all of Egypt's ordinary shares.

That is not an end to the tragic history of Egypt connected with the new hopes of the West. Ismail was forced to transfer control over the finances of the State to Anglo-French Controllers who sold away the 15 per cent Preference Shares to the credit of Foncier de France in part settlement of the debt.

The Canal brought ruin to Egypt in another way also. The revenues from it were not benefiting Egypt. By peculiar methods of financial irregularities, the real masters were being deprived of their due share; and were also left with no alternative but to bear the brunt on account of the diversion of the traffic from the overland Egyptian route to the Canal. Thus the waterway instead of adding to, was in no small degree responsible for, subtracting the State revenues.

Henceforth, the effective control over the Canal was shared between the French and the British, and with the passage of time the latter came to dominate the scene.

The history of the Canal and the political fates linked therewith have passed through curious metamorphoses. Intended as an international highway, it turned out on completion, to be one having the French prerogative. It started with bitter British opposition, but in course of time came to be a British monopoly. John Marlow has likened the British role in the economic and political game of the Canal to that of a batsman intending to resist the intensity and target of the ball striking the wicket 'had mistimed it, and scored an ignominous boundary through the slips'. Started with Egyptian capital and labour it came to have European ownership.

It was only as a result of strong agitation and bitter demonstrations that the Company in August 1937, was forced to allow Egypt to derive certain benefits from the operations of the Canal. The royalty of the Egyptian Government was fixed at £ E 300,000; two Egyptians were included in the Company's board of directors, and the share of Egyptian employees in the Canal organization was enhanced to 33 per cent. The agreement of 1949 between the Company and Egypt, elevating the latter to the position of a "privileged partner", was also the result of pressure brought to bear on the Company.

Stake of Britain and U.S.A.

Since the onset of industrial revolution till towards the beginning of World War I, Great Britain held a position of supremacy in the world. During these years the Canal was, in the British communicational system, an indispensable link between her and her empire in the East. Primary reliance for maintenance of hold on India, Burma and other interest-zones was placed on it. World War II brought in its trail a gradual loss of Britain's power and prestige. The United States emerged as a leading power. Suez Canal has played not an insignificant role in the new world relationships. Halford L. Hoskins observes:

> "Nothing better illustrates the shift in international leadership and the new role of the United States in world politics than the sudden development of American interest in the Suez Canal."

American interest in the waterway developed as a result of the necessity of transportation of peroleum from the Middle East required for the fulfilment of the Economic Recovery programme. The fuel requirements assumed bigger proportions with the assumption of leadership by the United States of North Atlantic treaty commitments. The enhancement of petroleum needs increased the importance of the waterway. In the beginning of World War II, American interest in the Canal was meagre. In 1938, cargoes carried by American ships represented only 1.2 per cent of the total tonnage passing through. By the close of the War the figure reached 22 per cent. Since then American traffic was on the increase. The construction of pipe lines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia in 1949 and thereafter, did not make her dispense with the necessity of movement of oil through the Canal. The recoupment of the economic and political health of Western Europe demanded a still greater quantity of petroleum. Pipe lines alone could not cope with the situation. Transportation by tankers passing through the Suez was necessary.

International Status

The international status of the Canal emerged from the political situation prevailing at the time. Though De Lesseps had been successful in obtaining the concession, he did not like to move ahead with the project single-handed. When the time came for subscribing the shares, big powers were unwilling to have a finger in the pie. Russia, U.S.A. and Britain declined participation. The status of the waterway remained undefined even when it started functioning.

The exigencies of the war that broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1877 brought to the fore the issue of control over the Canal. Formerly, Turkey exercised sovereignty over it. It being a part of her empire the Canal was open to Russian attack. The logical inference alarmed Britain, who had already in 1875 purchased shares of the Company, essentially with a view to the safeguarding of her imperial interests. With that end in view she had assumed responsibility for the defence of the Canal, which was the nerve-centre of her empire. On May 6, 1877, she had asserted her position of control by a proclamation that any interference with the free navigation of the Canal would be considered an unfriendly act, inconsistent with her neutral position. An Anglo-Egyptian agreement signed on September 7, 1877, further strengthened British claims of protection.

In 1882, there was an armed revolt in Egypt headed by Ahmad Arabi. Acting on the authority of the Khedive British forces were employed for the protection of the Canal. Till 1882, *de jure* control over the Canal rested with Turkey, and *de facto* power was exercised by Britain.

The incident of 1882 has in it the seeds of the birth of 1888 convention. Other powers desired to restrain Britain in the exercise of her exclusive control over, and her acquiescence in the principle of free navigation through the Canal. After a good deal of negotiations, a convention representing Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Holland, Italy, Spain and Turkey, was signed in 1888 at Constantinople. *Inter alia*, the text says:

> (1) "The Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag."—Art. 1.
>
> (2) "Similarly the provisions of Articles IV, V, VII and VIII shall not interfere with the measures which His Majesty the Sultan and His Highness the Khedive, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, and within the limits of the *firmans* granted, might find it necessary to take for securing by their own forces the defence of Egypt and maintenance of public order."—Art. X.

Britain, however, still possessed the trump card. The agreement exempted her from the applicability of the terms of the agreement, till her occupation of Egypt. France accepted the reservation grudgingly. It was only after the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, that the Constantinople convention came into force. Britain consented to respect the 1888 convention, and to accept the obligation of defence and of safeguarding free navigation. The principle of free passage was respected during the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, notwithstanding the fact that Japan was allied to Britain. During both the World Wars when Britain had a direct stake, she subordinated the provision of free navigation to the necessity of defence.

The year 1922 brought independence to Egypt, but Britain retained *status quo* in respect of the Canal. The British declaration of February 28 "absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government" the defence of the Canal, and by implication the security of free navigation.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, though granting to Britain the same rights in respect of defence of the Canal as she already possessed, brought about one significant change. The Canal was recognised as an integral part of Egypt. Great Britain was to aid in the defence and security of free navigation of the Canal till such time as Egypt made herself strong enough militarily "to ensure by her own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal."

The outbreak of hostilities between Egypt and Israel after the announcement of the partition scheme of Palestine by the United Nations brought forth fundamental problems over the use of free passage through the Canal. These arose out of the institution of blockade of movement of goods or passengers from and to Israel passing through the Canal. Embargo continued even after armistice. On the one hand, the Egyptian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs asserted that "Egypt's sovereignty over navigation in her territorial waters is affirmed by international law," on the other hand, the conflict between the two clauses of the 1888 convention presented itself as a problem. Israel referred the complaint against unjustified acts of Egypt to the Security Council in 1951. The Council

upheld Israel's contention and called upon Egypt "to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound." Egypt refused to accept the admonition, invoking Art. X in support of her standpoint. Contending that armistice had not terminated the state of war, self-defence gave her the right to continue the ban on the passage of ships through the Canal.

The question as to what extent the Constantinople convention restricted Egypt's sovereign rights remained unsolved.

In the context of the recent developments, arising out of a declaration of nationalisation by Col. Nasser, that has given rise to hectic moves on the part of the West, especially Britain, the fundamental issue is whether there can be any international control over the Canal. History of the Suez tells us that Egypt has an inalienable right of sovereignty over the Canal. We are to recall the year 1925 when Egypt declined to extend the concession by an additional period of 40 years. The right to refuse, establishing Egypt's suzerainty, has never been challenged except till recently.

Undoubtedly, not only the West but other powers also are interested in the free passage through the waterway. That, however, does not imply a throw of challenge to the sovereign rights of a nation. Our Prime Minister while accepting participation in the London Conference scheduled for 16th August, announced in Parliament:

> "A settlement of this problem *on the basis of the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt* and by agreement among all concerned and the abandonment of postures of threat and violence and of unilateral action by either party are therefore of the utmost concern to India."

Egypt's refusal to attend the Conference is based upon the non-acceptance of the unqualified principle of internationalisation. Sri Nehru remarked:

> "This conference can reach no final decision for that requires the agreement of Egypt."

As to the necessity of freedom of navigation, and a guarantee of the implementation of 1888 convention, Col. Nasser has unequivocally announced that nationalisation does not affect that freedom. The stand that Egypt has taken appears to be justified.

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THE ECONOMICS OF CHEMICAL FERTILIZER

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,
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That the law of diminishing returns comes into operation more rapidly in agriculture is known to the people since the time of Ricardo, if not earlier. That intensive cultivation renders the soil poorer and poorer is not a new experience either. The reason is also clear enough. For centuries, man has known that nitrogen, a chief plant food and the vital constituent of soil fertility is taken out by each harvest much faster than it is replaced in the natural course. To meet the situation, man at first took recourse to farmyard manures and composed heaps; but soon the necessity of increased supply of nitrogen was felt and felt deeply. Farm-yard manure was found to be insignificant as compared to the demand of the soil.

In fact, this nitrogen deficiency of the soil began to cause headache to the scientists in the agriculturally advanced countries as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. It was realised that unless a cheap and abundant source of nitrogen could be discovered, the world would run short of food-stuff at no distant date.

Three-fourths of the air is composed of nitrogen, but unfortunately it cannot be used as plant food in its free state. Scientists, however, found a way out to separate nitrogen from other elements and this finally led to the production of fixed nitrogen to be used in soil as fertilizer. This was, undoubtedly, a great achievement in the field of science and technology which has saved mankind from the impending danger of starvation. Today, the world uses 1,76,37,000 metric tons of chemical fertilizers every year. One cannot but lift his hat in the memory of those German scientists* who pioneered the field.

The dawn of independence synchronized with a keen desire to augment the agricultural productivity of India. The experience of the Bengal Famine in 1943 had been so terrible that even the foreign rulers of the then India found it hard to sit idle. It was not difficult to realise that unless a successful programme of intensive cultivation could be launched immediately, the story of 1943 would repeat again and again.

It was under such background that the Foodgrains Policy Committee was constituted. This committee

* Harber and Bosch.

recommended as a first step, the implementation of a 350,000-ton Ammonium Sulphate factory. The choice naturally fell on Sindri in view of its nearness to two essential raw materials—coal and coke. The river Damodar would solve the problem of water. Gypsum, another essential raw material was, however, not available in Bihar or its neighbouring States. It was, therefore, decided that gypsum would be imported from North Punjab. But unfortunately, we have lost that part of the country as a result of partition. Thanks to the agility of the National Government, a new source of gypsum was soon discovered in Rajasthan.

Though planned by the foreigners, the giant fertilizer factory at Sindri was implemented by the National Government of India with a total investment of Rs. 23 crores. It went into production in October, 1951 and since then is progressing in rapid strides. The following figures will speak for themselves:

Year	Production of ammonium sulphate at Sindri (in tons)
1951[a]	7,445
1952-53	219,340
1953-54	249,953
1954-55	290,983
1955-56[b]	320,000

(a) The factory went into production towards the end of the year, namely, October.
(b) Estimated. The actual production figure of 1955-56 was not available at the time of writing this article.

Though Sindri marks an important epoch in the history of our heavy chemical industry, it would, however, be wrong to suppose that it was the first plant to manufacture chemical fertilizers in India. The pioneering credit is due to Mysore which installed an ammonium sulphate factory at Belagula in the year 1939. That was, however, a very small plant with a production capacity of only 6,000 tons per year. The Steel works at Tatanagar and Burnpur as well as some coal fields in Bihar were also producing some amount of synthetic ammonia as by-products of their coke-oven plants, the sum-total of which was about 250,000 tons per year. Before World War II, the imports of chemical fertilizers in India was also insignificant.

Being a student of agricultural economics, I may venture to say that of the nitrogenous fertilizers now in use in India, ammonium sulphate is the most popular. There exists, however, a general belief that its continuous use renders the soil poorer and poorer every year, if not actually barren. It is the business of the soil chemists to dispel this belief and I consider myself least capable of saying anything in this regard.

It has, however, been found to be an important source of nitrogen supply to the soil, its nitrogen content being 20.6 per cent as against 6 per cent in oil-cakes and only 0.5 per cent in farmyard manures. In regions of heavy rainfall, ammonium sulphate is found to have a wonderful preserving value and is excellently resistant to leaching.

* * *

The ever-growing burden of population on the one hand and the fantastically low standard of living on th other demand an immediate and thorough overhauling of the agricultural system in India. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, concentrated much of its energy and resources in that direction. A vast area of hitherto unploughed lands were successfully brought under cultivation. But that was not enough. Attention was, therefore, diverted to intensive cultivation as well.

When more and more crop is required to be obtained from a particular plot of land, it is imperative that a sufficient quantity of manure be applied. One may expect that with the largest number of cattle population in the world, India can obtain more than enough of farmyard manure and composed heaps. But alas! here also we are poor. A huge quantity of cattle-refuse is used as fuel by the village-folk thereby depriving the land of a potential source of nitrogen supply. The role of chemical fertilizers in the agricultural regeneration of India can, therefore, be, by no means, insignificant.

A plant generally requires three kinds of food—nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. The soil in India is particularly deficient in nitrogen and phosphorus. Ammonium sulphate and superphosphate are responsible for the supply of nitrogen and phosphorus respectively. It has already been stated that ammonium sulphate contains about 20.6 per cent of nitrogen; the phosphorus contents of superphosphate varies from 15 to 18 per cent. The experts in agriculture assert that almost all crops grown on almost all types of soil in India respond favourably to the application of nitrogen. Its response to crop like paddy has been stupendous throughout the length and breadth of the country in spite of the difference in topography and climate. I have the practical experience of applying ammonium sulphate in several doses as top-dressing to jute plants and the results obtained were highly satisfactory. I must also add here that the response to the application of additional doses of phosphate was not so encouraging.

Anyway, it has been successfully demonstrated to our agriculturists that the use of ammonium sulphate in different types of crop becomes in the end more than paying. Still one must confess that chemical fertilizers in India have not made much headway so far as an average Indian farmer is concerned. The reason is mainly two-fold: psychological and economic. The psychological factor has already been referred to. The

apprehension that it causes a permanent deterioration in the soil can, however, be dispelled without much difficulty if it has no actual foundation. But the second factor is more baffling and cannot be so easily eradicated. Bold planning and energetic drives are necessary for the purpose.

The poverty of an Indian ryot is proverbial. Though the price† of India-made ammonium sulphate compares favourably with the world price, an average Indian cultivator can hardly afford its use even in small doses. Unless there is sufficient inflow of money in the rural sector, the dream of agricultural regeneration of India is destined to remain unfulfilled. Some steps have already been taken in the right direction. The abolition of the Zamindary system, the creation of the State Bank of India and various co-operative societies, all are expected to augment the purchasing powers of the teeming millions of India.

In the meantime, as a result of central subsidy ammonium sulphate was being made available to cultivators at a specially reduced rate. The subsidised scheme, however, now stands withdrawn and in its place a scheme for providing credits to the agriculturists has been introduced. To enable the cultivators to purchase chemical fertilizers, the Government of India is making available to the States a sum of Rs. 8 crores since the year 1953. This is to be given as loan to be recovered either in cash or in kind at the end of each harvest. Needless to say that this fund is being utilised profitably by the farmers as far as it goes.

The distribution of chemical fertilizers is the responsibility of the Central Fertilizer Pool operated by the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The retail distribution to the cultivators is done by the States through its various agencies. The distribution machinery of the State is further to improve and should aim at establishing a depot in each village. That the chemical fertilizer has taken its roots firmly in the Indian soil can be gauged by the following figures of its consumption in different years:

Years	Consumption of ammonium sulphate (in tons)
1953	276,000
1954	550,000
1955	650,000

At present India produces 340,222 tons of ammonium sulphate and the balance is made by imports. The installed capacity of the existing plants is 426,890 tons. The Second Five-Year Plan proposes to increase the producing capacity of the installed plants besides the establishment of 3 new plants. It has been estimated that about 900,000 tons of nitrogen will be required by 1961 and the Government of India and the Planning Commission are keenly aware of the situation. On the recommendation of the Fertilizer Production Committee, Bhakra-Nangal area has already been tentatively selected as the site of a new plant with a capacity of 200,000 annual tons.

Besides pure ammonium sulphate and superphosphate, certain manufacturers also deal with 'manure-mixture.' Some use machinery for the process of mixing while others do the same by hand. The mixture is generally composed of ammonium sulphate, superphosphate, oil-cakes, bone-meals and muriate of potash. Ammonium sulphate, however, forms the important ingredient of the mixture. Amongst themselves, these manufacturers produce about 200,000 tons annually.

Chemical fertilizers have come to stay. Indigenous production has much reduced our dependence on foreign imports and it also saves about Rs. 12 crores of foreign exchange. It has been estimated that the use of chemical fertilizers has increased our food production alone by about 1,800,000 tons valued at about Rs. 50 crores. Its contribution to commercial crops like jute and cotton and plantations like tea and cocoa is not insignificant. Let us hope that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the country will be self-sufficient in this regard and increase the national prosperity by augmenting the agricultural production of all kinds.

† Rs. 315 per ton at any rail-head in India.

THE MARTYRS

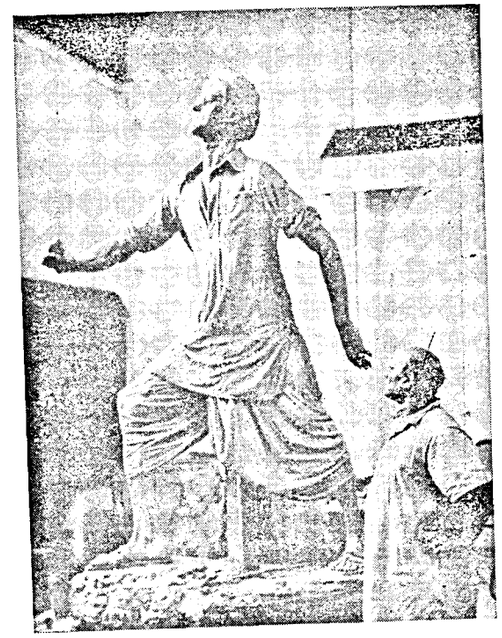
By ARTHUR CARSON

TAKING time off from my work as an art-critic in Britain I have just concluded a two-year stay in South India. During this holiday whilst in Madras, on my friends there insisting that I should meet the Principal of the Madras School of Arts and Crafts, with some misgivings I finally consented and have never regretted taking this decision.

The leader carrying the banner

I found the Principal, Chowdhury, a burly, genial Bengali, who had spent over a decade at this school, was not only a painter and sculptor but a writer of novels in Bengali and at one time a keen *shikari*. His paintings were good, some even outstanding but it was on seeing his sculptures that I got the shock of my life as quite frankly I never expected to find in India such an outstanding sculptor. Looking at the head of his *Father*, his powerful *Thinker* and the *Triumph of Labour* I was reminded of the work of Rodin, especially Chowdhury's group of workers as here in another form was surely something which could be compared with Rodin's work, the *Burghers of Calais*.

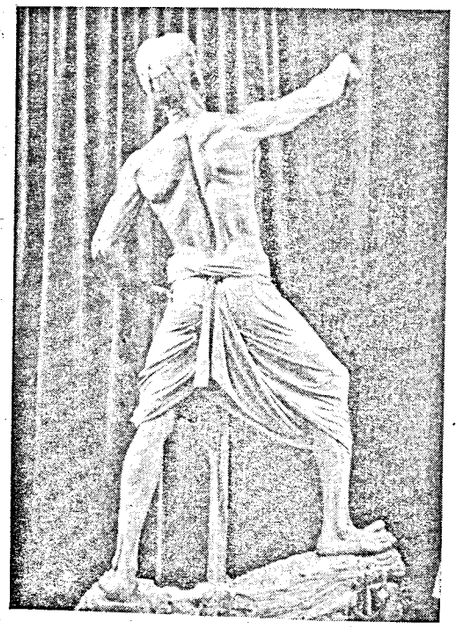
By chance I had discovered a great genius about whom I had never previously heard a word and who if he had shown his sculpture in Europe would by now have been internationally famous. Chowdhury told me that his paintings had been shown in England and Europe but lack of finance had prevented him taking his sculpture there. This did not surprise me but I am of the opinion that it is strange that no patriotic Indian has come forward to supply the necessary financial backing, as, if he had done so he would have brought fame and renown to India.



One of the followers. Mark the determination in his face and also the forward steps

In the process of making

In the course of my first meeting with Chowdhury I was interested to learn that he has another genius in his family as his son is an expert in Indian classical

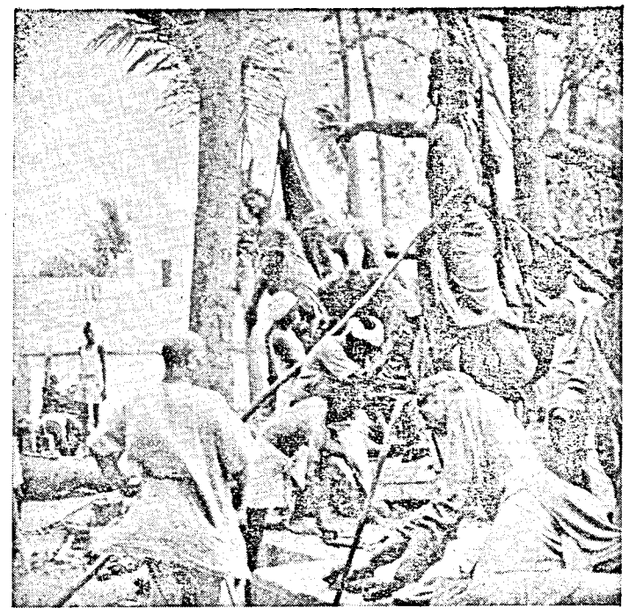


The details of the back muscle in movement in one of the figures of the composition

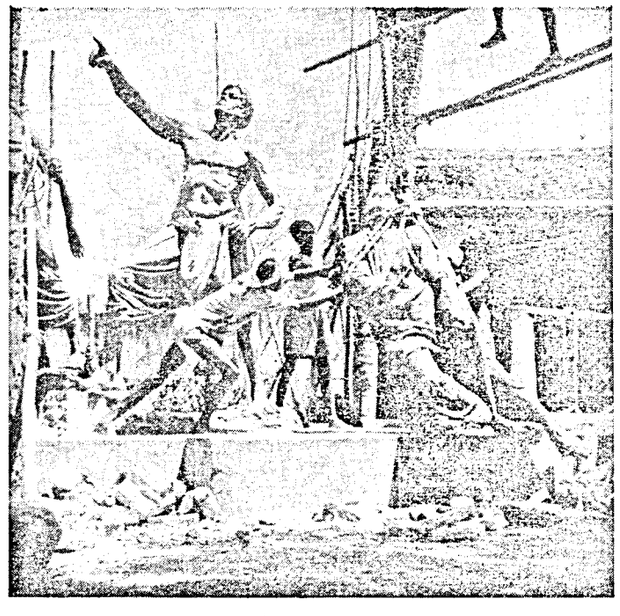
One of the figures of the composition

The dead falling boy

The artist—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition



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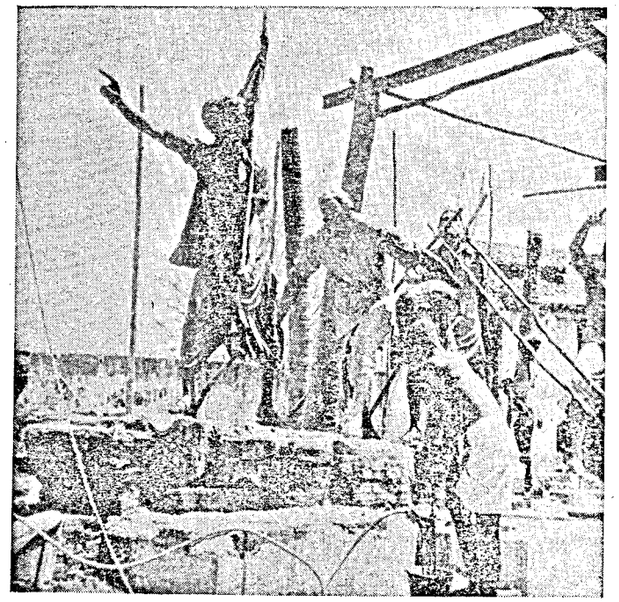

The final bronze casts are being assembled for composition

Full composition seen from a different angle

dancing but perhaps profiting from his father's experience of being 'a prophet without honour or reward in his own country' he had quit India's shores for the more profitable pastures of America.

I had many more meetings with Chowdhury and was privileged to see this master execute another great work, a memorial to the Bihar martyrs, seven Indian lads, who in 1942 attempted to replace the Union Jack, flying on the Patna Secretariat, with the Indian National Flag and were shot dead for their patriotism, in his studio which was far too small, lacking modern equipment and lighting arrangements. Despite this handicap month by month seven gigantic figures, ten to thirteen feet in height and weighing over a ton emerged, first in clay, then plaster and finally in wax.

Chowdhury worked like a man possessed from early morning till the light failed in the evening, putting his heart and soul into it whilst smoking time after time of cigarettes and drinking innumerable cups of tea. He was, however, never too busy to talk to me and surprisingly for a genius to listen with patience to my criticisms. Often after an absence of several days I returned to see with some surprise that no progress had been made, to learn that this was due to dissatisfaction with some aspect of his work, like a badly shaped hand or calf muscle which had meant ruthlessly scrapping it and starting again as Chowdhury was determined that only the best that he knew that he could produce was good enough to show the world the patriotism of India's youth.

The greatest pains in every detail were taken and I was pleased to contribute my own small mite to this work as one evening for over an hour I demonstrated to Chowdhury the attitudes men took when shot dead in the last war.

Over a year passed before the whole was completed and then it was taken to be cast in bronze and even here Chowdhury had to spend long hours in the hot sun supervising this important work, until completed the masterpiece was packed and despatched to Patna.

By this time I had become a friend of Chowdhury but this fact did not influence my opinion of the Bihar Martyrs, the largest of its kind ever executed in the East. I think it is a real masterpiece which when it is unveiled should win the plaudits of not only Indians but also artists throughout the world. I have only two regrets. The first is that events have forced me to leave for U.K. before the unveiling ceremony next month and secondly that despite the arduous labour and great skill that Chowdhury has put into this work, his financial gain, as artists cannot live by just pride in their work, will be so small as the major part goes into the rapacious hands of the Income Tax Collector. I can therefore only express the hope that this work will be the fore-runner of many more which will not only bring financial gain but lasting renown to Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury.

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EGYPT—NASSER

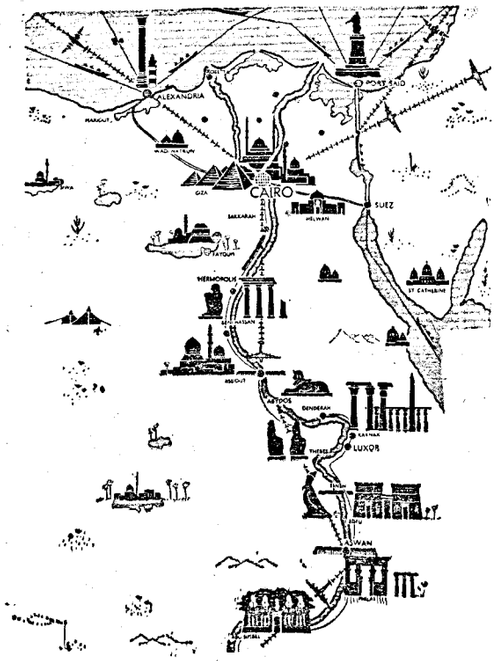
By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

Improvement of the country is the aim of every patriot, while exploitation of the country is the aim of foreign domination. A gigantic scheme for improvement of Egypt is the building of the Assuan Dam, which will give speedy economic relief, provide for a source of livelihood and raise the standard of living of the population of 20 millions, which is increasing at the rate of half a million yearly. An efficient dam will make a kindly river do the work of a million people, like the miracle of the Atom. Such schemes require immense funds—the bigger the amount, the quicker the result When a country cannot afford it, a loan is taken from rich countries, even with reasonable strings; naturally the country that advances funds would insist on seeing that the money is not wasted or mis-applied. An offer of a grant of 70 million dollars from America and England was welcome to Egypt for building the Assuan Dam. But it was suddenly withdrawn, it is said, at the suggestion of Turkey, Iran and Pakisan, because this might reduce the aid they would themselves receive. The withdrawal may also be meant as a lesson to Egypt for not joining the defensive pact in the Middle East, sponsored by the U.K. and the U.S.A. Or it may be due to the fact that arms were supplied by Russia, of the antagonistic world block, although their own supply was withdrawn. The World Bank withdrew the offer of 200 million dollars, as a matter of course. In any case the conditions imposed with the offer were not palatable to Nasser. Egypt could not approach Russia for financing the project, Russia having once declared that the Assuan Dam project would be uneconomic, when the U.K. and the U.S.A. were in the picture, perhaps from a sense of frustration—grapes beyond reach are always sour. However Russia is ready to give all economic help.

Nasser had therefore to look to his own resources. He nationalised the Suez Canal Company located at Port Said, to raise funds for the project. He stood on the ground that the Company has always been an Egyptian Joint Company, registered in Egypt.

Nasser contended that the Suez Canal was built by

Egypt on Egyptian soil and the huge profit that foreign capital was making should be diverted for national purposes. This would touch the pockets of the present investors, mainly English and partly French, who are



Aswan Dam on the Nile locating ancient relics

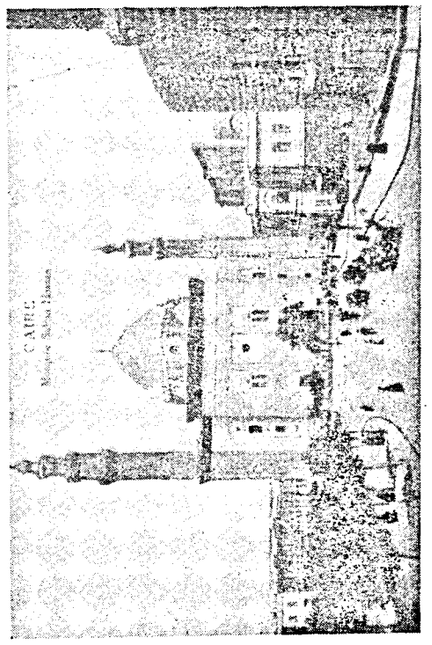
resenting the move. Egypt was getting only 1 million pounds as Royalty out of the easy income of 35 million pounds or 100 million dollars of total profit. This income from the Canal was a very poor return, Nasser asserted, where 120 thousand Egyptians constructed the Canal at the cost of their lives. Nasser expects that with 100 millions every year it would be possible to complete the Dam in 5 years. The dissuading argument is that this would fall far short of buiding the Dam, and the compensation proposed to be paid would take away all the profits, carries no weight, as they are advanced by the losing party. Let us stew in our own juice, the Egyptians would say, it is no concern of others.

The problem is whether there should be International Co-operation, subject to any sovereignty or an International Authority dictating to a subservient ruler. Opinions are sharply divided and in India, there are even people who are spitefully gloating over the West's discomfiture for our old scores, or Pakistan's disappointment for present difference with us. There is a general resentment from Colonial memories at the threats of violence.

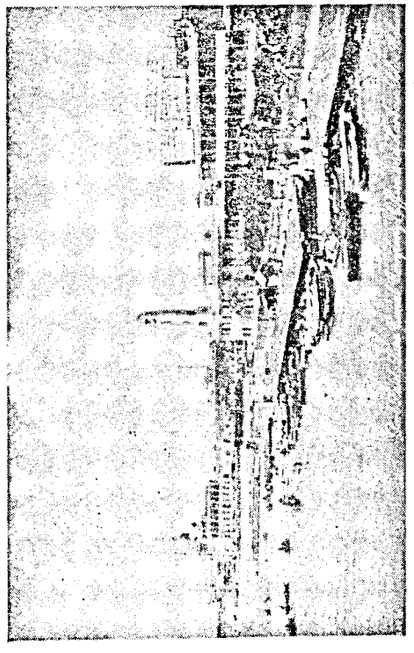
For a long while to come, it would be too much to expect that all water, land and air high-ways of International importance like Aden, Gibralter, Singapur, Panama, etc., which are Imperial strongholds, would be internationalised. The main interested powers are individually at work, threatening Egypt by mobilisation and concentration, adoption of coercive economic measures like freezing Egyptian assets and evacuating their own nationals. They cannot wait to consult the U.N. The whole world will have to suffer economically if they have to use the Cape route. Nasser cannot be blamed if he has taken unusual measures threatening imprisonment (later modified) to prevent a deadlock in Canal navigation for the same reason. It is not like the question of a strike. Nasser has only anticipated the position by 13 years, because in 1968, the final transfer or reversion to the Khedives takes place according to the agreement for 99 years' concession grants to the Canal Company from the Khedives of Egypt. Britain as the largest shareholder would naturally disagree. Surely if Nasser failed to keep the International undertaking, the U.N. could take steps to force him.

The Suez Canal

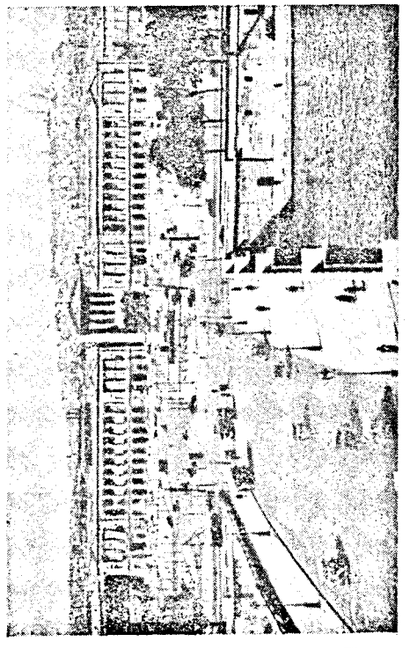
General view of Port Said



Sultan Hassan Mosque, Cairo

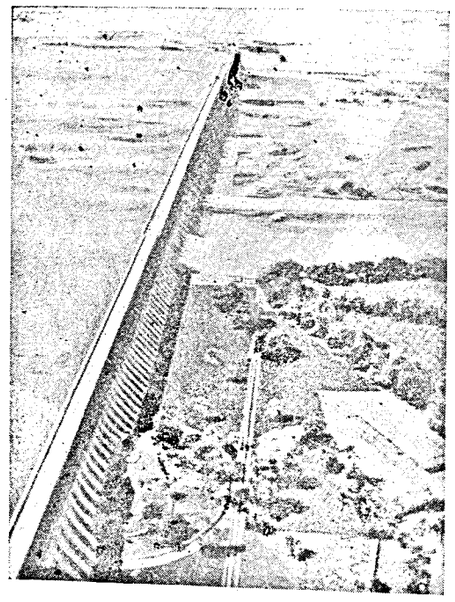


Suez Canal Company's office at Port Said



Cleopatra's needle at Paris

The move was perfectly legal so far as Egypt was concerned internally. We have plenty of examples in different countries of such nationalisation. To cite a few examples, England nationalised her Railways, coal and steel industries without reference to foreign investors; France nationalised her Banking and Insurance; America nationalised the Panama Canal; India nationalised land, Railways, Banking, etc. But the nationalisation of the Suez Canal is supposed to prejudice the International character of shipping through the Canal.



The present Aswan Dam

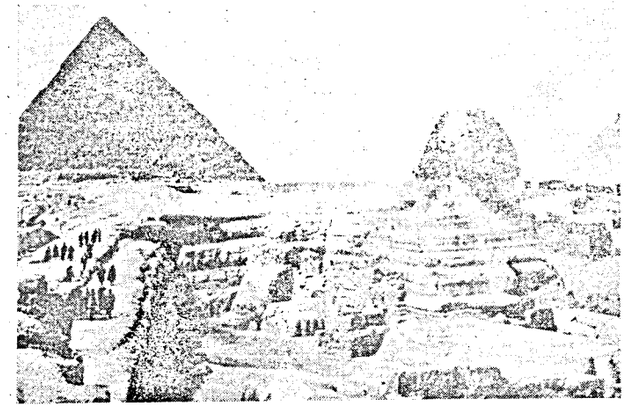
Nasser did not question the validity of the convention of 1858, which granted the freedom of navigation through the Canal, and he takes up all the present assets and liabilities of the Company, honouring all its obligations. The only plea that Nasser cannot be trusted, now appears to be the basis of the arguments of the present investors. Nasser had opposed the Baghdad Pact, supported the Algerians, accepted Soviet arms and has thus antagonised the U.K., France, and the U.S.A. Nasser had obstructed the Israeli passage through the canal. (So would England obstruct her future enemies.) What if he fails to carry on as at present? What if he raises the tools in spite of his assurance to the contrary? What if he levies a double tax by Government and the Canal Company? Surely the instability of Egypt is a point against the solidarity of England for keeping the passage secure. Anyhow peace-time assurance is not enough. Would the canal be secure in war-time for which the British fought, during the last war for her allies? Who knows what will be the alignment is case of another war?

Against Nasser's claim to nationalise the Canal Company, other interested countries protested that the Company was international and was not Egypt's private property. The bones of contention are Suez and the Canal. It would be interesting to go into their past history. The idea of digging the Canal mooted from the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt over 3 thousand years ago and again in 600 B.C. Others including Darius of Persia, several Louises of France and Napoleon were interested in the scheme, when the land was under their respective sway. It was, however, during the middle of the last century after Waghorn, an intrepid Englishman of Eastern services had failed to create an isterest in England (even after strenuous practical demonstrations) about the project, that Ferdinand De Lesseps, a Frenchman of Consular Services, took up the cue. But Egypt refused to grant him the concession at first but when the ruler Khedive changed, it was obtained for 99 years. Lesseps allotted shares of the Company to different countries for the enterprise. France was the biggest sharer of the 14 countries who joined. Britain had opposed the scheme, afraid that the French and Egyptian control will prejudice British interests in the East. When the 103 miles Canal (21 miles through Lakes) was dug, after 15 years of strenuous work and it was opened with great eclat in 1869, in presence of all the ruling princes of Europe, Britain kept aloof. It was not until 1876 that there was a dramatic change of mind from early apathy and with great political insight, Britain bought the shares of the needy Khedive, encouraged to be extravagant and of some others and ultimately obtained the controlling interest in the Canal.

Suez is the dividing line between the East and the West and the locality has been the trade route from very early times. The Canal now has become the high-way of trade, of immense benefit to the East and the West and a great factor in unifying them to the advantage of both. The economy of avoiding the Cape route is substantial. It proved strategically of great international importance during the devastating wars. The security, as already stated, is now in British hands.

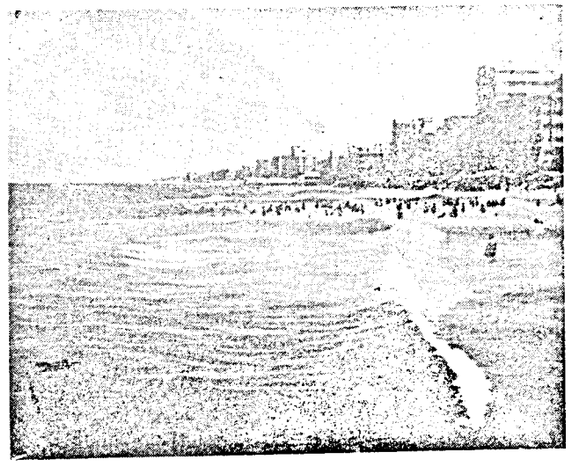
For the place of the Dam in Egyptian history and the back-ground of the Canal Company one has got to go into the long past to study new the river Nile, controlled by dams and barrages affected the lives of people in their earlier civilisation. Nomads, who were wholly occupied in securing food, had come from arid Asia and settled in fertile Egypt, where the bounty of the Nile gave them leisure, when they took to farming, industries such as textiles and mining and trades to dispose of the products. They utilised the leisure for practical science in nature such as Astronomy, Mathematics, land and water measurements, systematic irrigation, etc. The art of writing (Hieroglyphics) was invented very early

and was the stepping stone to further progress in various directions. They have also left us grandiose tombs and temples for gods, where unique architecture shows unsurpassable artistic excellence both in quality and in quantity. The vagaries of the Nile had to be controlled by making efficient dams, using the mud which fertilises the soil and the water which enlivens the crops. The winding Nile flows between two rows of hills in its fertile valley, varying in width from 2 to 120 miles with cataracts or water-falls at various points of its course and the people live on the produce of the valley and the sweet water of the river. During the floods, the river would rise 20 to 30 feet, equal to the height of a two-storied building. The rainfall being only 1½ ins. in the whole year, the valley would go dry, when there is no flood. Hence the necessity of control. Flood water is stored in lakes formed by dams and distributed in times of drought by opening gates in the dam through canals. Barrages or low dams without gates cause the flood-water to pass into canals on both sides by raising the level of the water, while the excess water passes over. The excellence of such control practised through ages testifies to the high standard to which this early civilisation reached. (The present Dam at the first cataract at Assuan is 1¼ miles long and 147 feet high, 46 feet being added since its opening in 1902. A higher and bigger Dam is in contemplation now). Great cities and huge pyramids were built. All these enormously ambitious public works, requiring mobilisation of population, prove the development of a disciplined society, which was possible under a socialistic monarchy. To the animal divinites of the nomads were added the Nature gods of farmers—the Sun influencing seasons and crops; the Nile influencing vegetation; the Earth influencing fecundity and so on, with their respective names.



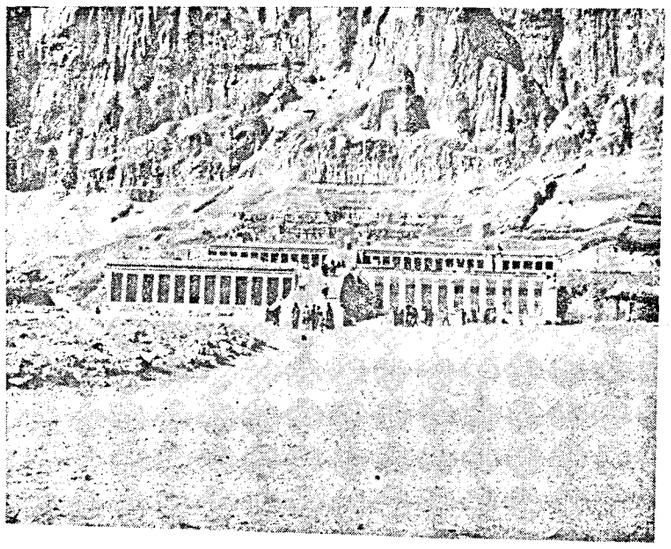
The Pyramid and the Sphynx

From between 5,000 and 4,000 years B.C. 330 kings of 31 dynasties or succeeding families had ruled in Egypt, while Abraham and Moses lived and before Caesar and Christ were born. Fifteen years for each king also aggregate to 5,000 years. Cairo or Thenkis, as it was called, was the original capital. The first sovereign was Menes of the First dynasty who made another Capital at Thebes, 200 miles up the Nile to unify the country. The huge Pyramids (highest 450 feet, with Sphynx close to it) on the desert lands west of Cairo were built of big blocks of stones wonderfully carried across the river from the hills on the east side. They are one of the wonders of the world and date from 3,000 to 2,000 B.C. from the third dynasty. During the 6th dynasty expansion took place towards Asia but the capital was removed to Thebes for the consolidation of the country. The Pharaohs of the 11th and 12th dynasties instead of wasting time on sepuchral glory, diverted their energy to agriculture and commerce, and the empire extended to Palestine and Syria. Ueartson of the 12th dynasty (about 2,430 B.C.)



General view of Alexandria

however built many temples at Heliopolis near Cairo and decorated them with red granite obelisks, later known as Cleopatra's needles, now beautifying London, Paris and New York. During the 15th to 17th dynasties, the Hyksos, a wandering tribe from Asia, drove the Pharaohs to the south and occupied the country (2,100 to 1,600 B.C.). During this period, the Israelites, due to famine or insecure conditions, migrated for 433 years to Egypt, where they were persecuted and confined to the country of Goshen, until Moses



Tombs of kings

miraculously crossed the Red Sea and after many tribulations conquered Canaan or Palestine about 1,300 B.C. Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty (1635 to 1390 B.C.) drove away the Hyksos and extended the kingdom to Asia and removed the capital to Thebes about 1,550 B.C. At thebes there were rocks round about and numerous temples and tombs began to be built in place of Pyramids at Luxor and Karnak, east of the Nile and in the valley of the Tombs of Kings, opposite. Valuable furniture and precious metal articles and ornaments, all conveniences and house-hold effects (in the belief that the dead would return to life) used to be keept in tombs with the well-preserved dead bodies or *mummies*. These have been unearthed in recent times, giving the world, the history of ancient Egypt, despite the depredations of robbers through all the ages. About 1,500 B.C. Egypt grew very strong under the two Rameses of the 19th dynasty (1580 to 1150) and the empire extended far into Asia. The Capital was brought back to Neksis or Cairo, the present capital of majestic mosques and minqrets. The bronze age of which many unique examples are extant was now followed by the iron age, and others got the better of Egypt, bereft of iron. The 25th dynasty was of the hated Ethioptans. The 26th having been defeated by Nebuchadnazar of Babylon, the Pharaohs were not only pushed back from Asia but driven to the South. Later they came back but after Alexander's conquest (323 B.C.) and the foundation of Alexandria which has grown to a fine modern town and port, the Greeks drove them finally to the North and left the Ptolemies to rule up to 30 B.C. (Cleopatra). This was followed by the Roman rule.

Since A.D. 641, after Mohammed had preached the Islam, Egypt came under the Mohammedans in their proselytizing drive towards Spain. Saladin and the Mamelukes can be mentioned in its long history. It was nominally subject to Turkey, the Khalifa being the spiritual head of all Muslims. In the early nineties, after the Napoleonic wars, it was under the joint financial control of France and England and from 1822 the control became really British. The Canal was dug in 1854-69 and the interest shifted from Egypt to the canal. British occupation began in 1882. The nominal head in Egypt was the Khedive with British advisors. As a protectorate under the Turkish Sultan in 1902, Britain was paying a yearly tribute to Turkey against various rights according to the convention of 1888. This arrangement ended in 1914, when Turkey joined Germany and lost the War. The British took over Egypt as it was—a protectorate uder its own Sultan, until Kamal Pasha dissolved the Khaliphate and Turkey became a republic, so Egypt becme independent in 1922. In establishing King Faud's reign, Britain insisted upon her own right to guard the Swez Canal, to protect the interests of foreigners so as to prohibit intervention in Egypt by any other power. The Wafdist or Nationalist party very strongly resisted this intervention, and in 1954 ten thousand British soldiers and 400 pilots had to leave the canal. In the meantime, Naguib, the leader was found wanting and the military commander Col. Nasser took up the reins as president of the Republic.

WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Review of Work During 1951-55

During the four years between 1951-52 and 1954-55, a sum of Rs. 20 crores was spent on the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled and Tribal Areas. Of this sum, about Rs. 10 crores were sanctioned by the Government of India as grants-in-aid to various State Governments. The Central grant for the First Five-Year Plan for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of these Areas was Rs. 15 crores, and it is hoped that the balance of Rs. 5 crores will be utilised during 1955-56.

This has been disclosed in the 1954 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Report also points out that in 1954, the Commissioner had visited the interior-most regions inhabited by Scheduled Tribes in the country, particularly in the States, among others, of Bihar, Bombay,

Girls of the Bhil tribe in the Dungrapur Community Project area in Rajasthan

Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

The Commissioner's suggestions for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas are thus based on the experience and data he had gathered during these tours.

Educational Schemes

The report says the impressive progress had been made in the field of education for the Scheduled Tribes. This is apparant from the fact that while in 1952, 911 applications were received from the Scheduled Tribes for scholarships for post-Matric students by the Government of India, the number of such applications in 1954 rose to 2,485. The ashram schools and boarding schools for tribal students have also proved popular. In addition, reservation has been made in the selection of students to public schools for children of the Scheduled Tribes.

A sum of Rs. 12.65 lakhs had also been provided for the grant of scholarships for students belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, while there was a scheme for sending advanced students to foreign countries for further studies.

Problem of Shifting Cultivation

The Report remarks that one of the most difficult problems of the Scheduled Tribes was of shifting cultivation. It is admitted that while it would not be possible to settle all the tribals who had been practising shifting cultivation on the plains, the Report emphasises the necessity of devising some alternative method to stop this wasteful form of cultivation.

In Rajasthan, the Scheduled Tribes, known as Kathodias, who had no houses and and lands of their own, are, however, being settled. The most backward of Secheduled Areas (like Bastar and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh, Malkingri area of Koraput district in Orissa, Lahaul and Spiti in the Punjab, and Rajadera and Mahuadand of Latehar sub-division of Palamau district in Bihar), popularly known as merged areas, where semi-slavish conditions existed and which had so far been neglected, were also being developed in different States.

The Report has suggested various other welfare schemes for Scheduled Tribes. In Bombay, the Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1.5 lakhs for Forest Labour Co-operative Societies which will improve economic conditions of tribals inhabiting the forests. Similar schemes in other Scheduled Areas for tribal people could be useful, says the Report.

Tribes Advisory Councils

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, Tribes Advisory Councils have been set up in all the States having Scheduled Areas, namely, Andhara, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, and in West Bengal which has Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas. District councils for this purpose have also been organised in all the autonomous districts of Assam, with the exception of the Naga Hills district. In the Pawi-Lakher region of the Mizo district, a regional council has been set up. These councils, the Report remarks, are working satisfactorily.

Todas of Nilgiris

The Report states that much progress had been made in the scheme for converting the Todas of Nilgiris into good agriculturists by giving them land and agricultural implements. Medical facilities provided for them under the scheme have also eliminated disease and resulted in checking the gradual decrease in their population.

Conferences

It is also mentioned that two conferences were held in December 1954, to consider schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and other matters relating to it.

The first conference was attended, among others, by State Ministers and officials concerned with work relating to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, Members of Parliament, and members of the Executive Committee of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. This Conference was arranged by the Party Standing Committee on Tribal Affairs, comprising tribal Members of both Houses of Parliament, and was presided over by Shri B. N. Datar, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs. The speeches made at, and the papers received in connection with, this conference have now been printed in the form of a brochure.

An official conference following it was held under the chairmanship of Shri L. M. Shrikant. The official conference considered priorities for the formulation of welfare schemes, submission of six-monthly progress reports, basis of making grants-in-aid by the Central Government, and collection of material for the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Report says that these conferences have proved useful, as such occasions provide opportunities to bring officials and non-officials together on one platform to discuss problems connected with the welfare schemes.

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FUTURE PROGRAMME FOR LAC DEVELOPMENT

Second Plan Schemes for Improved Production and Research

By M. S. RANDHAWA, I.C.S.
President, Indian Lac Cess Committee

In order to draw up a clear programme of development, it appears necessary to recapitulate the problems facing lac cultivation and industry. These problems are inter-related and are not to be viewed in isolation. It has, therefore, to be ensured that co-ordinated and all-embracing measures are taken in a systematic manner.

For the sake of convenience these problems may be outlined and classified under the following main heads:

(1) Problem of prices,
(2) Production of lac,
(3) Related problems of marketing from the field to the export stage,
(4) Problem of demand and organisation of foreign markets,
(5) Research in dealing with all the problems. Research into scientific aspects of cultivation, manufacture and utilisation has to play an important role.

Stabilization of Prices

All Enquiry Committees which have been set up from time to time, right from the time of enquiry by Messrs Lindsay and Harlow to that of the recent Report on Lac by Dr. Jordan, have viewed with great concern the fluctuations in prices and increasing competition from Siamese lac as well as from synthetic materials. This instability in prices has been attributed to speculation, elasticity of demand of shellac, its dependence on too many industires due to comparatively small quantities being used in most of the industries, too much dependence on foreign demand, and wide fluctuation in annual production levels.

Though different solutions have been suggested from time to time for this vexed and intericate problem of price fluctuations, all interests seem to hold the unanimous view that *fatka* or speculation should altogether be banned. It is gratifying to note that with effect from December 27, 1954, the Government of India prohibited all forward contracts in seedlac and shellac except those on non-transferable specific delivery basis. It appears necessary that this control over speculation should be rigidly exercised in future as well.

Recently the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee made the suggestion that maximum and minimum prices of both seedlac and shellac be fixed periodically at the export stage. It assumed that prices at manufacture and cultivation levels would adjust to the two sets of regulated prices at Calcutta, *viz.*, the selling price for delivery to the shippers and the export price for shipments. In addition it was hoped that the co-operation of importers would be forthcoming as the fixation of maximum prices would be to their interest.

Against the above view of the Bihar Shellac Enquiry Committee, it has been held that when the demand of seedlac and shellac is so elastic and when the market depends on the conditions in other industries in foreign countries, any attempt to regulate prices would not be successful, unless the Government were prepared to buy the reserve stock and release it as required in order to regulate the price level which may eventually take the form of State Trading.

Production of Sticklac

Lindsay and Harlow in their report stressed the need for increasing the production of lac in the country. A similar view was expressed by the London Shellac Traders' Association. Thus, it has been held all the time that lac production should be stepped up as a pre-requisite to normal and sound trade in lac. Unfortunately, there has been a decline in the country's production of lac, particularly of the best variety, *i.e.*, *kusmi* lac. It has, therefore, been decided that the future programme of work must include measures to increase the production of lac, including the better quality *kusmi* lac. As regards the current average annual production of 11½ lakh maunds, a target of 16 lakh maunds has been fixed for the Second Five-Year Plan period and is to be achieved by 1961.

In the realisation of the above target, some difficulties and limiting factors have to be kept in view and overcome. Production of lac is dependent on both the host plant and the insect and, therefore, a judicious exploitation of both, without detriment to either, is necessary and this can be achieved only by adopting improved and scientific methods of lac cultivation. Unlike other agricultural crops the production of lac is ordinarily only three to four times the broodlac (seed) used and this retards quick achievement of production targets.

The High Tension Transformer at the Indian Lac Research Institute, Ranchi

A serious menace that has to be faced is theft, because the lac hosts are found scattered over large areas. The solution of this problem seems to be in the organisation of co-operative societies of lac growers and also by empowering the village panchayats to deal with cases of thefts in a suitable deterrent manner, instead of following the lengthy course of police reports and trial in courts.

Schemes for Second Plan Period

Another important handicap in increasing lac production is the shortage of broodlac felt at the time of crop infections. This is due partly to climatic factors in some localities where brood arrival is poor and partly to the lac crop being cut out of fear of theft. In order to overcome this difficulty, it has been proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan to set up a number of broodlac farms throughout the major lac-growing areas of the country. For the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, it has been proposed that 50 brood farms be established. These broodlac farms will consist of compact areas containing sufficient number of host plants in suitable localities and will be able to supplement the brood supply of the locality.

Emphasis will be laid on methods to preserve or produce broodlac in addition to the study of other aspects of lac cultivation. There are indications from work already under progress at the Lac Research Institute, that it is possible to produce more brood through cultivation on other important minor hosts known for better brood-carrying capacity and also on certain hosts under crop and bush conditions, such as on *Albizzia lucida* and *Cajanus Cajan* (*arhar*).

Further, necessary extension service for giving technical advice to cultivators is also being organised and strengthened under a special branch of the Indian Lac Cess Committee. It is proposed to make use of the services of the extension and village-level workers under the Community Projects and National Extension Service Administrations for lac work, and these workers in the important lac-growing areas will be given sufficient training for lac extension work.

Apart from the above, it is asso necessary to secure for lac cultivators a fair and reasonable price. without which there may not be adequate incentive for increased production of lac.

IMPROVING MARKETING AND CREDIT FACILITIES

The cultivators of lac are mostly illiterate and economically backward. The primary producer of lac does not receive the full benefit of his labours. To improve his lot and to provide him with sufficient incentive, proposals under consideration are the formation of co-operative purchase and sales societies for each block under the National Extesion Service Scheme known as "Vikas Mandals" which should undertake purchase and sale of sticklac in addition to other produce. At important marketing centres of stick-lac, separate co-operative societies for dealing in this commodity and for providing suitable storage godowns are proposed to be set up. These co-operative societies and other measures would not only provide financial aid to lac growers but would also prevent, to a certain extent, the adulteration of sticklac, thereby improving the quality.

AIR-CONDITIONED GODOWNS PROPOSED

As regards manufacturers, factories in existence at present vary widely in their capacities. The smaller ones are naturally in difficulties as regards finance, storage facilities, etc. Added to this is the problem of transport of the produce from the production centres to the chief trade centre at Calcutta. As a measure of relief from these difficulties, it has been proposed to establish during the Second Five-Year Plan two air-conditioned godowns where seedlac and shellac can be conveniently stored.

Another relief that can be expected with the establishment of these air-conditioned godowns is with respect to finance. So far banks have not been coming forward to grant loans on the security of stores of seedlac and shellac presumably because of uncertainties about their qualities. Shellac and seedlac keep well under air-conditioned storage and quality can easily be ascertained by reference to any one of the seven regional testing laboratories, also proposed to be established under the Second Five-Year Plan. Amalgamation of smaller factories into an economic larger unit working on a co-operative basis also needs attention.

The only centre of export and trading is Calcutta. With the withdrawal of some of the important firms from the shellac market, the financial conditions of the shellac market have deteriorated and needs to be strengthened. It has also been suggested that for the ultimate stability of the commodity and benefit of the country, trade practices are to be watched and improved upon in co-operation with established trade associations, such as, the Calcutta Shellac Trade Association.

Although at Calcutta there is air-conditioned storage available, there is none exclusively for lac. It has, therefore, been proposed that one air-conditioned godown should be set up at Calcutta which will meet a long-felt want there.

STATISTICS

Another handicap in arriving at policy decisions arises from the inadequacy and inaccuracy of statistics. Some statistics have hitherto been collected by the Indian Lac Cess Committee on a voluntary basis. Manufacturers as well as traders in Calcutta have not been sufficiently co-operative in this respect. The question of improvement in the matter of collection of statistics on lac is under consideration.

PROBLEM OF DEMAND

While it is essential that the foreign markets be preserved and exports of shellac be increased as far as possible, it is necessary that the internal consumption of shellac and seedlac is also increased and fresh markets are explored so that exports are diversified.

Suggested measures to stimulate exports or at least keep them at present levels are: improvement in the quality of goods, provision of technical services and intensified study of markets.

Progress of work relating to the formation of international standards has to be accelerated. It is also proposed by the Government of India that a laboratory for certifying quality of exports of seedlac and shellac be established in Calcutta.

Efforts would be made to induce the potential consumers of shellac in the country, in particular, Railways, transport organizations and Defence Service establishments, to use shellact in as many of their requirements as possible. The endeavour would be to stimulate interest amongst consumers and help them in their technical problems on the utilization of shellac through better liaison and wider publicity. It is proposed to bring out a non-technical publication for dealing with all aspects of lac consumption and marketing.

RESEARCH

Work has already commenced on preparation of a Monograph on Lac which would summarize the research work so far done. The research activities of the Indian Lac Research Institute are also proposed to be re-organized. On the cultivation (Entomological) side, the Second Reviewing Committee which is being appointed shortly will be required to draw up a programme of work. One proposal that has already been accepted is setting up of some field research stations in important lac-growing States for a study of the problems confronting lac cultivators in the locality and finding suitable solutions for the same.

On the manufacturing side, the Institute has proposed that investigations be carried out on the possibility of eliminating the drudgery involved in the indigenous method of shellac manufacture, thus relieving the distress of the workers there. Attention is also to be directed towards more economic recovery and utilization of by-products.

Bleached lac is one form of lac which has not been manufactured in this country in any quantity due to some technical difficulties in its production. These have now been overcome and the Institute is now in a position to prepare bleached lac of satisfactory and exportable quality. A pilot plant is, therefore, proposed to be set up which, if successful, is expected to lead to the establishment of a full-scale manufacturing plant.

The above outline of the future programme of development relating to lac cultivation, industry and utilization would indicate that considerable effort is called for to rehabilitate this industry and save it from the severe competition that it is facing from synthetic materials. It appears that lac has a future, and will not be ousted by other materials if timely and co-ordinated action is taken by the various interests concerned.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BY SACHIN SEN GUPTA

IN his *Letters from Russia* Poet Tagore wrote that his life's pilgrimage would have ended in the woods had he not visited the Soviet Union.

Tagore had travelled all over the world as a pilgrim athirst for a knowledge leading to the discovery of the secret of man's fulfilment. But although he had found, he said, several instances of remarkable progress achieved piecemeal, here and there, in every country he visited, nowhere, save in the Soviet Union, could he discover a system that envisaged the elevation of the entire people into a higher plane of existence sharing in common with every individual all the amenities of life, not as benevolent throw-outs but as fundamental human rights.

Tagore visited the Soviets as far back as 1930. But even in those earlier days of rehabilitation of a distressed Russia, he was amazed to find the tremendous progress the Soviet Union, including the Asian Republics, had achieved in the fields of education, agriculture and industry. He has discribed in details all the material and psychological changes that led to the re-birth of a group of nations under the Soviet system.

Theodore Draiser, an American writer of world-wide fame and a die-hard supporter of individualism as against communism, visited Russia earlier than Tagore did. He has in his monumental documentary *Draiser Looks at Russia,* predicted that the system Russia had adopted would, in spite of some of its inner contradictions and lop-sided lapses, enable her, in ten to twenty years, catch up, if not surpass, the United States of America.

The present President of the United States of America visited Moscow immediately after the collapse of the fascist powers in Europe when he had been working as the Supreme Commander of the allied forces. He wrote in his book *Crusade in Europe* :

> "Everywhere we saw evidence of a simple, sincere and personal devotion to Russia—a patriotism that was usually expressed in the words, 'But this is Mother Russia and therefore it was not hard.' A group of workers in the Stormovik factory told me that their work-week during the war was eighty-four hours, and they proudly stated that the factory's attendance record was something over ninety-four per cent. Many of the workers were women and children and it is difficult to see how, with their meagre rations and serious lack of transportation facilities, they could have maintained such a record. The same was true on farms."

The Supreme Commander had, obviously, a mixed feeling for the Russians. He both liked and disliked them. He could not but like them because of the victory they had carried to the doors of their comrades-in-war. And he disliked them because of their communism, and their practice of collectivism. He was impressed by the patriotism of the factory workers and farmers; by their collective will to win the war; and yet he hesitated to accept his own observations and the information he received from the workers themselves. He had written that he could not comprehend how patriots with meagre rations and lack of transportation facilities could maintain high attendance, although as a Supreme Commander he had witnessed how the patriotic Red Army had conquered hunger and craving for personal comforts when it had rolled back the fascist aggressors and had routed them. His son Lieutenant Eisenhower had hit the Bull's eye right through, as the Supreme Commander had himself confided to his readers, by proposing a toast reported to be as follows :

> "I have been in Russia several days and have listened to many toasts. I have heard the virtues of every allied ruler, every prominent marshal, general, admiral and air-commander toasted. I have yet to hear a toast to the most important Russian in World War II. Gentlemen, will you please drink with me to the common soldier of the Great Red Army?"

Victory attained, the Supreme Commander came to realise that the United States and Russia emerged from the war as the two most powerful nations of the globe.

Draiser's prediction proved to be true indeed. Russia had caught up America if not in the economic sphere, but certainly in the sphere of military activity in defeating the common ememy to justify the remark quoted above. But at what cost had Russia emerged from the war as one of the two most powerful nations? The Supreme Commander gave an account of that also. He wrote:

"The experience of Russia in World War II was a harsh one. The year 1941 saw the entire Western portion of that country overrun by the Nazis. From the region of Volga westward, almost everything was destroyed. When we flew into Russia, in 1945, I did not see a house standing between the Western borders of the country and the area around Moscow. Through this overrun region, Marshal Zhukov told me, so many numbers of women and children and old men had been killed that the Russian Government would never be able to estimate the total. Some of their great cities had been laid waste and until November 1942 there seemed to be little hope that their desperate defense could hold off the enemy until their industries could be rehabilitated and the Western Allies could get into the War in force."

Russia had not only rehabilitated her industries and resisted the avalanche of aggression but drove the war demon back to his lair and destroyed it there, may be, not without substantial assistance from the Supreme Commanders' Western armies. The irresistibility of the collective will of a people which Russia demonstrated by the liberation, not only of her own lost territories, but also the lands of her neighbouring states, was conspicuous by its absence in France and other Western countries whose systems were, in the opinion of the Supreme Commander, superior to what Russia had established. But the world knows that the social and political system of France, also said to be based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' could not save her from the indignity of an abject surrender; nor could it put a stop to acts of individual cowardice and the spread of mass demoralisation and corruption, admitted and bewailed by no less a personality than Marshal Petain himself.

But history had a different tale to tell in regard to Russia. In spite of Russia's being what General Eisenhower described as "dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat seemed in Western eyes to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men" each individual man and woman and child of Soviet Russia during the war rose up to the occasion in dignity and stature to defend the mother-land as well as to keep the factories and farms producing what the war-needs demanded of them. The more the Nazis pressed hard on Russia, the more the strength did Russia gather from her people, and the more dynamic grew her resistance and her determined will to achieve victory. France under similar pressure fell flat in a state of static collapse and utter disintegration. What her system failed to inculcate into her people was astoundedly aroused in the people of Russia by her system although 'Western eyes' as told by the Supreme Commander "found it to be engulfed in a form of statism under the absolute direction of a few men."

From the historical facts mentioned above one can reasonably conclude that either 'Western eyes' see things from a wrong angle, or their much-vaunted individual liberty and human dignity are of no real worth. Repeated social and political revolutions in western lands establish that individual liberty must have had suffered supression at the hands of a few grabbers of power, and human dignity very often lowered to the dust by their lust. Had the western democracies succeeded in giving entire satisfaction to their people, no revolution would have occurred anywhere in the west, and their systems would have, by now, made this world beautiful and bountiful a place for mankind to live in. Even the much-hated Nazism and Fascism were not born of any dictatorship of the proletariat, but of a gross injustice done, knowingly and willingly, by the upholders of 'individual liberty and human dignity', with a view to appropriating to themselves as much of the spoils of World War I as were possible to snatch away from the weakened and the defeated nations. Not was the Versailles Treaty a manipulation of any dictatorship of the proletariat. It was nothing more than a document of greed and vindictive perversity of Western Democracies that were found of swearing by individual liberty and human dignity, but were always found to be bent on crushing both in order to satisfy their lust for land and greed for gold and power.

Britain is said to be the cradle of western democracy. This democratic Britain denied individual liberty to millions of people of the world and deprived them of the slightest vestige of human dignity. Even at home, her ideal democracy could not save her from being hoodwinked into a danger that had almost brought her nearer to extinction by a few party-men headed by Prime Minister Chamberlain. In his world-famous *History of the World* H. G. Wells wrote:

"In March 1938, Mr. Litvinov, the Russian Foreign Minister, proposed that the Governments of Britain, France, America and Soviet Russia should confer on the necessity of getting together for common action to prevent further aggression, particularly in central Europe. This was a plain and obvious suggestion, which might have averted the European struggle altogether or nipped it in the bud, but the anti-communist mania of the British conservative majority was much more powerful than its apprehension of the German danger up to the very eve of the declaration of war against Germany. This proposal

which was re-echoed by Stalin in March 1939 and by Molotov in May—with the added revelation that Britain and France had refused to guarantee the Baltic States in association with Russia against German aggression—remained the declared and consistently observed policy of Russia."

One feels tempted to question the powers: Which of the systems worked honourably and with human dignity? Were they the Western Democracies based on 'individual liberty and human dignity' or was it Russia, 'dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat's? Well, it is better to know what H.G. Wells had to say'. He continued his narrative as follows:

"There followed threats of war and some fantastic negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain went far in his efforts to propitiate the common enemy. His policy has since been repudiated by the British people, but at that time he certainly had them solidly behind him. He went to and fro to Munich, and let it never be forgotten that when he came back to the airport of Heston, after abandoning Dr. Benes, rejecting the plain necessity of a prompt collective suppression of Germany by Russia, France, Britain and Czechoslovakia, and surrendering every military advantage Czechoslovakia possessed, bringing in return a worthless scrap of paper signed by Hitler, and that when he announced to the crowd in Downing Street that 'It is peace in our time, my good friends. And now I recommend you to go home and sleep quietly in your beds,' He was received with rapturous applause. Let us never forget that. They went to sleep."

The anti-communist mania once again gained the upper hand in that ideal land of democracy based on 'individual liberty' and 'human dignity', and paved smooth the way for Nazi aggression in Eastern and Western Europe. H. G. Wells further commented:

"In the harsh regime of nature the penalties for folly and feebleness have always been as heavy as the penalties for folly and crime, and now Britain and all mankind are paying for this mean evasion of honour and duty."

We have the answer we had waited for. Were Wells alive to-day he would have given us his opinion on General Eisenhower's thesis on systems. But history has not death to die. It continues to tell mankind that France and Britain, two leaders of Western Democracy, based on 'individual liberty and human dignity' evaded honour and duty to appease Germany while she was preparing herself to inflict death-blows against all democracies; and that Russia consistently and persistently appealed to them to take a united stand against the fascist powers that had endangered world-peace and human liberty, both individual and collective.

I refer to these historical facts and take recourse to profuse quotations from the writings of thought-leaders to emphasise that systems of nations should be only judged by the historic roles they play to advance the cause of human progress, and not by phrases used to describe them by their framers and founders. Every nation has the right to found its own system consistent with the growth of its own people without any interference from another. Every nation has also the right to propagate the principles on which its system stands.

The world had witnessed many an 'ism' known as 'systems' in the process of its progress forward. All religious, political and social 'isms' came to be guiding principles due to man's constant anxiety to go ahead. Any 'ism' that had assured man of this single objective, had been welcomed by man with great enthusiasm. As basically every 'ism' took its form out of man's desire, man had been, more or less, in stages of his onward move, benefited by each of them. But in God's own creation, as well as in man's, designing self-seekers had never been scarce. They had always taken advantage of systems. It is through those self-seekers that mankind had suffered terrible hardships and privations. Man, therefore, longed for communal systems. They came to him, in successive ages as political republics; as religious sects, fraternities, faiths and institutions; as business guilds, companies, co-operatives; as democracies, which today claim the closest attention and the loudest acclamation. But never could any of those communal organisations keep itself free from devices of designing persons who claimed special privileges, propagated dogmatic theses to split the community into irreconcilable groups, and adopted various other disruptive methods. It is due to them that republics and democracies waged wars of conquests, encouraged traffic in slaves, perpetuated serfdom; that religious bodies grew into fanatic factions; that kings claimed divine rights; that the church amassed wealth and corruption; that sons of revolutions usurped sovereignty that were taken back by its original owners from the kings and emperors. For centuries in succession mankind suffered but sought to gain victory over the evil forces of selfish individuals and grabbers of powers working through political, social, religious and industrial institutions.

The first note of man's protest, in many years, was sounded amidst rumblings of howitzers, buzzings of bombers, and wailings of the losers of crowns and kingdoms. This protest came from the Russians, who refused to be pulled by their noses for slaughter on the altars of war-gods. Be it remembered that this righteous revolt against thoughtless submission to war-maniacs was effected by a people who were never blessed by a system based on 'individual liberty and human dignity,' and who were, for generations, treated as beasts of burden denied of every human right. Nevertheless, it was definitely a glorious beginning of man's march on the victory. Russia walked out of World War I and concluded a separate peace with Germany with this faith glowing in her bosom that a secured peace on

on the western front would lend her strength to secure peace and happiness for her people, not through passivist inaction, but through an active revolution. With peace-cry on her lips Russia started a revolution. And she could have succeeded to work out the revolution peacefully had not some of the Western Powers fomented rebellions within her territories and organised actual acts of aggressions from without. H.G. Wells gave the world this picture of powers whose systems were said to be based on individual liberty and human dignity:

"The Western European and American Governments were themselves much too ill-informed and incapable to guide or help this extraordinary experiment, and the press set itself to discredit and the ruling classes to wreck these usurpers upon any terms and at any cost to themselves or to Russia. A propaganda of abominable and disgusting inventions went on unchecked in the press of the world. The Bolshevik leaders were represented as incredible monsters glutted with blood and plunder and living lives of sensuality before which the realities of the Tsarist court during the Rasputin's regime paled to a white purity. Expeditions were launched at the exhausted country, insurgents and raiders were encouraged, armed, and subsidized; and no method of attack was too mean or too monstrous for the frightened enemies of the Bolshevik regime. In 1919 the Russian Bolsheviks ruling a country already exhausted and disorganised by five years of intensive warfare were fighting a British Expedition at Archangel, Japanese invaders at East Siberia, Rumanians with French and Greek contingents in the south, the Russian Admiral Kolchak in Siberia and General Denikin, supported by the French fleet, in the Crimea. In the July of that year an Estonian army under General Yudenich, almost got to Petersburg. In 1920 the Poles, incited by the French, made a new attack on Russia, and a new reactionary raider, General Wrangel, took over the task of General Denikin in invading and devastating his own country. In March 1921, the sailors at Kronstadt revolted. The Russian Government under its president, Lenin, survived all these various attacks. It showed an amazing tenacity, and the common people of Russia sustained it unswervingly under conditions of extreme hardship."

History has no parallel to the above; neither in the abominability of such a conspiracy to crush a nation and its new-born spirit, nor in the intensity and the universality among an entire people of that invincible spirit. This is the new spirit that has led the Russian people to work wonders. It has passed beyond her borders to inspire people with the hope of the re-birth of all the peoples of the globe. It is greater than the system Russia has founded. It is greater than communism itself. It is much too greater to be kept as a national acquisition within the bounds of a state as Buddhism or Christianity or Islam could not be kept confined in the lands of their births, and as philosophies and arts and letters and scientific discoveries could not be made monopoly commodities of nations initially achieving them. One has to realise this, keeping himself free from traditional proclivities, free from any bias for any particular pattern of system, free from any ideological inhibition.

Tagore, more than anyone else we know, was free from all obsessions and shackles of all 'isms.' Hence, from what he saw in Russia, he could imagine the dawning of a day when man would no longer unman man by his own social and political systems but would create by his own efforts congenial conditions to be blossomed forth petal by petal into all the glories of man's fulfilment. This hope he expressed in his *Letters from Russia* as also he did it in his "Crisis in Civilization," his last thought on the wickedness of Western Powers. He had discovered a new type of man growing all over Russia.

Draiser had also noticed this magnificent transformation as did General Eisenhower when he had been still thinking and working as the Supreme Commander. But unlike Tagore, both of the latter two personalities were seemingly obseesed by an idea that Russia had been fast growing into a competitor against the United States by working out the communist system. The system alone so much engaged their attention, that they could give very little thought to the growing man in Russia.

And yet General Eisenhower had no little tribute to offer to Russia when on the conclusion of World War II he found that she had emerged from the war as one of the two greatest powers of the globe. The other one was of course, U.S.A. On Russia he wrote:

"In the past relations of America and Russia there was no cause to regard the future with pessimism. Historically, the two peoples had maintained an unbroken friendship that dated back to the birth of United States as an independent republic. Except for a short period, their diplomatic relations had been continuous. Both were free from the stigma of colonial empire building by force. The transfer between them of the rich Alaskan territory was an unmatched international episode, devoid of threat at the time and of any recrimination after the exchange. Twice they had been allies in war. Since 1941 they had been dependent on each other for ultimate victory over the European Axis."

Never before had any defender of democracy nor any one of the Imperial Majesties paid so flattering a compliment to Tsarist Russia. Even Napoleon, the emperor-general, would have congratulated himself if he were able to improvise such virtues in Tsarist Russia when he had to seek alliance of the Tsar Alexander on a raft in Tilsit, and once again, two years later, in Erfurt.

We will not raise the question if the statement of the Supreme Commander is historically correct. All world knows that the 'stigma of colonial empire-building by force' was not a myth, but an appraisal of a canker that ate into the Tsarist system to cause its complete collapse. No posthumous platitude may ever restore it to life again. But we must try to get at the thought that the Supreme Commander had in his mind back, when he referred to that friendly relationship which existed between the Tsarist Russia and the United States of America.

The system which the mighty Tsars had founded and nourished was not certainly based on 'individual liberty' and 'human dignity.' But the American system was. In spite of that wide gulf of difference a relationship of thick and sweet friendship was established between the two. Why could not it be established now was the thought that worried the Supreme Commander. He made no secret of it. Wrote he:

"Should the gulf, however, be bridged practically by effective methods of co-operation, the peace and unity of the world would be assured. No other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace, provided mutual confidence and trust could be developed between America and the Soviets."

These are noble thoughts nobly expressed. But it seems that the Supreme Commander did not delve deep into his mind to find an answer to the question why the gulf of difference may not be bridged now and friendship founded between those two who had twice been allies in war, and had worked together depending one on the other, lending mutual co-operation in all cordiality to win the war which made them the two topmost Powers of the globe? Has one to believe that the United States of America, the Standard Bearer of the Western Democracy, may be friendly to autocratic Powers like the late Tsarist Russia only, and never to the Peoples' Democracies based on the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is it to be taken for granted that alliance of two Powers following two different systems may only be made to win war and not to preserve peace? Logic does not lead one to the acceptance of any of those. It may, therefore, be presumed that the systems are, after all, secondary subjects for consideration with the Western Powers; the primary consideration is competitive worth of the socialist economy against capitalist economy, hinted at by Draiser, three decades ago. The shadow of the phantom of competition in the fields of both the war-industry and the welfare-industry is the cause of growing uneasiness among the western democracies, who had so long been overlording the world as industrialists and as colonialists.

We Indians have never looked at Russia or any other power from this angle of vision because the phantom of competition and the idea of extra-territorial expansion, politically or economically, had never seized us. We had been giving every respect for every experiment made by man to ameliorate man as a social being and also as an image of God on earth. Even in the days we suffered domination, we nourished ourselves with all the liberal ideas that came to us from the West. An Abraham Lincoln, an Emerson, a Thoureau, or a Whitman, an Eugene O'neil was as dear to us, as was a Pushkin, a Tolstoi, a Turgenev, a Dostoivsky, a Chekov, a Maxim Gorky, a Lenin, and a host of other European thought-leaders and high-priests giving out to the world the message of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

After we had achieved our political freedom, we adopted as much of the Western social and political systems as would help our national development. But we did not keep ourselves confined within the limits of those systems alone. We introduced patterns from our past as well as patterns the people's Democracies had been giving shape to lead man onward to his fulfilment. We had fought with the British Imperialists and Colonialists, tooth and nail, for over half a century; but no sooner were we relieved of the burden of their unjust domination, we found that we had no hatred against the British nation. We felt we could love some of them, some of their ideas, as we could love some of our own leaders and their ideas.

Woodrow Wilson commanded our respect for the League of Nations although his own countymen had disowned it. In Roosevelt we imagined a real people's friend when he had partially adopted the New Economic Plan from the leaves of the history of the Soviet Social system. His Four Freedoms gave us as much encouragement as did give Mao Tse-Tung's noble expression—Let every flower blossom full. The United Nations organisation had been no less important to us than the World Peace Council although we found the former had unjustly kept its doors closed against the People's Republic of China, and had kept tied to its apron-string some of the enemies of the people, and had been encouraging them to preserve certain cinder-pits all over the world which might set ablaze another world-conflagration.

Most of our nation-builders like Tagore, the Mahatma, Sri Aurobinda were in their early days believers in British justice and the British pattern of Democracy. But each of them received a rude shock of disappointment when they engaged themselves in the movement for national freedom. But even then they did not lose faith in democracy. All of them had taught their followers to judge a system by the service it lends to advance the cause of the common man. We have in us that lesson as a legacy. And however unworthy may we be, we find it extremely difficult to disregard any human endeavour, in any quarter, to raise mankind in status and stature. We had read a lot about a new community growth of man in the Soviet lands. We had also read much about a new slavery of

man under the Dictatorship of the proletariat. We wanted to see things for ourselves and had been anxiously waiting for an opportunity. We had it during the sittings of the World Assembly for Peace held in Helsinki in the last week of June 1955, when ninety-two of us, Indians, from every State of the Union had assembled there.

The Soviet Peace committee invited the entire delegation to visit the Soviet Republics. Sixty-two of us, men and women, speaking different languages belonging to different walks of life, believing in different ideologies, accepted the invitation with enthusiasm and enjoyed the ever-generous and fabulous hospitality of the Soviet Peace Committee which spared no pains, nor money, to show us all we wanted to see. Fraternal assistance from young interpreters of both the sexes, artists, writers, trade union organisers, directors of cultural institutes, ministries for culture, young pioneers, directors and workers of collective farms, hospitals, creches, kindergartens, libraries and universities enabled us to get an X-ray view of the Soviet Republics during our short stay for three weeks only. Luxurious international railway trains, fleet of aeroplanes, automobiles and autobuses were engaged to carry us cross-country from one republic to another. Every moment of our life there, from morning till midnight, we had wholesome feasts for our eyes and brains. No civil enterprise was kept a secret from us. Even experiments on the civil use of atomic energy were not denied to those of our delegates who were initiated to that particular branch of physical science. Iron curtains we found exclusively in opera houses maintained to protect an extension of accidental out-break of fire from the stage to the auditorium. Nowhere else could our sixty-two pairs of eyes discover any existence of them. We saw, we questioned, we learned and we were convinced that a new civilization had dawned over there to assure every individual of employment, shelter, health, education, culture and wisdom to grow greater and greater. From the moment of birth till death every individual member of the society gets the closest attention of the system based on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Work is found for every able-bodied adult, and the disabled are looked after, the sick ones are sent to hospitals, and physically deficient workers in rest-houses when they are off duty. Employment, education, cultural pursuits, amenities of modern life, are denied to none on consideration of birth or the station of life. A shoe-black or a parlour maid or a worker in a collective farm finds ample opportunity to improve his or her status and income by acquiring knowledge and skill while off duty. Several prizes for literary and scientific contributions, skilful industrial and agricultural advancements, are found to have come from the workers in the fields and the factories. It shows that although different income-groups do exist, no bar is anywhere raised to limit the progress of any individual to transcend a group by skillful and useful social service. Not only with a view to increasing productions, but also to promote feelings in favour of community life, farms are collectivised, factories are made massive and apartment houses to shelter several families with community kitchens are being built in ever-increasing numbers. Pioneer camps, Youth Leagues, the Unions, Cultural Palaces, Gymnasia, Swimming Baths, Open Air Theatres, Grand Operas, Outdoor Sports, Collective songs and dances, are all sponsored and conducted to increase individual efficiency as well as to inculcate into every individual the spirit of mutual help and collective progress. Individual attainments are given due recognition; but stress is always laid on endeavours leading to the upliftment of the community as a whole. Relieved from day-to-day worries and anxieties, provided with facilities for unlimited growth, insured against accidental misfortunes, the citizens of the Soviet States find congenial ground and air and light to grow efficient physically and mentally and to fulfil the duties they owe to the community and to the humanity.

We saw all those and scrutinised, as far as we could, the working of each of the institutions we visited. We felt, each one of us, that we were on a pilgrimage. Never before in the past, I imagine, had any pilgrim found a land where man enjoyed life while he worked, and danced and sang while he prepared himself and his fellow workers for a better existence. Looking at Russia and her peoples, both European and Asian, I wondered if a piece of the paradise described in our Puranas had been brought down on the earth by sheer human endeavours or if this muddy earth said to be the source of human sorrows and sufferings and strifes and discontents were actually passing through a process of transformation into an abode of heavenly peace and bliss for every living soul to enjoy. Needless to mention that the last was the conclusion I had reached.

This amazing transformation is due to an absolute thoroughness in the National Planning. It is a wonder by itself. Every sector of the social organisation has been brought under its purview to develop the entire community with every provision for individual growth. The interlinking of the plan with the sector is an interesting study. And more interesting is the fact that the administrative machinery has hardly any part to play in the successful working of it. Every sector is being put into proper gear and guided by the workers themselves through their unions. Neither theories emanated from high-brow bureaucrats, nor official red tapism may disturb its smooth working. The more I saw things for myself, and the more enlightenments I received from private conversations with personalities of diverse walks of life, the more was I inclined to believe that the Russians have been gathering a spiritual force too. Man's superhuman effort to raise mankind to a state of equality and blissful co-existence needs and grows such a force. No selfish ambition and material prosperity, however lofty and bounteous may they be, have in them any drive to lead man on to the realization that self gets glorified in selflessness, and that total efflorescence of individual self is only effected by the efflorescence of the entire community, the whole of mankind. This realization yields a force which knows no defeat, the force of the spirit known as spiritualism. It may come to man through religion or without it, but never through sectarian religiosity. It may certainly come through selfless devotion to work for the betterment of the humanity. Ancient Hindus knew of it.

Russia has freed her people from the evil spell of religiosity. She has uprooted churchianity but has not, I believe, been able to discard spiritualism and the spirit of Christianity. There are churches in Russia and mosques too. There are men and women in Russia who congregate in those places whenever they feel inclined to do so. But churchianity and factional and irrational religiosity which undermined Christ's creation, fostered corruption, oppression, expropriation, colonial expansion under the false cry of liberation through religious conversions, above all, fanatic fights to extermination between Christ's followers and adherents to churchinity have no place anywhere in People's Democracies any more. But a spiritual edification may be discovered by those who know what spiritualism is. In China, which I visited in 1953, I observed a spiritual force working behind every nation-building scheme. In Czechoslovakia I had the honour to have for one whole day the constant company of the Bishop of the Czechoslovak Progressive Church from 9 a.m. in the morning till 7 p.m. in the evening. I came to learn from him how the Progressive Church in Czechoslovakia has been working to remove the dross in religion due to religiosity practised in the past by blind adherents to churchianity. The old church still continue to exist in Czechoslovakia but progressive men and women are daily increasing the number of believers in Progressive Christianity which, as I could gather, is spiritualism minus formalistic religiosity.

In one of his speeches of Metropolitan Nicholas, member of the Sacred Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, I found what this Progressive Christianity stands for. The Metropolitan had pointed out:

> "The Church does not engage in politics, but it cannot remain isolated within the framework of the religious life. Its very purpose, the service of man, has always thrust it into the thick of human history. Throughout history, the life of mankind has been a seething ocean of antagonisms. But through the unceasing din of strife, above the groans, above the smoke of conflagrations, the voice of church has summoned men and nations to pacification, has urged them towards brotherly love and peace. The church must do likewise today, for it embodies the religious conscience of mankind. Religions conscience cannot be silent."

We know of 'good Christians' who cry, "We were yet sinners while Christ died for us." Yes, they are sinners yet. But do they repent of their sins? Not at all. We find these very same Christians with the very same cry still on their lips, in their search after profitable markets, raw materials, virgin colonies, and strategic positions, carrying death and destruction and slavery to millions of Christ's brothers. The rise of the Christian Powers in the East and their obstinacy to keep the conquests still in their possession prove that they have not only been sinning still, but have also been glorifying their sins.

The Russians on the other hand, have succeeded to bring into the fraternity of the Soviet Union some of the peoples who were antagonistic to them, who spoke different languages, practised different religions, and carried different traditions. This the Russians accomplished not by sword and fire but by carrying the cross on their own shoulders. They have founded peace within, peace in their neighbouring states, and have devoted themselves to the service of man although they do not swear by Christ. Writes Wang Kuang-wei, Secretary-General of the State Planning Commission, under the caption "A Great Plan" in People's China:

> "This great Five-Year Plan is inseparably bound up with the aid given us by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, especially the former. The 156 enterprises built with Soviet help are the very heart of the plan. The Soviet Union is lending its aid at every stage of construction, with the surveying and selection of sites, assembling data for design, the design itself, supply of equipment, direction of the work as it proceeds, the installation and starting up, the supply of technical information of new types of product, and actually giving advice on the manufacture itself."

This is the new spirit that has born out of Russian System. It does not take cognizance of the so-called competitive intuition in man. It believes that a prosperous and efficient neighbour is a joy for them who want mankind to march on to victory against all exploitations and dominations. It is said that the People's China has been made a satellite to Russia. Those who say this are undoubtedly purposive. China is a nation of six hundred millions of people. China has proved her strength by successfully resisting many a combined aggression of the Western Powers and of her formidable neighbour Japan. China has a legacy of one of the earliest civilizations of the world. And China has a spirit to move with the times. Russia knows it. And yet she wants to see China stronger and more prosperous. She does not apprehend for a moment that this China may one day use the very materials against her for the expansion of China or for the foundation of a mighty Chinese Empire.

will unite us and which, tomorrow, will bring to a more articulate and better-informed public opinion, the strength needed to overcome the obstacles and impose the ways of peace."

I have chosen the above lines to show the spirit with which the Assembly was sponsored. Now I will put below a few lines which will prove how frankly opinions were expressed. An observer from the Church Peace Mission, Toronto, Rev. D. C. Candy spoke:

"The most urgent commission in my mind and I am sure in the minds of most Canadians just to what extent is the World Peace Council linked up with the Communist Movement. Countless numbers in Canada take it for granted that it is a political arms of communism and therefore keep away from it. A further question, however, ignores this first one and recognises that whether the World Peace Council is dictated to by Moscow or not it is heavily weighted by communists. Perhaps we will not disagree on this point. Perhaps there will be honest regret that this is so. Nevertheless it does pose difficulties for the non-communist which the communist must recognise and in facing which he must be tolerant and charitable. There are many Christians who seem to be able to accept communism without compromising their Christian faith. But there are many who find thty cannot . . . ."

Rev. Candy closed his speech by some suggestions which he believed all his listeners would be able to accept. They were: (1) Cut out hate propaganda. (ii) We must seek out the good to commend and not pinpoint the evil to condemn. (iii) We could all do with a little dose of humility and self-criticism.

Queen's Counsel from Great Britain, Mr. D. N. Pritt, said:

"In the light of the legal position which I have thus stated, I must stigmatise as wholly unlawful three recent policy decisions of certain powers, *viz.*, (a) To equip the forces of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and that, too, on a scale which amounts organising them to wage war primarily with nuclear weapons, (b) to equip the forces of a rearmed Western Germany, with the rest of the N.A.T.O. with nuclear weapons, and, most serious of all, (c) to use nuclear weapons, not merely by way of reprisal after other belligerents will have resorted to their use, but from the start of the army war, without waiting to see what any other combatant might do the very decision to use those weapons, and the preparation to implement the decision, may well of themselves amount, moreover, to a 'crime against peace' under the Nurenberg charter."

Bertrand Russel in his message expressed his hope for a fruitful outcome of the deliberations of the Assembly. He proposed some measures to avoid atomic war which he apprehended would lead to the annihilation of the human race. Wrote he:

"It follows that the only possibilities before mankind are: peace by agreement or the peace of universal death. The first step should be a statement by a small number of men of the highest eminence as to be expected from nuclear war. This statement would undoubtedly make clear that a nuclear war would not bring victory to either side and would not create the sort of world desired by communists or the sort of world desired by their opponents or the sort of world that uncommitted nations desire."

Bertrand Russel had doubts and hopes. His message was discussed at length in the commissions as well as in the plenary sessions by a number of competent critics. M. Jean-Paul Sartre said:

"We all heard with joy the message which Bertrand Russel so kindly sent to the Congress, and we have all been appreciative of the valuable suggestion it makes. If, however, I allow myself to criticise it, it is because Bertrand Russel has come to a stop somewhere between London and Helsinki, and that his message enables us to realize how much more meaningful is the simple fact of being here, in Finland, than the letter of a great philosopher. It seems to me indeed that Bertrand Russel takes into consideration only the elite of specialists, known as scientists, and that other political elite known as members of governments . . . . on the contrary, all the groups who have sent delegates to Helsinki have stressed one essential aspect of the Peace which we are trying to create, it is a Peace desired by the people. Not in the first instance by elites, but foremost by the masses."

In his wonderflly brillant speech Ilya Ehrenburg more pointedly discussed:

"There are two groups of powers in the world today. It is not my intention to weigh them in the balance. It is clear to everyone that these two groups represent two forces. Neither of them has been vanquished, and to use the language of imagined victors means to strive not for negotiations but the abandoning of negotiations . . . . some political leaders assert that a Western military alliance is inevitable because 'Communists are convinced of the final victory of Communism.' This assertion is repeated so often that it is worth answering. We Soviet people believe that the future belongs to a society where there is no longer private ownership of the means of production. This belief is based on our understanding of the laws of development of society. Does this mean that our world outlook threatens any state? When I was in America I often heard from fairly responsible people that the future belonged to private enterprise, and this did not seem a threat either to me or to my fellow-countrymen. When we speak of the danger of war we point to the net-work of military bases, to the accumulation of arms, to attempts at interference in the affairs of sovereign states, but not to the philosophy of capitalism."

The above excerpts illustrate how frank and candid were the participants and how the problems were reviewed from all possible angles. Differences in opinion were bridged and concrete proposals on every problem were possible to be formulated. All the resolutions were accepted by the Assembly with enthusiasm and were crystallized into what is now known as the Helsinki Appeal. The modesty, the serenity, the universality of the Apeal have made it a profound document of the people's will to win peace. It was unanimously accepted by the Assembly; only one delegate abstained from voting, either for or against.

My language fails to describe the mass-drama that was spontaneously enacted immediately on the announcement of the verdict of the ballot. Delegates, guests, visitors, workers, members of the presidium, two thousand men and women representing sixty-eight nations jumped upon their feet and raised in one voice a mighty cheer that must have reached the heavens carrying the message of man's resurrection. Cheers followed cheers amidst thunderous claps. All on a sudden the entire concourse of men and women, old and young, white and coloured, communists and non-communists, chained themselves into a human train and started moving around the seats shouting and dancing. Some did cry, some did laugh, and some did laugh and cry at the same breath. For about half an hour continued this unbriddled expression of extreme exuberence.

But what was the jubilation for? Had they won a war? No, they thought they had achieved a greater victory than that; they have discovered how peace may be won and preserved. How so? The Helsinki Appeal elucidates:

"The World Assembly for Peace has established with certainity that, in spite of deep differences, in spite of diversity of opinion agreement can be reached on important points and many problems can be solved immediately through negotiation."

Participants to the Assembly have discovered how to agree, when to agree, and on what to agree. They asked themselves when they had found a method to resolve their differences, why the powers should not? The Helsinki Appeal elaborates:

"The work of peace can at last be done if forces, whose aims are similar particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or Socialist tendencies, unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace. Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The agreement the delegates were able to arrive at was no casual conciliation. It was, indeed, the discovery of an arsenal in man from which peace-weapons could be inexhaustibly drawn by man. A week's honest searching of hearts and sustaining patience to conciliate contradictory claims had led the delegates to its discovery. That was the reason why all those delegates, politicians and parliamentarians, scientists and teachers, professors and prelates, workers and peasants, fathers, sons, brothers, mothers, daughters, sisters, husbands and wives, coming from all nationalities, felt the thrill of joy unbound when they came to know that they were, irrespective of their many differences, united on the issue of Peace, a peace for all times to come, a peace that will make this world unimaginably beautiful and bountiful. This faith in peaceful efflorescence of mankind is a new spiritual realization. And although the delegates to the Helsinki Assembly for Peace realized it by discussion and negotiation, it aroused in them a spirit similar to what I have described as the spirit of New Russia, the spirit I found manifest in all the endeavours of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

(To be continued)

BOOKS FOR TEACHING BENGALI TO NON-BENGALIS

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

Generally we in India do not take sufficient interest in disseminating the knowledge of the provincial languages and literatures outside the provinces in which they are normally known and understood by the people at large who speak them as their mother-tongues. It is, therefore, rather difficult for a person of one province to learn the language of another province, as help-books, and really good ones, are rare except for Hindi, for which books usually meant for beginners only, have been written in different languages of India, since its recognition as the national language. Under these circumstances, we extend our hearty welcome to the few attempts made to render the language of Bengal intelligible to non-Bengali people. Of books compiled in this connection special mention needs be made of two in Hindi by Sri Gopalchandra Chakravarti Shastri who had already made his name through his books in Bengali for helping people of Bengal in learning Hindi. It is to be noted that his books in Hindi for helping Hindi-speaking people in learning Bengali have also earned well-deserved popularity having run through several editions. *Saral Bangla Siksha*[1] which is in its fourth edition gives in five parts an elaborate account of the Bengali language. Part I gives specimens of Bengali expressions with corresponding Hindi versions arranged in accordance with different grammatical topics. Part II is a collection of important Bengali words with Hindi equivalents classified into various sections. Part III explains the grammatical structure of the language. Part IV deals with the peculiarities of the colloquial form of the language. The last part contains examples of idiomatic expressions, proverbs and a selected vocabulary. *Bangla Pahli Pustak*[2] of which we have the eighth edition is an elementary work[3] which in 25 lessons collects illustrative examples of various modes of expressions with an indication of their pronunciation in the Hindi script and their translation in Hindi. We have reference to another Hindi book on the subject by Sri Bidhubhusan Das Gupta who has contributed a book in English entitled *Learn Bengali*. The latter[4] has 20 lessons including one giving specimens of Bengali prose and poetry selected from the writings of standard authors and another on letter-writing. There are two appendices containing lists of commonly used Bengali words and renowned books in Bengali. The grammar portion is occasionally defective and the transliteration of Bengali words into the Roman script is usually faulty apparently without any system. Though not quite up to the mark it will yet be of some help to beginners.

Somewhat better, though not entirely free from defects of the type mentioned above, is the *Bengali for Foreigners*[5] by Mrs. S. Nandy who has practical experience of teaching the language to non-Bengali students. She begins her lessons with texts on the basis of which the characteristics of the language are explained. There are several lessons on the letters of the alphabet and their combinations in different ways. There is sufficient reading matter including a few selected portions from the writings of Rabindranath and Abanindranath either with full Bengali translations or with translations of important words and expressions. Mention may be made in this connection of the Bengali *Self-Taught* written years back on a scientific basis by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and published in Marlborough's Self-Taught Series (London, 1927).

We must in this connection put on record the valuable work being done by the Nikhil Bharat Bangabhashaprasarini Sabha in making Bengali popular among the people of different provinces as well as foreigners. It has centres in various parts of the country where regular classes are held and lessons given on the Bengali language. It also intends to publish books for the purpose. It has already brought out a Bengali-Nepali Primer. Another infant institution with wider objectives is the Bharatiya Bhashasamgama of Banaras which aims at providing facilities for the teaching of all Indian languages and creating a common platform for people speaking different languages. More organised attempts are required to be made on a larger scale for the propagation of the languages and literatures of the country and solution of many attending problems including the one of scripts. The question of the possibility of evolving a common script will naturally arise and the feasibility of the alternate use of the Devanagari or Roman script along with the local scripts will demand sympathetic consideration in view of the extensive popularity of the former.

1. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras. Price Rs. 2.
2. Svayambhati Pustakalaya, 11, Sadananda Bazar, Banaras, Price 12 annas.
3. This, I understand, is followed by *Bangla Dusri Pustak*.
4. Das Gupta Prakasan, 3, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1-14.
5. Popular Library, 15-B, Lake Road, Calcutta-29. Price Rs. 2-4.

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

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. II, Arts, History and Culture: *Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the second volume of the series published under the above title, of which the other two volumes have been noticed by us in previous issues of the *Modern Review*. The present work is a collection of 20 extracts selected from the writings of sixteen authors, Indian and foreign, on certain aspects of Indian culture. They have been arranged under two heads, namely, (1) 'Arts' and (2) 'Culture and History'. Among papers presenting illuminating studies on their respective subjects may be mentioned those bearing the titles *Indian Dance: The Background* (Rukmini Devi), *Art and Architecture* and *Indian Painting* (E. B. Havell), *The Fundamental Unity of India* (Radha Kumud Mookerji), *The Continuity of Indian Culture* (Jawaharlal Nehru), *Hindu Renaissance in Middle Ages* (K. M. Panikkar), and above all, *The Unity of Indian Religion* (Sri Aurobindo). The other papers which are mostly of an informative character include *Indian Music* (Rev. H. A. Popley), *Indian Dance: Theory and Practice* (A. K. Majumdar), *The Sultanate of Delhi* and *The Mughal Empire* (Baini Prashad), and lastly, *India and the World* and *Indian Colonies in the Far East* (R. C. Majumdar). One misses in this list such outstanding contributions as that of Rabindranath Tagore on the significance of Indian history as a continuous record of the mingling of different races and cultures and that of Sri Aurobindo on the strengthening or weakening of India's ancient spirit as the key to the rise and decline of her civilisation. Instances of contradictions are not wanting as *e.g.*, the dates c. 1st century A.D. and 3rd century A.D. for Bharata's *Natyashastra* (pp. 22, 34), while the antiquated dating of the Buddhist monuments (p. 42f) remains uncorrected. These defects could have been avoided by the selection of an editor for the volume. The division of the work under the two heads 'Arts' and 'Culture and History' is not above criticism, since all the papers included under the first heading belong to Fine Art, while the latter heading is sufficiently comprehensive to have formed the title of the whole volume. On p. 243 last line 'B. C. Law Memorial Volume' is an unfortunate slip. On the whole, the book gives much useful information about our culture for a remarkably cheap price.

U. N. Ghoshal

THE STORY OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN STATES: *By V. P. Menon. Orient Longmans, Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Pp. 511. Price Rs. 25.*

This is a timely publication. The Indian States stood as a solid rock against the solution of our problems, political and otherwise. After the transfer of power in August, 1947, the problem remained as such, and needed immediate disposal. It was due to the stern determination of Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, the first Home Minister of Free India that the problem was solved within two years after the attainment of independence. This thrilling story is told in this book by one who was in the thick of the struggle, he was also a righthand man of the leader in this matter. It has, therefore, an additional value of the record of personal experience too. The book has been divided into twenty-six chapters with a few appendices, illustrations, cartoons and maps, namely, 1. Setting the Stage, 2. Spokes in the Wheel, 3. The Parting Gift, 4. Prelude to Chaos, 5. Stopping the Gap, 6. Junagadh, 7. The Orissa and Chattisgarh States, 8. Saurashtra, 9. The Deccan and Gujarat States, 10. Vindhya Pradesh, 11. Madhya Bharat, 12. Patiala and East Punjab States Union, 13. Rajasthan, 14. Travancore-Cochin, 15. Mysore, 16. A Miscellany of States, 17. Hyderabad I, 18. Hyderabad II, 19. Hyderabad III, 20. Jammu and Kashmir State, 21 Baroda, 22. I Administrative Consolidation, II Incorporation of the States' Forces into the Indian Army, 23. Financial Integration, 24. Organic Unification, 25. The Cost of Integration and 26. Retrospect and Prospect.

Captions of these chapters are suggestive and tempting. The story has been narrated here objectively. The author gives a short description of the narrative chapter-wise, which will tell us at once the subjects discussed. According to him:

"The first four chapters provide the background to the problem of the Indian States. There I have described how the British built up the framework of princely India. I trace the events right up to the announcement of the June 3rd plan declaring the lapse of paramountcy, whereby the Indian States comprising two-fifths of the country would return to a state of political isolation. Chapter V describes how this was circumvented by the accession of the States on three subjects. The next chapter deals with Junagadh State which had acceded to Pakistan. The ten subsequent chapters deal with the consolidation of the States on a regional basis. Hyderabad, which had remained aloof, has been dealt with at length in three chapters. Kashmir follows and the Baroda interlude comes next. Then four chapters are devoted to a survey of the administrative, financial and constitutional changes and to the cost of integration. In the last chapter, entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect', I have summed up the policy of integration and expressed my personal views on some aspects of the problem."

We commend the book to our readers.

Jogesh C. Bagal

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN INDIA (A comparative study): *By Ratan Lal Khanna, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., Dip. in Journalism. Published by the English Book Shop, Chandigarh. 1956. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is an exhaustive study of Panchayat administration in India. The author has lucidly discussed all aspects of Village Panchayats: their foundation, aims, organs, functions, staff, finance, relationship with other local authorities and the State Government. A critical and constructive mind has been brought to bear upon a description and analytical survey. Appendices rich in factual material and comparative data and stimulating passages quoted from learned authorities on Government have added immensely to the usefulness of the monograph. The writer ends on a note of enlightened optimism which many will appreciate. "The nascent Panchayat Raj," concludes he, "bids fair to become the school of democracy and recapture the glory of village republics in Ancient India. Only we must pursue the objectives of Panchayat Raj with a steady stride, realistic outlook and in a creative spirit of community so that each to-morrow takes us farther than today."

Village Panchayats are now in the limelight. Almost all the States have enacted legislation for setting up Village Panchayats. The West Bengal Panchayat Bill is on the way to become an Act. To quote the Taxation Enquiry Commission, "The momentum gathered by the movement for establishment of new Panchayats is one of the most significant developments of recent years." A knowledge of Village Panchayats seems thus to be an essential equipment of creative citizenship in New India. Against this background the utility of Sri Khanna's treatise is to be assessed. It will serve as a valuable book of reference to those who are interested in perhaps the most vital branch of public administration in our country. We notice errors in printing here and there. These should not steal into the second edition.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

ON PATHS OF LIFE: *By Puran Singh. With a foreword of Sri M. S. Randhawa. Published by Uttar Chand Kapur & Sons, Delhi. Pp. 156. Price not mentioned.*

Sri Puran Singh was a distinguished literary luminary of the modern Punjab and the well-known author of several thoughtful volumes, such as, *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel, Spirit of Oriental Poetry, Life of Swami Ramatirtha*, etc. Born in a Pathan village of a Frontier district in 1881 A.D., he succumbed to tuberculosis in March 1931 at a premature age of hardly fifty years. He spent some years in Japan from 1900-1903 as a student of technology and there met Okakura, Swami Ramatirtha and Miss McLeod, an American disciple of Swami Vivekananda among others. Out and out he remained a poet, though he carved the career of a scientist for about three decades.

The book under review is the autobiography of the author completed and prefaced in 1927 about four years before his death. It was left unpublished till 1953, when his son S. Madan Mohan Singh handed it over to Sri Randhawa, the writer of the foreword, who arranged for its publication in November of 1954. The entire autobiography written in a poetic language is throughout readable and interesting. The Japanese reminiscences, however, occupy a very large portion of the book, which is nicely printed and got-up. A long index and the informative foreword have definitely increased the worth and importance of the book. A portrait, a list of works and a life-sketch of Puran Singh are badly wanting in the book.

There is no doubt that Puran Singh occupies an important place in the band of those composers of modern India, who have written poems in English, still our *de facto lingua franca*. Puran Singh shines as a bright star in the literary firmament of Modern India not only as a poet but also as a translator and biographer. His biography of Swami Ramtirtha, that great monk of New India, is perhaps the only one of its kind. His rendering of Jaidev's *Geeta-Gobinda* is quite original. He is in his best elements when he describes the divine amours of the Gopis and Sri Krishna, "Whose body is the colour of the purple cloud, adorned with the rainbow in the sky, whose tresses are embellished with peacock feathers that ripple with a hundred crescents."

Puran Singh returned home from Japan as a shaven-headed monk and continued so till marriage. He was by birth a Sikh and believed till death in a formless Father as testified in his words, "I am with my Father. I sleep and wake in him. He encompasseth me when I stumble. Wonder! Oh wonder! I fall in his lap."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

L'OPIUM DES INTELLECTUELS BY RAYMOND ARON: *Calmann-Levy, Editeurs. Paris. October 1955. Pp. 334. Price 750 frs.*

"British education less ideological than French, less optimistic than American does not estrange the intellectual to the same extent. It forms habits rather than builds up doctrines; it produces the desire to imitate practices rather than reproduce dialectic. The admirer of Great Britain would wish that the Parliament of New Delhi resembles that of Westminster. I do not believe that a single intellectual in Indo-China or Morocco would dream of adopting an Assembly like that of the Palais-Bourbon." So says Monsieur Aron, a leading French writer who has to his credit numerous books and essays on the philosophy of history and on political ideas, some of which have been translated into English.

There is in France a long tradition of intellectualism which the ferment of ideas contributing to and springing from the French Revolution invigorated still further. In France to-day the intellectuals enjoy an influential position as nowhere else. Much of the leadership of France fell to the intelligentsia as the direct consequence of the disruption of the Ancient Regime and the emasculation of the Church. The respect for the individual, fervently fostered since the French Revolution provided a starting point for many cults advocating far-reaching social changes. Yet in France, the condition of the ordinary people is less satisfactory than in Britain and the United States of America where social and economic changes have been brought about by practical reforms rather than by ideologies.

Who are the intellectuals in France? According to Monsieur Aron they are those whose "principal profession is writing, teaching, preaching, acting or practising arts and letters"—they have the common characteristic of reflecting on their existence—they are responsible in many cases for transforming opinions and interests into theories; they are by habit inclined to be critical and disposed to challenge reality with ideas. They show a distaste for the servitude imposed by

industrial civilisation (in this, the influence of Rousseau may be seen at work), the brutalization of human relations and the vulgarization of culture. The extremists among the Existentialists go so far as to denounce life and history. On the other hand, many of them are obsessed by the notion of the mission of the masses. The intellectuals have no difficulty in elaborating the more profound of their theories with the help of the brilliant apparatus of thought which tradition has left to posterity, in the writings of philosophers from Plato to Rousseau, from Hegel to Karl Marx. The march of material progress has created a spiritual vacuum which man may not neglect except at his peril.

The intellectual leadership relying as it does on a flight from reality would have been discredited long ago but for the fact that the inspiration which gives it its elan vital is never far from faith. The search for a millenium provides the essential urge and like all ideals which are never lacking in attraction for youth and in firing their imagination the search is self-renewing. Here is the opium.

With the technical knowledge at its command betterment of conditions is a duty which humanity owes to itself. "The cult of the Revolution, the predilection for sublime abstraction, the taste for ideology and the indifference towards intractable realities which determine the fate of communities are contagious virtues . . . our culture excites the impatience which is born from the contrast between that which is and that which should be, between the upsurge of ambitions and the conservatism of custom; it is prepared even to submit to a strict discipline in the name of extreme liberty." Nevertheless, if amelioration of the condition of the masses is the objective, the successful methods of Scandinavia, Britain and other countries should provide more fruitful guidance. Ideas have an intoxicating quality and in preoccupation with them the danger lies in the means becoming mistaken for the ends. The advice that Monsieur Aron gives is that it is better to be sceptical than fanatical; if toleration comes from doubt let us elect doubt.

The author has given an excellent analysis of the philosophy of history and readers will be grateful for the biography of ideas. The book is written by an intellectual for intellectuals but even to the ordinary reader it provides a monumental aid to straight thinking.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE PATANJALA YOGASUTRA (with the commentary of Vyasa): *Translated from Sanskrit into English by Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mulkraj Puri, B.A., LL.B. Shree Maharaja Steel Mills. Ltd., Kapurthala. Price Rs. 5.*

Here is a volume containing the Sanskrit text of the *Yogasutras* and the *Vyasabhasya* together with an English translation of both followed by exegetical notes by the learned translator who is a practical *yogi* himself. Hence, it contains something more than is expected from a similar work by an ordinary scholar. Unfortunately the reader is embarrased by the numerous misprints which have been sought to be corrected in a long errata. Nevertheless this is a welcome edition to the Yoga literature.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

RAMKAMAL SEN, KRISHNAMOHAN BANDOPADHYA (Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala Series 72): *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review is a neat presentation of the lives and works of two eminent sons of Bengal of the last century. Their life-history has been narrated against a vast canvas—the canvas that presents Bengal's economic, political and cultural distress and her aspirations. The resurgent force of Hinduism reared its head once again under the impact of Christianity. Reform was the order of the day. The illiterate had to be educated, the poor fed, the distressed helped and the homeless rehabilitated. That was the urgent task of all sections of the enlightened gentry. Ramkamal and Krishnamohan took upon themselves this great task of reconstruction of their contemporary society. A devout Hindu, as Ramkamal was, did his very best not only to alleviate the distress of his brothers in faith but the suffering people of all communities. A devout Christian, as Krishnamohan was, was no less eager and enthusiastic to help to build the contemporary society with all the resources at his command, both financial and intellectual. Sri Bagal, the author of the book, is successful in his mission to portray the life-story of these two worthy sons of Bengal and to present them in a style and manner of abiding interest to the Bengali-reading public. We must know of the resurgent Bengal, her renaissance in the last century. The book would go a long way in helping us appreciate the great work done by our ancestors in bringing about this renaissance.

Both Ramkbamal and Krishnamohan laboured hard for the improvement of their mother-tongue—Bengali. They wrote Bengali books on different subjects for the enlightenment of their countrymen. The author has aptly given especial emphasis on this aspect of their work in two separate chapters. Accurate information regarding their Bengali works will be of much use to those scholars who are engaged in research work in different aspects of the Bengali literature of the nineteenth century.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

HINDI

US PAR KE PAROSI: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Ramanarain Chaudhury of the author's *Travel-Diary* in Gujarati, of the visit he paid sometime back to East Africa where for decades our fellow-countrymen have settled down. He brought to them something of the vision, wisdom and wonder that is India, while to the people of his own country they have sent through him, something of their perpetual wistfulness for the Mother, their problems, their pattern of living, overshadowed, on the one hand, by the beauty and grandeur of Nature and on the other, by the life and culture of the sons of the soil. Kaka Sahib, through his inborn love for the spacious and the sublime, wherever these are discovered, has, however, built a bridge between the two. For, he is a welcome fellow-traveller everywhere.

G. M.

GUJARATI

YOGADIPAK *i.e.*, YOGASAMADHI: *By Shriman Buddhi Sagar Sureshwarji. Published by Shri Adhyatma Jnan Prasarak Mandal, Bombay. Printed at the Mahodaya Press, Bhavnagar. 1950. Cloth bound. Illustrated jacket. Illustrated Second Edition. Pp. 447. Price Rs. 3.*

The author is a very well-known Jaina, Sureshwar, who from being born as a peasant, by sheer intelligence, close study and application to Letters and Philosophy rose to a high level of scholarship and authorship. He has published 103 volumes all bearing on Jaina life and philosophy. The book under notice is a valuable guide to *yoga samadhi*. He has, in Sanskrit verse and its translation into Gujarati, pointed out in great detail how *yoga* is to be practised and attained. He can do it so ably because of first-hand knowledge and practice. It is an admirable text-book on the subject.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

See India—Guide to Agra: Illustrated cover. Printed on ivory finish paper. Illustrated with fine photos, with a map, and full of information of everything about Agra. Pp. 36. Price As. 8.

See India—Guide to Orissa: Same as the first. Pp. 44. As. 8.

Kashmir—Guide to Kashmir: Illustrated cover and illustrated with excellent photographs, some covering full pages. Brief description about places and sights worth seeing and full of information and detailed accounts about the Tourist Paradise—Kashmir. Pp. 52. Price Re. 1.

Indian Air Force: Intended for Careers for Officers and Airmen. It tells in brief about The National Defence Academy, Air Force College, Ground-duties branches: non-technical and technical, Ground Training School, and the Trades for Airmen to learn. Illustrated. Pp. 59. Price Re. 1.

University Education in India: It deals with the foundation and development of Universities since Independence and an enumeration of all the existing Universities in India. Pp. 36. Price As. 8.

With Gun and Rod in India: An ideal book about the games in India for hunters, anglers and sportsmen. It deals with an exhaustive account of the wild life in India, all the varieties of beasts and birds and fishes to shoot and catch for hunters and to explore and observe for sportsmen and observers. Games in the Himalayas, the Indo-Gangetic plain and in the Deccan and where to find which kind of game are described with details. Numerous photographs of indigenous wild beasts and birds and fishes are given and the brochure is printed on good ivory finish paper. Campers and sportsmen will find the book delightful as an excellent guide-book. Cover with coloured illustration. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 3.

Folk Dances in India: Illustrated with pictures of folk dances of the indigenous tribes of all the Provinces of India, six of which are printed in many colours. Thanks are due to Kumari Nirmala Joshi for supplying most of the materials of the brochure. The Introduction dwells on the significance the value and the importance of folk-dance in general. Price Re. 1-8.

Cave Temples of Western India: It describes in brief the history and architectural details, with copious illustrations, of all the famous Cave Temples to be found in Western India: Elephanta, Kanheri, Jogeshwari, Montpezir (Mandapeswar) Caves, the Karla, Bhaja and Bedsa Caves, Ellora and Ajanta Caves, Badami, Pattaccol and Aihole Caves, Nasik Caves and Junagadh Caves. After the contents there is given a map of Western India with railways and roads to Caves. Price Rs. 2.

All the above books are published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Whither Modern Humanity?

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri writes in *The Aryan Path* a suggestive essay on the dilemma of our civilization and its remedy:

Ever since Bacon held before the eyes of the world the supreme importance of the method of science, *viz.*, doubt, enquiry, observation, experiment, hypothesis prediction and test, science came to occupy the foremost place in the thoughts of man. The West has progressed beyond all expectations in the pursuit of science, especially in the realm of the physical sciences. Various inventions of high value and utility followed in the wake of man's increasing mastery of science: the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, the automobile, the aeroplane, the jet plane, the gramophone, the radio and television—to name but a few of the useful achievements which have exalted the glory of science. But gun powder, the explosive bomb, the bomber, the atom bomb, the cobalt bomb, the hydrogen bomb, etc., show how science can also destroy man.

These last inventions were possible because science outstripped philosophy and religion. Philosophy broke away from religion, and science in its turn broke away from both. Western philosophy became entangled in the quagmire of barren conjecture and speculation. Religion, deprived of its alliance with philosophy, became untenable sectarian dogma and degenerated into mere creed which appealed less and less to the progressive intellect of man. Science became contemptuous and defiant in its attitude towards philosophy and religion and led humanity by invisible steps to rank materialism. Mind was held to be a product of matter and the soul was held to be a mere assumption and hypothesis. Philosophy retorted by saying that matter is a mere mental concept and nothing more. Religion felt bewildered and became prone to repeat mere creedal formulae and deny the causal nexus altogether.

But recent science has smashed the atom. It has found that there are breaks in the law of scientific determinism.

We thus see that the modern age is one of vast confusion because of the discord among science, philosophy and religion. Einstein once said that the malady of modern thought was due to science having outstripped ethics and philosophy. He said also:

"Religion without science is blind; and science without religion is lame . . . . The most beautiful emotion we can experience is the mystical. He to whom this emotion is a stranger and who can no longer wonder and stand in awe is as good as dead."

He said further that the world is in need of scientists who recognize mysticism as the source of all true art and science, and also of religious leaders who will face with open eyes the results of science. We must not halt science but we must quicken philosophy, ethics and religion.

Science means knowledge. Knowledge is a mental state. The soul whose instrument is mind is a unity. What right have we to split science into sciences and set them one against another? And yet the modern man has done this and has split knowledge into warring camps and thus done himself incalculable harm. Today the physical sciences, the social sciences and the spiritual sciences go their diverse ways and even attack one another.

In ancient times religion dominated society and the physical sciences were in an undeveloped state. In mediaeval times the social sciences grew up to some extent but the physical sciences had not made much progress. But in modern times the physical sciences have made astonishing progress and are dominant. The social sciences are stagnant, Religion has definitely retreated.

Now that the physical sciences have armed man with terribly destructive nuclear weapons, it behoves man to develop the social and the spiritual sciences to a greater extent. No bombs can harm humanity if man does not throw them at his brother man. Social institutions must control primitive urges. But the social sciences will save humanity only if they heed the voice of religion upon the real nature and destiny of man. Only then can distintegrated "sciences" be re-integrated, harmonized and unified as that Science which can save humanity.

Religion should no longer be disfigured with ecclesiastical promises of heaven and threats of hell. We need a new vision of the Immanence and Transcendence of God and of the Divinity of Man. We need also a new philosophy of man. Man was formerly prone to overvalue himself as the pinnacle of creation. He was also puzzled by the wide-spread prevalence of evil and misery. He must learn to find the roots of his present position in the cosmos, in himself, whether we call this law, the law of Karma, or by some other name.

Scientific determinism and pessimism must be eradicated by a new philosophic vision and a new religious hope and ecstasy. Till now man has been looking out through the window of the mind. He must learn to throw open the window of intuition and mystic vision. Dostoevsky describes a rare experience of his as being "like a flash of light in the brain, relieving all doubts and anxieties, merging them in a lofty calm, full of serene harmonious joy and hope." Let us hope that modern humanity will move hereafter in that direction.

Problems of Education in India

Dr. K. L. Shrimali writes in *The Indian Review*:

The most important and urgent problem in the field of education in India is to provide free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 as laid down in the Constitution. Apart from the constitutional provision, a democratic society is morally committed to a system of free and compulsory education.

The aim of democracy is the development of the

individual. A democratic society cannot function effectively as long as it allows millions of its childern to remain without schooling and majority of people illiterate. Freedoms of speech, assembly and worship as also the power to vote and to determine the policies of a country which are considered basic in a democratic society become meaningless when people fail to understand the conditions under which they live and the problems which confront them.

In order that people in a democratic society may be able to make use of the fundamental rights, they must be able to communicate with each other, to think and to decide things together. Literacy is a prior and indispensable tool for the functioning of a democratic society and India like other Western countries must go through the first phase of the educational revolution by building up a system of free and compulsory education.

As far as education is concerned, the Second Third-Year Plan does not present a very bright and promising picture. The target laid down in the Constitution is receding further and at the rate at which we are progressing, it seems doubtful whether the Directive of the Constitution can be fulfilled even by the end of the Five-Year Plan. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan we shall have facilities of schooling only for 62.7 per cent children of the age group 6-11 and only 22.5 per cent for the age group 11-14.

This slow growth of elementary education should be a matter of great concern to the State on whom the Constitution places the responsibility for the fulfilment of the Directive of the Constitution. The local community effort is desirable and our people should be closely associated with the programmes of educational development, but the ultimate responsibility for elementary education will have to be borne by the State which includes the Central as well as the State Governments. They must jointly mobilise all their financial resources to implement the Directive of the Constitution.

Educational expansion at the elementary stage cannot be left entirely to the resources of the local bodies or of the State Governments. Some of the States are already incurring more than 20 per cent of their total Budget on education and they may have genuine difficulties in finding additional funds through taxation for opening new schools. Moreover, some of the States are economically backward and do not possess adequate natural resources for further development in the near future.

As far as elementary education is concerned, the nation cannot allow differences in educational standards to be perpetuated between one State and another on account of differences in economic resources.

The Central Government will, therefore, have to take its due responsibility for the implementation of the Directive of the Constitution and for equalising educational opportunities all over the country.

Another complicated problem which confronts the Government is with regard to the place of languages in our educational institutions. The solution lies in making a rational approach to the probelem. It has now been generally accepted that mother tongue or a regional language should be the medium of instruction. There may be a few isolated schools which still retain English as the medium of instruction at the elementary or secondary stage but all the States have introduced mother tongue or regional language as the medium of instruction. There is no difference of opinion on this subject as mother tongue or regional language has been universally recognised as the most suitable medium of instruction at the elementary and secondary stage.

There is not the same unanimity with regard to the position of Hindi and English. Hindi has been accepted as the official language of India not because it is older or richer than other Indian languages but because it is spoken by a majority and understood by a vast majority of the Indian people. We have to choose one language which may serve not only official purposes but which may also serve as a means of inter-communication between people of different linguistic groups.

Education has so far been confined in this country only to classes. With the expansion of mass education there is bound to be greater need for inter-communication between different linguistic groups. While we recognise linguistic groups and do everying that is possible to develop regional languages, we should not forget that the linguistic groups are only parts of the whole. The strength of a democratic society is dependent in a great measure to the extent that it allows free intercourse beween different groups. Free social intercourse is most essential for the growth of a democratic culture. The different linguistic groups cannot live in isolation from each other. They must have one common language which all people in the North, South, East and West can understand.

We cannot obviously have English as the language for inter-communication between people of different regions. It could serve the purpose when the Government could be run with a small number of people and culture was confined only to the classes. A democratic society requires greater and greater participation on the part of the people in the affairs of the Government and in the healthy development of culture. We cannot escape the conclusion that Hindi should be taught to all the children in India. It will be a great cementing factor for national unity and help us in reintegrating our culture.

With regard to English, there was some opposition to it in the past which was partly due to the fact that it was a language of a foreign power which ruled our country. This reaction was natural when Indian nationalism began to assert itself. Even at that time, there were patriotic leaders in our public life who realised the importance of English in our educational system.

After independence we can take a more dispassionate and objective attitude towards the whole problem. There are two weighty reasons for the retention of English in our secondary schools. (1) English is no more a language of one country only. It is now becoming an international language. India is destined to play an important role in international affairs because of her rich cultural heritage and traditions. We can make our contribution to the growth of world society and human civilisation only through English language. (2) English is also a language of science and technology. India has decided to make use of science and techonolgy for its national progress and for raising the living standards of its people. The original literature in science and technology in Hindi or other regional languages is almost negligible.

In order that our students may have access to original sources, it will be essential to have proper understanding of English language.

By the time a student leaves the High School, he should, therefore, acquire knowledge of three languages —regional language, Hindi and English. The students whose mother-tongue is Hindi should learn another Indian language and in this way parity may be established between the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking regions. There is sometimes an apprehension that the study of three languages in addition to other subjects will make the curriculum too heavy for the child. The fear is baseless since we have before us example of several countries where children have to learn three languages at the secondary stage. In any case, the study of three languages is essential in a society like ours which stands for cultural freedom, national unity and international understanding.

Another difficult and yet the most urgent problem is to establish greater co-ordination between the Centre and States so that we may develop a national system of education which may reflect the beliefs and values which we have accepted for our society. While the States may maintain their autonomy in the sphere of education as provided for in the Constitution, every effort will have to be made by the Centre as well as the States to develop common national policies and programmes of education.

With this end in view, the Central Government has set up various agencies, such as the Central Advisory Board of Education, University Grants Commission, All-India Council for Technical Education, All-India Council for Secondary Education, National Council of Rural Education, etc. The Government is already considering to set up an All-India Council of Basic Education.

In order that these Boards and Councils may be effective in bringing about the necessary reforms and changes in our educational system, greatest co-operation and understanding between the Centre and the States will have to be established. If the individual States and the Centre do not act in unison in implementing national programmes of education, national unity will be weakened.

Education has always been a powerful instrument in the development of national outlook and for building up national unity. If the Central Government takes greater and greater responsibility for financing educational schemes, it should not be misconstrued as interference in the sphere which constitutionally belongs to the States but a realisation of the fact that different parts of the Indian Union are inter-dependent. If the national character of our problems, such as removal of gross inequalities in educational standards between the rural and urban areas and between backward and industrially advanced States and between various communities in the same State requires Central assistance or direction, it should be welcomed by the States.

We must develop a greater and clearer understanding of the values of centralisation and decentralisation and strike a proper balance between these two conflicting tendencies, which have certain advantages as well as disadvantages. This is a stupendous task which has to be accomplished through a spirit of tolerance, intelligent understanding and wise statesmanship.

Struggle for Freedom of Goa

T. B. Cunha, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee, writes in *Careers and Courses*:

The present struggle for the liberation of Goa was started ten years ago in June 1946. It was the first Goan revolt against the Portuguese based on popular support and with a definite political demand for civil liberties and the right of self-determination. It was an exclusively Goan movement, launched without any outside support, whatever may say the Portuguese official propagandists and those who unconsciously play their game on the Indian side.

The casual presence of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at the right moment served to the Portuguese as an argument to say that the whole affair was the work of Indian socialists and not of Goans. But the socialist leader himself was the first to admit that his participation in the first day of the civil resistance was merely accidental and due to the coincidence of his visit to his friend Dr. Juilan Menezes. And in fact he was immediately expelled from Goa and prevented from leading the movement. The agitation was purely Goan, and received no support or aid from the Indian side where everybody was busy at the time with the independence struggle and other succeeding events as the partition troubles, the organisation of the new political life and other problems of the consolidation of the independence.

To give a true idea of the intensity of our struggle to those who have been misled by the Portuguese propaganda, we can mention the fact that during the whole struggle more than five hundred Goans were sentenced by the Military Tribunal of Goa and other smaller courts for participating in movement. We do

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not include in this number those who have been arrested, beaten or tortured by the police and kept in their lock-ups for days, weeks and even months without being sent to courts. They are counted in thousands. Proportionally to the small Goan population of six hundred thousands, the number of persons sentenced for political offences in Goa constitutes a record of which hardly any other country can boast. For some of our companions the sentences of imprisonment were of 28 years, fifteen being deported to Portugal and Africa. Yet there are people who prefer to believe the Portuguese and say that Goans live satisfied under their rule which they do not resist and that their whole struggle is run by outsiders. Strangely enough the very people who accuse our countrymen of remaininng passive are themselves in different or even hostile towards our struggle.

In reality, for months and years the burden of the struggle was supported by Goans in Goa. It was precisely because our movement was left, as if the fight for India's unity and its territorial integrity was the concern of Goans alone, and isolated in India that it weakened and dragged on for years without reaching its object. It was only in 1954 that Goans in Bombay joined the revolt and took the lead of the movement inside and outside Goa. In 1955 the Indian people made their historic contribution to our cause on the memorable date of August 15.

Meanwhile, the long delay of ten years served the Portuguese to consolidate their position. In 1946, the revolt had taken the fascist rulers by surprise. They were unprepared to put it down. For nearly one month they did not react and they made no arrests and imprisonment in spite of the open defiance of fascist laws by Goan nationalist.

The conditions existing in 1946 were unfavourable for the Portuguese and were very different from those prevailing at present. To understand this difference it is necessary to take stock of the changes brought in Goa during this long interval.

It is amazing to see how the position has reversed, comparing the conditions in the beginning of the movement with the present state in Goa. In 1946, there was practically no army of occupation. The European and African forces were then two to three hundred people strong while at present they number several thousands. They are at present posted even in the remotest Goan villages. To show how disarmed were these forces at that time, it suffices to say that the amount spent for arms and ammunitions in 1948 was about Rs. 42,000 while the amount spent for the same in 1951 was raised to Rs. 2,934,522.

In 1946 the police force was unprepared to suppress the popular revolt. For nearly one month no arrest was made in the beginning despite the daily unauthorised meetings, and processions taken in defiance of fascist laws in the towns and villages. And when a few arrests were made the civil resistance, instead of subsiding, gained momentum and took a more organised shape. Those imprisoned were immediately replaced by new resisters and their number increased. But slowly reinforcements were brought from Portugal without meeting any opposition or protest.

At present, the police forces have not only increased in number and perfected their organisation but are working in close co-operation with the European military forces. The PIDE, the fascist political police which was unknown in Goa has introduced the Nazi methods of investigation using torture and murder in the progress of extracting confessions. Arrests of people, made under the slightest suspicion, as were made in those last days, are now daily occurrences. The entire population is living in terror.

In other aspects also the position of the Portuguese in Goa is far stronger than it was years ago. The Government income which was Rs. 12,714,629 in 1948 has been raised to Rs. 30,207,338 in 1954. This rise in the State income is due to two main factors; the intensification of the smuggling trade, going freely between Goa and India since the independence and the new exploitation of iron and manganese mines carried in Goa with the help of Indian capital and management. Thanks to this help the Goan general exports which amounted to Rs. 6,959,174 in 1947 reached the sum of Rs. 52,891,000 in 1954. These are the new resources which help the Portuguese to maintain a disproportionate and well-equipped army of several thousands of European and African troops meant to be used against India.

There is no doubt that the fight for the liberation has become far more difficult than it was ten years back. The hope for a peaceful settlement of our problem has been rendered more remote than before. Violence although still sporadic has already cropped up in a very ugly shape. Salazar invites trouble in order to save his face in his own country, where the prestige of the authoritarian regime is at stake. Fascist colonialism is not prepared to willingly lay down arms before contemptible orientals and pagans and prefers a military defeat. The heavy armaments accumulated in Goa are certainly not meant to suppress an internal revolt but are meant to deal with a regular army. Ten years of dictatorial obstinacy must now convince people that peaceful and non-violent methods are not effective against the ruthless ways of a fascist power.

In ten years the problem of the liberation of Goa has lost its local character and has been transformed into an international issue, to be settled far away from Goa or its neighbourhood. Goans, who were left for years with the sole responsibility of ending the foreign occupation, have now hardly any voice in the new approach to our problem. Portugal denies them the right of self-determination treating them as dumb cattle.

These ten years, freedom-loving Goans have endured sufferings and untold hardships, all for the righteous cause of winning freedom and have, therefore, the right to be taken into confidence in the settlement of this issue, since none is more competent to decide about the right way to put an end to the much-delayed and unfinished struggle. Only an open understanding between Goans and India can break the present stalemate.

Just out *Just out*

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by

JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

With a Foreword by

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Story of Suez Canal

The idea of constructing a canal to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea is not a new one. Ancient Egyptians had thought of it and actually they had joined the Nile with the Red Sea by a canal, but that canal used to be blocked by the natural forces which led the Egyptians to renew its construction. It was renewed after Arab conquest of Egypt. Ancient Egyptians had thought of constructing the Suez Canal long ago, before Napoleon Bonaparte, but they did not attempt to construct it because they thought that this Canal might endanger the sovereignty of Egypt and lead to foreign intervention. This idea can be proved by the archaeological facts in Egypt. On one of the ancient monuments one can find a statement which indicates that the construction of Suez Canal is dangerous to the country.

When Napoleon was in Egypt he decided to dig the canal in order to take his way to India and defeat British troops in the East but the Egyptians did not allow him to avail this opportunity and he was obliged to evacuate Egypt and return to France. In the year 1854 during the rule of Mohammed Said, De Lesseps, a French engineer who was in good relations with the Egyptian ruler asked to have the privilege of constructing the canal. The ruler accepted the offer. The British Government objected to it very bitterly at that time. Lord Clarendon, the Under Secretary of the States in Great Britain gave an idea of the British attitude. He said, "The traditions of the cabinet of St. James were always against digging the Suez Canal." The British press, specially the *Times* were against the French and the Egyptians and tried to influence Egypt and the Ottomon Empire "to prevent the construction of the canal." The Viceroy of Egypt was under the influence of his French friends so he signed the agreement on January 5, 1856. The agreement was sent to Constantinople for sanction. So French Government with the help and advice of Napoleon III asked the British Government to help, but Britain still protested against this idea. Lord Palmerstone on January 7, 1856, said, "Her Majesty's Government could not use its influence to make Turkey accept the agreement for digging the canal." At another place he said, "The construction of this canal is dangerous not only to the British Empire but to the entire Middle East." However after a great controversy a company for the Suez Canal was established. There were four lakhs of shares. The value of each share was only 500 francs. Egppt purchased 44% of these shares and they gave the Ottomon Caliph 181506 gratitude. British people did not buy any share and used to call the company "The Association of Young Boys."

It is necessary to state here some of the terms of the company.

(1) The Company has the privilege of the canal benefit for 99 years after which it will be handed over to the Egyptian Government.

(2) The Egyptian Government is to provide 4/5 of the labourers for the construction of the canal.

(3) No duties will be imposed on anything imported for the company.

(4) The company has the right to exploit all the mines and natural resources in Egypt useful to the company.

(5) The company's dividend profit will be fifteen per cent for the Egyptian Government, 10% for the establishers of the company and 75% for the share holders and the board of employees.

(6) The company is subdued to the Egyptian law.

The measurement of the canal was to be 56 meters width, 6 meters depth and 130 kilometers length. On April 25, 1859 they began to dig the canal but the two houses of English Parliament began severe attack and Lord Woodhouse confirmed that the policy of the British Government is not changed towards Suez Canal. Lord Ellenbrough said to his colleagues that it will be another Bosphore in the hands of the French company, that a French fleet can occupy India very easily through Suez in a shorter time than an English fleet through the Cape. All the manifestations against the scheme made the Egyptian Governor hesitate but two meters depth was actually constructed. In 1863 the new ruler of Egypt, Ismail, who was extravagant and somewhat idiot was under the pressure of the British Empire. He asked to change the items of the Suez Canal Company. The company complained against him to Napoleon III who declared that all the terms of the Egyptian ruler were to be accepted but he must pay a compensation of three million francs. The ruler accepted it in spite of the bad financial situations of the Egyptian Government during his rule. The British Government interfered officially in his financial questions and sent supervisors to control the financial policy of Egypt and seized this opportunity and ordered him to sell the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal. The British Government purchased these shares for one-third of its actual price. Since then and by the tricks of imperialism, Egyptians were away from the company and were not allowed, by force, to interfere in the matters of the company.. Through Suez Canal British troops entered Egypt after their defeat in three battles in North Egypt, but only by the trick of the company board they colonized Egypt.

Suez Canal Company registered itself from the very beginning as an Egyptian Company under Egyptian law. The issue of concession granted by the Ruler Said, to the French engineer De Lesseps, laid down that the Director of the company shall always be appointed by Egyptian Government.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt. ..

But during the last great war there was an order to the British army in the year 1940 to destroy the canal if the allies were defeated. On June 30, 1940 a message came to General Marshal saying, "An effective blocking of the Canal is essential." So the Second World War had been a very revealing factor as to the attitude of the three great powers towards the Canal although the convention of 1888 guaranteed freedom of navigation and stated that Canal shall never be subject to the exercise of the right of blockade. Article 10 of the Firman concession of the company stated, "At the expiry of the concession, the Egyptian Government will take the place of the company and enjoy all its rights without reservation, the Said Government will enter into full possessions of the Canal of the two seas and all the establishments connected therewith."

President Nasser announced on July 26, 1956 the nationalization of this Egyptian company. He declared the freedom of navigation and fair payment of compensation to the share-holders.

It is only now, after 87 years that the canal company was set up as an Egyptian company under Egyptian sovereignty. The British Prime Minister and French Prime Minister have refused to accept in any circumstances Egyptian rights of the Canal.

The canal is an Egyptian canal passing through the Egyptian land and subdued to the Egyptian sovereignty and it will be so for ever.—*Culture of Egypt*.

Technology and the Liberal Arts

Henry B. du Pont writes in the *Christian Science Monitor* :

The truly educated man today must have an understanding of the impact and meaning of technology as well as a background in the humanities.

Two great revolutions have taken place in the field of education in the past half century, one cultural and one social. Each has resulted from the impact of expanding technology and industrial advancement.

The first great change has been the transformation of the American college from a liberal arts sanctuary to one in which technical training in engineering and the physical sciences have come to have so important a place. In 1900, out of an enrolment of approximately 225,000 college students, something less than 11,000 were being trained in technical fields, or about five percent. Today, more than 15 percent of college students are in engineering alone, with a very large number additionally in the various basic sciences. This upswing is reflected further in substantial expenditures in the interest of providing technical training by American universities in the past 50 years.

The second great change to be observed concerns the greatly enlarged percentage of the population which attends college. In 1900, about one boy in 30 went to college. Today, it is one boy or girl out of three, the greatest mass educational programme in history. We had as many college students in 1950 as we had high school students in 1920. I think it is safe to say that we are now reaching the point where no boy or girl of adequate intelligence who is willing to spend the time and effort need lack for a college education.

As we study the first of the two great changes in education we see that the effect of technology on the curricula and the character of our institutions of higher learning has been enormous and far-reaching. I think it is probably true that, in recent years, this change resulted in an apparent overemphasis on technical education. There was a time, perhaps it is still with us, when those in the field of the liberal arts and the humanities saw perils in the rapid development of technical schools. They were somewhat awed by the large funds which were poured into the universities for physical plant, scholarship, and budget requirements of the engineering and scientific facilities, particularly when it appeared that this was done at the expense of the liberal arts side of the campus. This was quite a natural feeling, but I think we have, by now, come to realise that there is actually no basis for conflict; that each branch of education—technical and cultural—depends in an important way upon the other.

It is, of course, ridiculous to assume that there should be any real incompatibility between technology or industrial development and the scholarly pursuit of learning. The growth of the American university system has paralleled our industrial growth. In addition, much of our cultural development, particularly that which brought opportunities to millions of people, has come through endowments by men who shared the rewards of industrial enterprise with the general public. Art galleries, libraries, museums, historic restorations, public parks and gardens, and many other such institutions offer testimony today to the benefactions of men who were successful in the business and industrial field.

If the arts, the social sciences, and the humanities were ever in danger of being de-emphasised, the critical period has passed. In my opinion, the liberal arts are on the threshold of their most useful period of expression, for our need today is for education in its broadest sense. That is the area in which it should become clear that the liberal arts, which forms the basis of all education, have lost none of their former lustre.

Historically, it is to the universities that we look for the training of succeeding generations. The task before all of us today in planning for the future is particularly difficult, and the university's part is especially important at this time. Our society demands that the universities supply us not only the trained technicians and the gifted specialists as such, but those with a potential for broad leadership. The greatest need, now more than ever before, is for leaders—leaders with intellectual honesty, with objectivity, and with purpose.

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History does not give us any instance of a nation having strengthened her neighbours, particularly a neighbourly nation of six hundred millions with a potential strength of resistance. On the contrary, we find that political treaties have been always made to keep potential opponents suppressed and weakened. Numerous such treaties may be cited. But we will only refer to the treaty of Vienna after the fall of Napoleon, and the treaty of Westphalia after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the notorious Versailles Treaty, the recent treaty with Japan to which Russia and India refused to be parties.

There are politicians and propagandists in every non-communist country who propagate that Russia contributes these extra-territorial aids with a view to spreading communism and strengthening her own position. But even then the birth of a new spirit in Russia cannot be ruled out.

Russia must have known from world history that political alliances are as brittle as glass containers are. She has herself many bitter experiences of broken and betrayed alliances. If she has now come to believe that an alliance through communism is bound to resist all selfish desires in man and his lust for conquest, then it cannot but be admitted that on seeing her own image reflected on the mirror of communism she has been assured that communists will never fight communists. Communism, she has come to know, does not grow in greed for land and lust for conquests, but in community welfare and service to the humanity.

I am not sure if I had ever happened to meet in the Soviet Republics and in Czechoslovakia any person who was nothing but a communist. But I am sure from the talks I had with writers, artists, teachers, directors of cultural institutes, directors of collective farms, farm-workers and dwellers in villages, that they had been warmed up by a spirit that inspired them to found fraternal relationships with the people of different lands irrespective of political ideologies. The recent Bulganin-Nehru joint statement in support of the Chou-Nehru five principles was only possible because the people of Russia came to believe, like the people of India and China, that on the basis of these five principles of peaceful co-existence a better world could be built up. Because these three Prime Ministers of the world's three largest Republics had the wisdom to catch the spirit of their people and had the fairness to reflect the wishes born of that spirit, their principles were acclaimed with enthusiasm by more than a thousand millions of people.

Russia's love for Peace, her political move and her cultural pursuit in favour of world peace and peaceful co-existence of nations with different systems, have made her dear to all peace-loving people of the world including many who do not admire her social system based on communism and even some of those who hate to see further spread of the system of Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The world today thinks more of War and Peace than of political and social systems of nations.

It would be grossly unfair not to mention that the possibility of co-existence of nations was given a serious thought by Lenin himself before anybody else had conceived of it. The good Christian Powers of those days scoffed the idea off and raised an alarm warning their lambs to be on alert against what they took to be a camouflage to keep the communist lion in hiding till it finds its time to fall on its little preys. If the powers had not imagined a lion in every bush and had boldly come forward to give the proposition a feasible shape, the world would have been today much nearer to peace and prosperity. Sadder though, the world has been wiser now. The success of socialism has led some of the good Christians to regain Christianity by bidding good-bye to irrational religiosity. They have discovered the precious heritage that Christ had left in the coffer of Christianity—the belief in man's goodness and man's fulfilment through service to man. To this belief the Russians have infused the new spirit of one for all and all for each one. This is what we Indians call spiritual vision. The Russians have given this vision a material shape, a social system that works to guide man to attain fulfilment. This is the spirit which I found imbued every man and woman I had opportunities to talk to during our stay in the Soviet Republics and also in Czechoslovakia. This is the spirit that has extended beyond the political boundaries of the Soviet Union to other lands and to other peoples, far and near, to raise a hope that some day as Chekhov had beautifully put:

> "In two or three hundred years' time life on this earth will be unimaginably beautiful and wonderful. Mankind needs such a life, and if it is not ours today then we must look ahead for it, wait, think, prepare for it. We must know more than our fathers and grandfathers saw and knew."

The land of Chekhov's birth has already been unimaginably beautiful and wonderful in much shorter a space of time than Chekhov himself imagined. And now many a Masha all over the world who thought that they knew too much about this world and her people are of the opinion that they must know more than their fathers and grandfathers saw and knew. These Mashas are anxious to find life unimaginably beautiful and wonderful as the Russians have found. I had experienced it out at Helsinki before I visited the Soviet Republics. I would like to tell of it in retrospect before I pick up the thread of my thoughts on Russia.

Helsinki

Our pilgrimage on to Russia was preceded by our immersion in the holy streams of human thoughts confluenced at Helsinki in the last week of June, 1955.

It was a rare occasion of meeting in an Assembly representatives of the peoples of sixty-eight countries of the world numbering altogether one thousand six hundred and forty delegates, one hundred and nine observers, and ninety-two guests. The gathering was virtually a cross-section of the world-population. Every profession, pursuit and interest, was represented in it. A classified list issued by the Assembly Secretariat shows that peasants, technicians and engineers, businessmen, lawyers and jurists, artists, actors and film-workers, teachers, scientists and doctors, poets and writers, dramatists, journalists, office workers and trade unionists, and also two hundred and seventy-two persons pursuing several other occupations attended as delegates. Seventy-two religious figures of various denominations and one hundred and forty-six members of parliaments from different countries also participated. Never before any world assembly had gathered together such a vast concourse of persons and personalities of so many shades of opinion and social occupation.

The Helsinki Assembly for Peace was no governmental venture. It was a people's affair all through. And delegates had to find for themselves money needed for their travels bothways and their stay in Helsinki for more than a week. Sixty-eight countries could easily find participants willing to stand the cost which was by no means negligible. It may be said without risking contradiction that the majority came from middle and lower income-groups. India was represented by ninety-two persons of both the sexes. And I have no doubt that at least eighty of them had to face considerable difficulty to collect such money as was the absolute minimum. And yet they looked extremely happy; every one of them.

The Assembly Hall and its lobby presented the picture of a multicoloured floating garden of human-flowers in full blossom. Every face had a sweet smile for every one else, every eye had a glow of faith in fraternal relationship between man and man, and every voice had a note of promise for mutual aid. It was indeed a sight for the gods above and the warlords below to see how wonderfully the people of the world have come closer to one another in their endeavour to determine their own destiny.

They did not come there as rulers, legislators, administrators, diplomats and pedagogues although a pretty large number of them belonged to the very same dignitaries in their respective countries. But at the Assembly they considered themselves as commoners, sat and discussed with those who were proud to be called as commoners and worked hard day and night for a week to reach the greatest common measure of agreement to give the world such a shape that man might safely enjoy the famous Four Freedoms which was once boomed only to be buried later under the radio-active dusts and ashes. Nothing else, whatsoever, did they seek to establish; least of all communism.

Of course, there were many communist among the delegates. But non-communists were no less conspicuous by their numbers. Neither were they gagged or terrorised into silence who spoke against the communist way of life. Every delegation was given the utmost liberty to tell the Assembly what it considered to be the best method of mobilising public opinion against war, and to suggest how best problems leading to war might be resolved. The Assembly sitting at ten plenary sessions listened to the speeches and splitted itself into seven commissions to discuss the world-problems and to reach concrete resolutions. Commissions relating to technical and scientific matters were again splitted into sub-commissions to facilitate thorough discussions.

The commissions discussed (1) Disarmament and Atomic Weapons; (2) Military Blocks and Social Problems; (3) National Sovereignty and Peace; (4) Economic and Social Problems; (5) Cultural Exchanges; (6) Education and Youth; (7) Co-operation and Action of the Peace Forces. These who attended the meetings of these commissions would attest how lively the discussions were, and how sincerely was every contradiction made a moot point and discussed threadbare. Difference in opinions were at times found to be so deep and wide that it was apprehended that no agreed resolution was likely to emerge out. But not a commission broke up in disagreement. Repeated sittings and resumed discussions brought participants closer to one another, hearts leapt out to meet hearts, and agreements could no longer escape attainment.

In the plenery session the speeches of the outstanding personalities of the world were listened to with as much attention as were the speeches of persons having no world-wide fame. The Assembly was more eager to find 'what' was said than 'who it was' that said. It does not mean that personalities were not given the respect they deserved; it means that the lesser personalities and less known people were given equal respect and attention. Not unoften the Assembly rose to its feet to great speakers who were not previously known to it as it rose on its feet to applaud the speeches of its Chairman, Professor Frederic Joliot Currie, Vice-President Kno Mojo, Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg and other world-figures.

It is not possible to discuss the most excellent speeches in this space. But an attempt must be made to show how candid were most of them. In closing his address Prof. Joliot Currie said:

> "As was made clear in the course of the preparations, it is for the World Assembly itself to fix the themes for discussion and its procedure. We shall have to put forward with complete faith and in all sincerety our points of view on these problems with the prime concern of seeking effective solutions acceptable to all in spite of everything which may create difference between us elsewhere. We shall find solutions which

Leadership is never an easy role, of course, but the kind we need today is vastly different from that required in earlier days. The new leadership calls, it seems to me, more than anything else for perspective. The greater degree of specialisation we achieve, the greater the need for a perspective that can balance and equate the diverse elements in terms of the broader purpose.

The technical student of 50 years ago could hardly have seen, in his simple experiments, the kind of social and political forces which now exert pressures upon our society, many, if not all of them, arising from the changes brought about by advancing technology. The technical student of today, in contrast, must recognise and understand these forces exerted by labour, by government, by the courts, or by public opinion just as he must understand the stresses and strains of physical phenomena. Otherwise, his capacity for leadership will be severely limited.

The liberal arts curricula of fifty years ago, with the emphasis directed properly on the classics, scarcely could have anticipated that our technology in a few years would sevice all previous estimates of human progress. They hardly could have foreseen that old and well-accepted doctrines like the Iron Law of Wages, or the Limited Market, would collapse under our great outburst of productivity and invention. The liberal arts courses of today, if they are to be described either as liberal or as arts, must include a thorough analysis of the impact and the meaning of technology. Students should come to recognise not only the vital part technology has had in human improvement, but the conditions essential to its survival —the capital requirements, the incentives, and the environment in which it can best operate.

The role of leadership in tomorrow's world will be assumed neither by those who know a great deal about a very little or a very little about a great deal. It will be discharged only by those whose thinking is broad and uninhibited, those with grasp and understanding—leaders, in short, whose horizons are wide enough to comprehend the world in which we live.

This, of course, is the basic objective of the liberal arts as it is the basic objective of all education. Here we have the truly educated man, well equipped to comprehend fully the world he lives in. This is the prime goal of all education, just as it is the prime criterion of all leadership.—*USIS.*

In the Native Town of the "Leica"

Dk Wetzlar.—There is hardly any friend of the art of photography in the world who has not yet heard of the "Leica," a miniature camera which has found innumerable immitations of all kind. The quality of the original, however, has never been reached. There are many who masterly handle the Leica, among them the great French photographer Mr. Cartier-Bresson, whose pictures—unique documents of human life in our times —were exhibited in the Louvre in Paris, an honour which no photographer before him could be proud of. He worked with the Leica only. An exhibition of his pictures will be shown in some German towns this year. The importance of the Leica is however, not confined to its being an excellent camera. There are many excellent cameras in the world. When it was first put on the market 33 years ago, the Leica opened up completely new territories to photography and gave the starting signal for the lively miniature picture. Its victorious conquest of all markets of the world in the past few decades has still other important reasons. It is not only a camera for the amateur and press reporter but also represents a valuable instrument in the hands of scholars, scientists, doctors and industrialists, made complete by accessories and necessary lens systems it can cope with all the tasks which modern photography has to face.

The Leica was born in the small old Reichs-town Wetzlar between the Lahn and the Wetz. Despite its middle-age center still in existence today with steep and narrow lanes and colourful halftimbered buildings Goethe did not like it, when in 1772 he had to study the files of the former Reichs-court. He preferred to complete his "Gotz von Berlichingen" instead and devoted all his attention to the charming Charlotte Buff, the daughter of his landlord in the "Schmiedsgasse." He praised only the "heavenly beauty of nature" around the town.

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE MICROSCOPE

That this "dead and rotten hole" of Wetzlar would once come to world fame as the centre of optometry Goethe naturally could not guess at that time. 33 years after his death, Ernest Leitz the Elder founded his optical institute there. And Wetzler as the first town in Germany took up the production of microscopes on an industrial scale. The microscope then stimulated the hunting after the microbes. The instrument with which Robert Koch discovered the germs of tuberculosis and cholera had been manufactured in the workshop of Ernst Leitz. With an instrument of the same kind Loffler discovered the diptheria bacillus. In the hands of medical doctors, occupied with valuable research work, the microscope began to save mankind from diseases which had formerly depopulated towns and countries. When Leitz began to build the microscopes in Germany, the optical market was dominated by Paris. The War of 1870-71 inflicted a severe blow on the Wetzlar Works. It is impossible to speak here in all detail of all improvements and perfections which were achieved through indefatigable work of the founders of the Leitz firm as it exists today. When in 1889 Ernst Leitz the Younger entered the works of his father, it already comprised 200 workers and employees.

The firm of Ernst Leitz also overcame the First World War. After the death of the founder his son took over. Ernst Leitz the Younger as eterpriser left a free hand to his employees. In 1913 one of them, the foreman Oscar Barnack constructed the first Leica. But nobody thought that this small camera, this toy, would become an article of mass production later on. As late as in the inflation years of 1922|23 when because of time conditions, the firm got into an unfavourable situation and had to decide whether to dismiss numerous merited expert-workers, Ernst Leitz made up his mind to build the miniature camera. This was a hard decision and included a great risk. The outcome of which nobody could forecast at that time.

THE FATHER OF HIS NATIVE TOWN

Today this miniature camera is the foundation stone of the Leitz-Works. Till 1925 it comprised less than 1000 employees, in 1955 there were 2450 men and women and today the figure has risen to more than 6000. Ernst Leitz the Younger died recently at the age of 85 years. Not only the members of the enterprise, but the whole town of Wetzlar felt a deep sorrow for the passing away of its honorary citizen "the father of his native town" as it was sometimes said. During his long life time, many and high honours were extended to him. But more than these the social achievements which he introduced in his firm, were the source of his statisfaction. Never has there been a strike in the firm or a dissatisfied voice been heard. The reason for this may be that the firm relies on workers and technicians whose families have been associated with the Works since many decades and who can look back on generations of precision mechanics and opticians. After the father the son enters the Leitz Works. The mechanics and opticians of Wetzlar have a tradition of their own and are determined to maintain it.

Naturally along with the production of the Leica the Leitz concern also continues to build the world-famous optical and mechanical precision tools. Again there is a son continuing the work in the spirit of his father who during all his life has promoted science and culture and never ceased to be a simple and social man.—*Deutsche Korrespondenz,* August 11, 1956.

Songs as Bridges Between the Nations

An International Singing Circle in Hamburg

Dk Hamburg.—When the Indian Prime Minister Nehru was recently given a reception by the Hamburg Senate, it was one of the main attractions of welcome offered by the Hanse town to the high guest to have an Indian song by Tagore recited to him in its original setting by a German ladies' choir. Two Indians belong-

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ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলী

শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিঃশাস্ত্রী
(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পত্রিকার জ্যোতিষী)

ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চার ইতিহাস এবং কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলীসহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ৷ডমাই ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় সমাপ্ত।

মূল্য বাঁধান ১০৲ টাকা। রেক্সিন বাঁধাই ১২৲ টাকা।

জ্যোতিষ শিক্ষার্থী, গবেষক, ঐতিহাসিক সর্ব্বশ্রেণীর পাঠকগণের উপযোগীতে বঙ্গভাষায় রচিত। গুরুমুখী লুপ্ত জ্ঞানের সূত্র প্রদত্ত হইয়াছে। মডার্ণ রিভিয়ু, অমৃতবাজার, প্রবাসী দৈনিক বসুমতী এবং যুগান্তরের সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্যে গ্রন্থখানি প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে।

প্রকাশক—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ
৯৩নং হারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

ing to the international singing circle of the German lady singer Ina Graffius were in charge of this performance and had rehearsed it with them.

"In our circle we are encouraging the interpretation of songs of all nations. We want to be a bridge between the peoples and offer our hands across all borders through the medium of songs." This is said by the lady singer Ina Graffius who started two years ago in Hamburg to assemble around her men and women of all classes and ages who find pleasure and relaxation in singing and who also take an interest in the life of other nations. "The experience of spring or love, of summer or death is, after all, touching men and women everywhere," declares Mrs. Graffius. "Only the forms of expression in each country are different. A mother singing her child to sleep, whether German or Polish, French or Icelandic, is moved by the same feeling everywhere. And the folk songs of the nations have given expression especially to the atmosphere of events occurring at all times and places. That is why we have pledged ourselves to them."

The desire to be able to convey the folk songs of all countries equally to every receptive human being had moved Ina Graffius at a time already when she undertook to sing also Polish songs with her countrymen in the refugee camps where she lived for a long time as an East Prussian refugee. Later on, in Hamburg, she gave concerts specially with Finnish folk songs, which she recited in German and Finnish and explained to her audience in a most vivid manner. And it was with Finnish songs that she finally began, after a visit to Finland's world-famous composer Sibelius, to found her international folk circle. To understand the nations and their songs she had learned the Finnish language, started taking lessons in Icelandic, and is today even gaining ground in her knowledge of the Indian languages.

FAMOUS IN CANADA

More and more, by words passing from one to another, it became known that a German lady singer assembled men and women of different nations around her at fortnightly intervals to sing folk songs with them. The first four members soon grew into a community of more than fifty, and in the meantime the singing circle of Ina Graffius has already held its hundredth evening session. The shelves of the singing educationist are piled up with folk songs and sketches from all countries—more than ever brought out by any publishing house in Germany so far. The Israel folk song is filed next to the French one, scores from Japan and South America reveal the connection with all continents. And from her study and lecture tours, for which the German singer received the most generous support from foreign consulates, she always brought home new treasures of folk lore. She has received letters from all over the world, and a nursing sister even wrote to her from a military hospital in Canada about the success she achieved in treating and calming down her severely wonded patients when she started singing to them folk songs in English, German and French, just as they came to her and as she knew them . . . "I had to communicate this to you," writes the nurse, "because formerly I only had a quiet smile for your efforts and did not take them very seriously. But out here I learned from practical experience what they are worth."

Meanwhile, the circle of Mrs. Graffius in Hamburg consists of men and women, boys and girls not only from Germany and Finland, but also from Sweden, Iceland, the Balcan countries and lately even India. At the hundredth evening session of the international singing circle, which by now can hardly be accommodated in the private rooms and around the grand piano of the singer, two new dark-skinned guests from India joined the group. They too had heard about it by way of conversation. And in the meantime Sri Sibabrata Roy has become one of its most active members. He will at a later date be in charge of an important power plant in India and has come to Germany, so to say, to absolve his "practical year" and to collect new experience.

MUSIC AND RELIGION

As the Indians, however, contrary to the Central Europeans who are steadily growing more and more one-sided, do not feel satisfied with merely concentrating on the study of their special subjects, but each of them pursues an intellectual spare-time study, Mr. Roy has chosen Music and Religion. In reality, these two subjects are belonging together, since singing and the breathing exercises required for that purpose are, to an Indian, prayer exercises as well. He told the Germans who listened to him with astonished eyes that the Indian tradition of singing dates back to 3,000 years before Christ, and he sang to them Indian songs, the words of which were written by the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore and whose swaying charms no one can escape. India's Prime Minister Nehru was greeted by the German ladies' choir with such a song which made him take notice and suddenly find a piece of his own country up in the high North: Songs are bridges between the nations.—*Deutche Korrespondent*, August 18, 1956.

Survey Reveals Interesting Facts

More than 5,000 million copies of books of one sort or another are produced throughout the world each year. About three-quarters of all books published come from only 10 countries, and half the books published in the world are for use in schools.

In *Books for All*, Mr. R. E. Barker, Deputy Secretary of Britain's Publishers Association, who was commissioned by *Unesco* to survey problems confronting the international book trade, gives interesting facts about the book trade.

A dearth of printing and publishing facilities in large areas of the world, coupled with a mazel of obstacles at national frontiers, seriously impedes the production and free circulation of books, says Mr. Barker. Difficalties range from tariff and currency restrictions to inadequate copyright protection; from a paucity of translating services to high transport costs.

The survey reveals that only a very few countries publish more than 10,000 book titles a year.

The United Kingdom has about 8,500 retail bookselling businesses—the same number as the United States.

Between 2,500 and 3,000 languages—excluding hundreds of minor dialects—are in use throughout the world. Yet nine-tenths of the world's literature originates in only 20 or 30 tongues, the survey reveals.—*British Information Services.*

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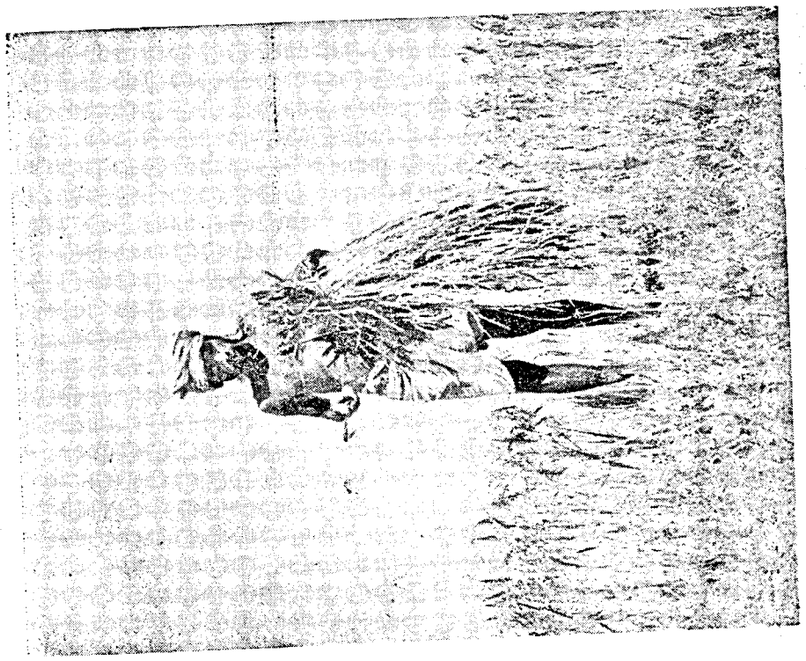
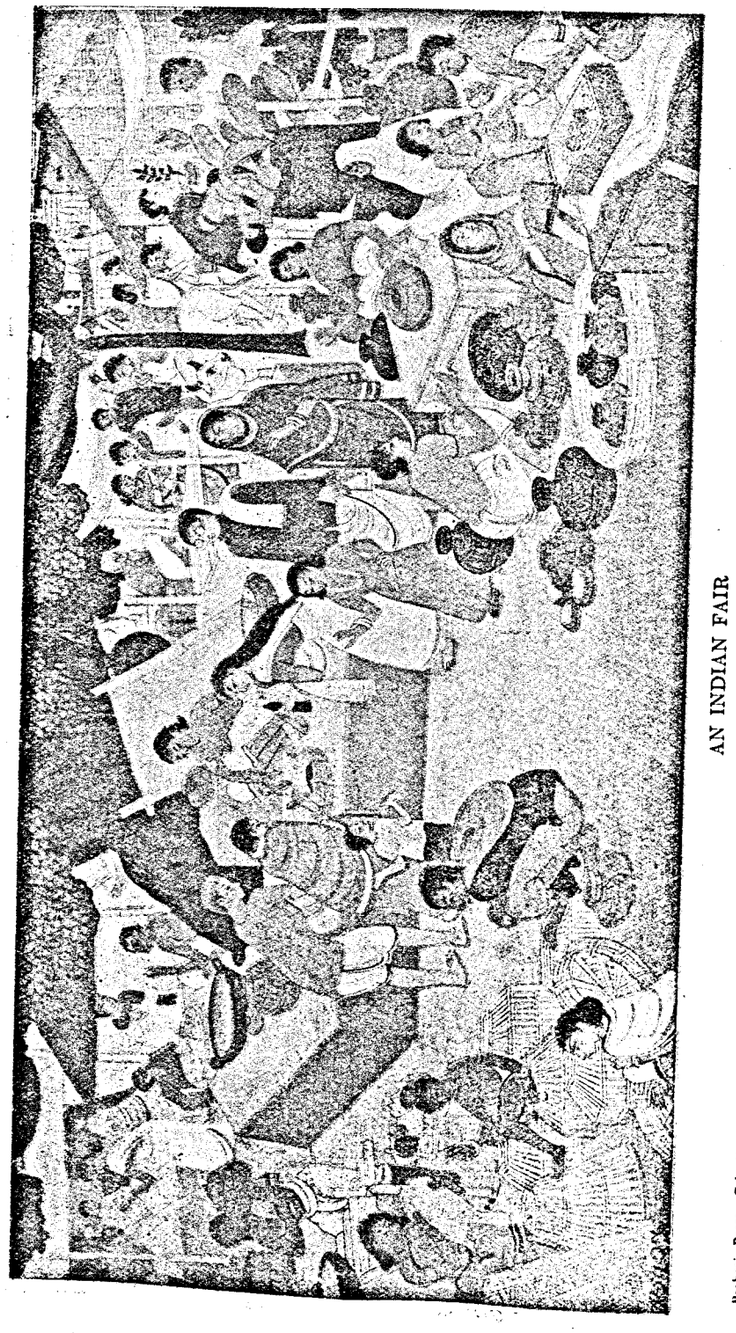


A peasant

A woman labourer

Photos : Ramkinkar Sinha



AN INDIAN FAIR

By Prabhatendusekhar Majumdar

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NOTES

The World in Travail

At the time of going to the press there was still pandemonium raging in the sphere of World Politics. Sanity seems to be dawning, with the threat of Armageddon, but colonialism —and likewise, it seems, Stalinism—dies hard. What about our rosy dreams of a world guided by Panchshila ?

It is too early as yet to draw definite conclusions about the happenings in Hungary and Egypt. But what has already transpired gives us enough light to gauge the forces that are in play. It is clear, therefore, that the predatory and totally unmoral urges of brute force, still rule some of the so-called civilized nations of the West. Amongst the Great Powers only the U.S., under guidance of a great soldier-statesman, has kept the name of democracy unsullied.

The Soviets have justified their intervention in Hungary on the grounds that the government there had called for the aid of Soviets' forces. The Budapest radio did say, on October 24, that the Hungarian Government had asked for help, in putting down the revolt, from the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. Whether the call from a *de jure* government, for outside aid and intervention, would justify action on the pattern now seen is another matter. Besides the intervention could hardly be said to be on the side of the party that called for aid. On the contrary.

But the French and the British did not have even that much of a justification. Indeed, it is clear to all reasonable persons that the three aggressors, Israel, Britain and France, have planned and acted in concert. There has been no attempt, on the part of Britain and France, even to restrain the Israelis. They have not hesitated, on the other hand, to bomb open Egyptian towns and to bombard from naval guns the civil installations of Port Said. Colonialism, in its vilest form, is apparent in every move of the British and the French.

Egypt has faced the storm with undaunted spirit, meeting superior armament and numbers with a valour that has raised admiration all over the Eastern world. Hungary is ringed in, helpless, but the fighting goes on.

What is the lesson ? The world is still a jungle, inhabited by predatory powers. Woe betide the country or the nation that slumbers with rosy dreams of Peace!

We have to think, therefore, in the terms of preparedness, preparations in the terms of matching brute force with force, if and when aggression comes. It is patent now that we have to be self-sufficient to a very large extent, not only in the terms of numbers, but also in armament. And, above all, there should be that awareness and realization about what Liberty means, otherwise internal dissensions and lack of civic morale would bring about the same catastrophic results as happened during the past seven hundred years. We should take stock, immediately, of how and where we stand in those terms.

The mainstay of any country in times of travail and stress is its intelligentsia of the middle strata. Here in India they are being ruthlessly ground down, by harassment by the bureaucracy and the rising of costs all round. Have Pandit Nehru's ministers the brains to realise the effect ? The main causes of the weakening of the roots of the Congress and the total perversion of moral values lie therein.

Imperialism in Action Again

The Arab nations' charge that Israel was an imperialist provocation in Middle East designed to hit the Arab countries below the belt at the instance of the Western masters have come true dispelling all skepticism. When the tension created (again by Britain and France) over the perfectly legal nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company appeared to be subsiding and the broader question of free international passage through the Canal was also nearing a solution, Israel created a new provocation by invading Egyptian territory on October 29. As if, by pre-arrangement, Britain and France sent an ultimatum to the governments of Egypt and Israel to stop fighting immediately and threatened Anglo-French intervention in Egypt. Compliance was demanded in twelve hours' time. The British-French demands did not end there and thereby showed their real colour. "Further, in order to separate the belligerents and to guarantee freedom of transit through the Canal by the ships of all nations," Sir Anthony Eden told the British Parliament on October 30, "we have asked the Egyptian Government to agree that Anglo-French forces should move temporarily into key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez." In reply to Mr. Gaitskell's question, the Prime Minister said: "I am sorry it will not be possible for me to give this undertaking" that no physical action would be taken by British troops before the Security Council got a chance to discuss the matter. Every move was carefully designed to make it wholly unacceptable to Egypt, short of unconditional surrender—thus reminding one of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Lest Egypt should be accommodating reply was demanded in twelve hours. Lest Egypt should agree even to that, demand was made for stationing Anglo-French troops on Egyptian soil. No country could accept such humiliating terms. Egypt naturally rejected them. Reports at the time of writing speak of Anglo-French bombardment of Cairo and other Egyptian cities.

Britain used her first veto in the Security Council on October 31 to kill a Russian backed United States proposal urging all nations to refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in Egypt. France also vetoed the resolution—thus confirming what acute observers always believed that no Big Power would ever hesitate to use the power of veto should that be necessary for their own power-interests and the use of veto was no Soviet peculiarity.

The U.S. resolution expressed concern over the violation of armistice agreement by Israel and appealed to all members of the United Nations to assist in the maintenance of the armistice agreements and called on all members "to refrain from giving any military, economic, or financial assistance to Israel so long as it has not complied with this resolution." The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (Australia and Belgium).

A Soviet proposal calling upon Israel to withdraw her troops behind the armistice was similarly vetoed by Britain and France. The voting was seven in favour, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (U.S.A and Belgium).

In both the cases the resolutions had the required majority to become effective decisions of the Security Council, had there not been any veto.

To sum up, an international war was thus raging in the Middle East and the clear character of the aggression and of the aggressors was nowhere in doubt. Even in such a situation the United Nations Security Council failed to be effective—laying bare the utter inadequacy of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining world peace. If, even in a situation where the aggression and the aggressors were universally recognized an attacked country failed to receive any protection of the United Nations and if ultimately the nations were left to themselves to ensure their own safety and territorial integrity it became difficult to see the justification for maintaining such a world organization at such cost in money and time to the various countries.

There were, however, some other very important aspects requiring consideration. In Korea, where the aggression was not confirmed (at least at the time of action had been taken by the U.S.A.), the U.S.A. intervened unilaterally without waiting for U.N. authorisation. On the present occasion when Anglo-French aggression was clear as day-light and when the slightest pressure from the U.S.A. would have desisted the European powers from taking such rash action she had done her duty by introducing a mild resolution in the Security Council. The mere raising of the issue in the Security Council by the U.S.A. was not of much importance when it was recalled that the recent internal disturbances in Hungary were also sought to be made an issue of international concern—contrary to all international peace. The question was, would she have remained content with such diluted action if instead of Britain and France, say, the U.S.S.R. or Egypt were the aggressors? If past events were any indication the reply would be an emphatic 'no.' The peaceful professions of West Powers were on trial and the world would be eagerly watching how such professions looked in practice.

Meanwhile, the views of the people throughout the world were expressed unmistakably denouncing the neo-imperialist adventure of the decaying Anglo-French Entente. The Government of India's attitude was made known on October 31 in New Delhi. A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said: "The Government of India has learnt with profound concern of the Israeli aggression on Egyptian territory and the subsequent ultimatum delivered by the U.K. and France to the Egyptian Government, which was to be followed by an Anglo-French invasion of Egyptian territory."

"It considers this a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and opposed to all the principles laid down by the Bandung Conference.

"This aggression is bound to have far-reaching consequences in Asia and Africa and may even lead to war on an extended scale.

"The Government of India is conveying its views to the Governments concerned and earnestly trusts that at this late hour this aggression will be halted and foreign troops withdrawn from Egyptian territory."

Trust in the imperialist Westerners' good sense, events have taught, is wholly misplaced. The wholly unjustified and unprovoked Western aggression against Egypt, the seizure of the yacht Athos, the piratical arrest of the Algerian nationalist leaders,—the suspension by the French Government of talks with Moroccan Government—all these are ominous signs of a renewed imperialist effort to reassert their colonialism. The newly independent nations of Asia and Africa must take lessons from these events.

Events in Eastern Europe

Eastern Europe—the land of "People's Democracies"—is in ferment. This in itself might not appear remarkable at all—especially as at no time since World War I the area was free from political unrest. The revolutionary upsurge of the second decade of this century was followed by a period of fascist subversion of the national states. The Second World War ended with the emergence of the so-called "People's Democracies" with promises of political stability and economic prosperity. Disillusion was not long to come. A new period of subversion and treachery—this time the Communist variety—marked the post-war era. The period began with Communist *coup d'etat* in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and reached its climax after the expulsion of Tito from the newly-organised European Communist Information Bureau. The death of Stalin saw the unique spectacle of armoured tanks of workers' state crushing the "ruling" working class in East Germany. In the typical Communist way the events in Eastern Germany were presented before the world as a piece of imperialist sabotage.

Then followed a period of apparent lull which was rudely broken by the Polish crisis and Hungarian desertion of the Communist bloc (the appeal of Communist Imre Nagy to the United Nations to protect its newly-proclaimed 'neutrality' is nothing short of that). To a world constantly fed on the propaganda of popular rule, democracy, socialist upsurge, economic prosperity and Communist selfless fraternity—the recent events have appeared not a little bewildering. The full implications (details also) of the events are yet to be known. But some generalizations may safely be offered.

Immediately after the establishment of the Communist rule in the Eastern European countries Communism failed to pass an important test: "Socialist internationalism" between socialist countries on an equal basis proved to be impossible—all communist theorisations notwithstanding. The world—disgusted with imperialists' gunboat diplomacy—eagerly watched how the Communist States would organize their mutual relationships. It found nothing better.

For no lack of Communist convictions or practice Yugoslavia was pressurized by the surrounding Communist States in the classical imperialist manner—only because the Yugoslavs did not agree to be dictated by the Russians on the details. Some of the East European Communist leaders, while retaining their full loyalty to Moscow, also appeared to take a like view of their countries' relationships with Moscow. In a manner—that would shame the worst imperialist tactics to the background—the saviour, guide, leader, teacher and friend of humanity and the exponent of peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Communist Party and State, capitalizing on the idealism (and sometimes opportunism too) of the local Communist leaders effected a clever subjugation of the economic and military apparatuses of those countries to Russian national interests.

People—quite innocent and no less sincere in Communist convictions—were murdered in thousands after "fair and impartial" trials—hailed throughout the Communist world as the highest examples of socialist justice but now proved, no less than on Communist authority itself, to have been entirely concocted and faked (but for all that no less stoutly acclaimed by the Communists as examples of the superior self-correcting processes of Communism). The national Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, were all liquidated and were replaced by secondary leaders. Kostov, the Bulgarian Party Secretary and Prime Minister; Rajk, the Hungarian Party leader and Foreign Minister; Dr. Klementis, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Rudolf Slansky, the Czechoslovak Party leader and Prime Minister, to name a few, were all liquidated as imperialist agents after full and thorough-going "investigation" and "trial." By some queer accident in each of these and thousands of other cases the "investigations and trials" had all been wrong. Gomulka, the Polish Party and Government leader, had been sacked as a deviationist. Through sheer good luck he had been saved from the gallows. Tito being leader of a party where Russian infiltration had been the least could not be touched, luckily. But evidence was pouring in torrents that he had been acting on the staff of British, French and American intelligence service.

The decimation of the national leadership of the parties of Eastern Europe was accompanied with a violent campaign of secret police terror and forced collectivisation. The natural result was immense economic hardship engendering great popular discontent. Many intellectuals were fleeing from their countries. In such a situation everything needed for "revolution" was there waiting to strike at the first sign of any weakening of the ruling junta. The de-Stalinisation of Soviet Russia and the consequent confusion among the world Communist movement offered that opportunity. But it would be substantially incorrect to explain the whole thing by de-Stalinisation, as has been done by many analysts. The revolutionary upsurge of the Hungarian people signifies a great force—which could not be generated by de-Stalinisation alone.

Communism in mid-twentieth century seems wholly illogical and dishonest. The dishonesty is marked by the liquidation of the East European Communist leaders on completely trumped-up charges manufactured by the Kremlin. The illogical character of Communism is marked by the ludicrous position in which Communism places its inherents. Even such a brilliant band of leaders as the Chinese Communists (who by the way have departed a long way from the Russian or Eastern European models) have to behave like political infants only because of the compulsion to follow Communist logic. Thus Liu Shao-chi, China's leading theoretician wrote even a book on the *Bourgeois-nationalist* deviation of Tito (while Indian Communists were charging the Chinese leaders themselves of "bourgeois-nationalism") only to make the Chinese party appear as "truly Communist." Tito has not changed a bit since 1949 but he is no longer a "bourgeois-nationalist" but an upholder of the "independent development" of Communist nations. Such is the way of Communist logic.

In developing the technique of devious propaganda, the Communists have surpassed everyone. MacCarthy and Goebbels could master only a part of the art so that they were exposed so soon. But the Communist propaganda machinery was able to control its inner contradictions until it violently burst in the beginning of 1956.

Marking recent examples of Communist truthfulness, the Poznan riots in Poland this year were decried as imperialist manoeuvres. Thousands were arrested and charged on that account. Now all of them have been freed as wholly innocent of any conspiracy against the State. The events in Hungary have likewise been equally decried.

The Communist Press in Soviet Russia suppressed the news of Polish and Hungarian unrest for quite a number of days. *Pravda*, the Soviet Party paper went one step further and charged Polish press of slandering the Soviet Union socialism (perhaps, for the first time *Pravda* had to eat its own words, for within two or three days of making that wild charge they had to withdraw it). The Communist press in India (speaking of its central weekly organ, the *New Age*) has likewise maintained complete silence over such momentous events.

An account of the events in Eastern Europe would be materially distorted without any reference to the role of the U.S.A., U.K. and, (to a less degree) France. Immediately on close of the Second World War, the British forces intervened to crush the Greek national movement. Efforts were abortively made to instal anti-Soviet regimes in other countries of the area also. All this coupled with the United States policy of "liberating the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe from the chains of Communism" engendered and fostered a genuine fear of aggression and subversion in the minds of the Communist leaders. Millions of U.S. dollars were budgeted every year to subvert the national governments of the area for the credit of which boasts were made in public. This was not a mean factor in engendering iron discipline, dictatorship and consequent repression in the European East. Even now the Soviet Union has been offered a pretext for military intervention in Hungary by the joint Anglo-French-American move to raise the Hungarian disturbances for discussion in the United Nations Security Council. So long as Hungarians themselves are the belligerents on either side there seems to be little justification for outside intervention on this side or that.

The latest news from Budapest show that the mechanics of Stalinism are still being used actively. In a democracy worth its name, either by the Western standards or by those of Communism, no party can call for outside armed forces to crush its opposition. That is just what Moscow is proclaiming as the reason for sending its forces to dragoon the liberty-loving Hungarian into abject submission. The phrasecology, too, of the Moscow broadcasts, is the same stereotyped jargon.

It is too early to analyse the trend of events in either Hungary or Poland. But the shadows of World conflict have ominously gathered.

French Provocation in Africa

On October 23 France took an unprecedented step in arresting the leaders of the Algerian nationalist leaders. An airliner was carrying the Algerian leaders from Rabat, capital of Morocco to Tunis, capital of Tunisia, when six French jet fighters intercepted it off the Algerian coast and forced the plane to land at Algiers at the point of guns. Thus were arrested the leaders of the national liberation movement of Algeria. Ahmed Ben Bella, Mohammed Khidai, Mustafa Lachref, Mohammed Boudiaf and Hocine Ait Ahmed. The deliberate provocation behind this act of the French Government became clear when it was remembered that—to quote *Reuter*—"The arrested leaders were to have played a part in talks (at Tunis) about a settlement of the conflict in Algeria and possibly the establishment of a bloc of North African countries maintaining links with France."

Earlier the French Government had announced the suspension of talks with newly independent Morocco on future relations between France and Morocco on the ground that the Moroccan Government had allegedly been helping the Algerian insurgents fighting against the French.

The arrest of the Algerian leaders was followed by a French complaint before the U. N. Security Council against Egypt and strike on October 25 of French civil servants and workers in public service in Morocco as a protest against "anti-French rioting in Meknes." The Moroccan Government resigned the following day protesting against French military occupation of the police headquarters at Meknes. On October 26, M. Habib Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia, also reported of clashes between French and Tunisian troops on the Algerian border but this was denied in Paris by

the Secretary of State for the French Army, M. Lejeune. France also lodged a protest against Egypt with the Security Council.

As a natural corollary there was widespread strike throughout the Arab world. Mr. Bey Yahmid, Tunisian Secretary of State for Information, said on October 27 that the Tunisian Premier's efforts for peace in North Africa had failed because of French intransigence. Mr. Yahmid expressed the Tunisian Government's hope that France would "undo the error" of arresting the five Algerian nationalist leaders and transferring them to France. Earlier the Afro-Asian group of States also called upon the United Nations Organization to ask France to free the Algerian leaders. The French attitude remained unrelenting at the time of writing.

Referring to the arrest of the Algerian leaders and the seizure of a Yacht named "Athos" by the French the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on October 29 :

"The spectacle of the Prime Minister of France perilously progressing from one vote of confidence to another, actively encouraging the merciless decimation of Algerians, spouting venom at the Egyptian President, busy with piratical and kidnapping activities, angering the Moroccans and Tunisians and then talking of 'lasting ties' with them, is one of the odder highlights of this decade's bizarre world politics. The perfidious manner in which five Algerian leaders were seized and the lawless interception of a gun-laden yacht in the Mediterranean have made the North African situation a hundred times worse. It is doubtful if France can ever hope for friendly relations with any Arab nation in the future. And it is the agitated government of this puzzled pseudo-Socialist Mollet which has, on an amazingly puerile pretext, appealed to the U.N. Security Council for discussion of military aid given by Cairo to the Algerians. The audacity of the appellant nation coupled with its naked bellicosity is sufficient to put to shame all who continue to look hopefully at the United Nations."

The *Chronicle* adds :

"What is the French case ? The *Athos* carrying small arms and ammunition to a Moroccan port was challenged by ships of the French Navy off the Algerian coast and seized. M. Mollet himself has admitted in the French National Assembly that in seizing the yacht the French 'were acting, I recognize, a little outside of territorial waters.' This is a damnable understatement. What they have done is an act of open piracy. And it is such a case that they have taken to the U.N.! It may be that supply of arms to the Algerians, however indirectly, is unpleasant to the French; it may even be construed as an unfriendly act. But two wrongs (if indeed the first is a wrong in the strictest sense of the term) do not make a right. And for France to assume the role of the injured innocent is a slap in the U.N.'s face, nothing less. Gun-running is no new thing; ever since Israel was born, guns and heavier military equipment have flowed into that country. But seizing a ship on the high seas under cover of the several disputes agitating North Africa remains a flagrantly illegal act which has yet to be condemned by all the world, especially France's worried collaborators."

Industrial Finance

The eighth annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India reveals a steady progress in the activities of the Corporation. Indian industry is seeking the assistance of the Industrial Finance Corporation in an ever-increasing measure and the amounts of loans sanctioned by the Corporation has also been increasing. During the year ended 30th June, 1956, the Corporation received 86 loan applications, aggregating Rs. 27.70 crores, as against 46 applications for total credit of Rs. 11.27 crores in the preceding year. In the year 1955-56, it sanctioned Rs. 15.13 crores covered by 44 applications, as against Rs. 7.34 crores and 27 applications in 1954-55. The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation up to June 30, 1956 is Rs. 43.21 crores. The amount actually disbursed stands at Rs. 16.73 crores, while loans declined or not made available was Rs. 6.23 crores. The Corporation's outstanding net commitments stand at Rs. 20.25 crores.

All sections of Indian industries have become the recipients of loans from the Corporation, the leading borrowers being the food, textiles and paper industries. The loans sanctioned up to June 30, 1956, are as follows :

Food manufacturing industries (except beverage industries)	Rs. 11.69	crores
Textiles (spinning, weaving and finishing of textiles)	„ 6.60	„
Paper and paper products	„ 4.21	„
Artificial fibres	„ 1.10	„
Rubber products	„ 15.50	lakhs
Basic industrial chemicals, including fertiliser	„ 5.36	crores
Vegetable, animal oil and fats	„ 6.50	lakhs
Miscellaneous chemical products	„ 41.25	lakhs
Glass and glass products	„ 1.10	crores
Pottery, china and earthenware	„ 39.50	lakhs
Cement	„ 3.40	crores
Non-ferrous metals industry	„ 1.17	„
Metal products except machinery	„ 1.68	„
Machinery except electrical machinery	„ 1.08	„
Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances & supplies	„ 1.56	„
Rail-road equipment	„ 50.00	lakhs
Motor vehicles and ancillaries	„ 1.37	crores
Bicycles	„ 50.50	lakhs
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	„ 42.80	„
Electrical light and power	„ 42.75	„
	Rs. 43.21	crores

During 1955-56, sugar and textile industries received the largest amount of loans. A notable feature in this respect is that loans were advanced to co-operative sugar industries in Bombay, Mysore, Assam and the Punjab. The total loans sanctioned to sugar co-operatives in 1955-56 aggregated Rs. 5.50 crores and three other applications covering Rs. 1.30 crores are under consideration. In pursuance of the declared policy of the Government of India to encourage the establishment of co-operative sugar industry, the Central and State Governments have guaranteed the loans granted to the sugar co-operative during the year 1955-56.

The working of the Corporation for the year ended the 30th June, 1956, has resulted in a profit of Rs. 32.68 lakhs which shows an increase of Rs. 8 lakhs over that of the previous year. After setting aside a sum of Rs. 10.18 lakhs as provision for taxation, the Corporation is left with a net profit of Rs. 22.50 lakhs. The whole of this amount has, however, been transferred to the reserve for bad and doubtful debts, in view of the anticipated loss in the account of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. The Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. was sold last year to a Japanese firm, the Asahi Glass Company Ltd., at a price of Rs. 70.36 lakhs. This entire amount was advanced to the purchaser firm as a loan by the Industrial Finance Corporation. Prior to this disposal, the Corporation had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 40.31 lakhs for the management of the concern. Under the terms of the agreement, the Asahi Glass Works has set up an Indian Company in the name of the Indo-Asahi Glass Company to run the concern.

The Corporation has, therefore, to call upon the Central Government this year to pay it a subvention to enable it to pay the entire guaranteed dividend amounting to Rs. 11,25,500. During the year under review, conditions for loans were liberalised by the Corporation. A measure of great significance is the institution of a separate legal branch of its own, manned by full-time officers under the control of the Corporation in the head office as well as in two of its branch offices. This measure, which has been introduced as an experiment for the present, will be extended to all the branches later on. The measure is designed to quicken the pace of work at various stages in connection with the examination of title deeds and the execution and registration of mortgage documents. This will also cut down to a very considerable extent, the legal charges now incurred by the Corporation and passed on to the borrowers. The terms and conditions incorporated in the mortgage deeds of the Corporation are now considerably simplified and standardised. The previous practice of sending the client's representative all the way to the head office in Delhi to discuss and finalise the terms and conditions of loans has been discontinued. The branch managers have now been authorised to deal with clients on the spot on behalf of the Corporation. The Corporation has also liberalised to an appreciable extent the conditions under which interim loans are granted, particularly in cases where, pending the finalisation of the legal formalities concerned with the execution and registration of the formal mortgage deeds, machinery, etc., ordered by the clients has to be paid for or documents relating to which have to be retired.

When the Corporation was set up in 1948 much hopes were raised that it would undertake large-scale expansion in the field of industrial

finance. The activities of the Corporation did belie that hope as during all these years the achievement of the Corporation is none too gratifying. The main problem of industrial finance in this country is the lack of underwriting facilities for new industrial concerns. Mainly for the purpose of underwriting so as to promote new industrial enterprises, the Corporation was set up. But by a queer argument, the previous Chairman, Lala Shri Ram, maintained that it was not the business of the Corporation to undertake underwriting business and as a result the scope of operations of the Corporation was much limited. It failed to rise up to the occasion for which it was designed because of a narrow outlook regarding its functions. To remedy the shortcomings of the Corporation, several other institutions have been set up meanwhile, namely, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, and the State Finance Corporations. The activities of these new institutions to a certain extent overlap those of the Corporation.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Corporation, the Chairman has pointed out that both these new institutions have a greater measure of freedom in the matter of financial operations and they enjoy certain special facilities which the Industrial Finance Corporation does not possess. Though the Central Government have so far implemented the policy of utilising the Corporation as the main channel for processing their own industrial loans, it now seems that by setting up the National Industrial Development Corporation, the Central Government intends to make greater use of the latter in the development of new industrial undertakings in the public sector. The NIDC has also been given greater importance in the rehabilitation of some of the old industries in the private sector, as for example, the jute and textile industries.

The programme of overall development envisaged in the private sector during the second Plan period is estimated to involve an outlay of Rs. 720 crores, comprising Rs. 570 crores of new investments and Rs. 150 crores on replacements and modernisation. Of this total estimate of Rs. 720 crores, a provision has been made by the Planning Commission for Rs. 55 crores for the activities of the National Industrial Development Corporation and Rs. 15 crores for the Industrial Finance Corporation. The balance of Rs. 650 crores is to be raised from other sources. The Chairman has stated that certain State Government have sanstioned loans directly to certain industrial concerns, and according to a statement contained in the annual report of one of the State Financial Corporations, the State Government concerned have been offering loans at rates of interest which are only about half of those charged by the Industrial Finance Corporation and on the basis of security which are also very much easier than those observed by the Corporation. This is rather a step to bypass the Corporation. To impart greater flexibility in the working of the Corporation the Industrial Finance Corporation Act needs to be amended. Otherwise there will be little expansion in the activities of the Corporation. The Chairman has rightly sounded a note of warning as regards the dwindling resources of the Corporation. The most important factor which is likely to come in the way of expanding the operations of the Corporation to the fullest extent otherwise possible, is the fact that, if it succeeds in inviting business at the present rate and dealing with applications for loans at the pace that it has achieved last year, its own monetary resources will soon be tapering off, thereby forcing the Corporation to borrow under conditions which may leave a little margin of profit after meeting tax obligations and its own working expenses. But this is also certain that its own resources, however expanded, are bound to be inadequate to the growing needs of the industries. Sooner or later, it will be compelled to borrow in the market and that is the only way to augment its resources. Alternatively, the Government of India may give interest-free loans to the Corporation for specified period as has been given to Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

India's Foreign Exchange Resources

A great deal of controversy has been made over the recent letter of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black on India's second Plan. A cool and dispassionate thinking, however, will reveal that what Mr. Black said was said in good faith and that is admitted by Pandit Nehru. When the World Bank Commission visited India, it pointed out several drawbacks in the Government of India's economic policy. Mr. Black's letter to the Union Finance Minister is on the basis of the recommendations of the World Bank Commission. After all, the World Bank is a Bank designed to render financial assistance to the member-countries for industrial development and Black's letter should be treated as a banker's advice to his client. Of course, some of the suggestions of Mr. Black are uncalled for and they better need not have been at all made and to them we shall turn later on. But other suggestions will be admitted as reflecting a correct diagnosis of the Government policy which has been subjected to much criticism even in this country.

On the subject of transport in the Second Plan, Mr. Black has stated: "We are struck by the extent to which the lack of adequate transportation facilities threaten to constitute a bottleneck in the country's economic development. We recognise that substantial resources are already allocated for investment in the railways under the Second Five-Year Plan, and we are not necessarily suggesting for an increase in this allocation. Indeed, in view of the acute shortage of capital for development and the very high import content of railway investment, attention should be given first to the possibilities of improving the operational efficiency of the railways and encouraging road transport and coastal shipping." He suggests that transportation could be regarded as a top priority for any Bank financing that might be devoted to the Second Plan. It would be useful if the general problem of transport in India could first be discussed by the Government of India and the Bank.

It may be pointed out here that in 1949, the World Bank granted a loan of $34 million for the purchase of locomotives. Since then the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works has been set up, still there has been shortage both of locomotives as well as wagons. It is also an admitted fact that since the division of the railways on zonal basis, the operational efficiency of the railways has been impaired. The glaring instance of such inefficiency is evident in the allotment and movement of wagons in the matter of coal dispatches, the result being that there have been persistent accumulations at the pitheads with shortage of supply in the retail markets. So, what Mr. Black suggests is that the operational efficiency of the railways can be improved under the existing railway resources and in the immediate future there need be no borrowing from the World Bank.

In its issue of October 19, the London *Economist*, in an article on the World Bank President's letter to the Indian Finance Minister said that if the World Bank "had tried to dictate economic policy to India it would deserve sharp criticism. It would also be acting out of character." It further observes: "An institution founded by Governments and launched with tax-payers' money could not be very easily propagate doctrinaire opposition to all socialist measures; and the Bank which has lent money to Communist Yugoslavia would look silly if it strained at the gnat of India's mild 'socialist pattern' after swallowing Marshal Tito's camel." It must be admitted that the World Bank has no right to call in question the economic policy of any of its member-countries. The determination of the economic policy is the inherent sovereign right of the country concerned and the World Bank would do a foolish act in interfering with the internal policy of a member-Government. But undoubtedly it can suggest ways and means for economic betterment of its member-country and it can also criticise a member-country's plan for which loan has been asked. But it would transgress its jurisdiction if it makes a general criticism of the Government policy on a doctrinaire basis.

Mr. Black in his letter expressed the view that India's interest lay in giving private enterprise, both Indian and foreign, every encouragement to make its maximum contribution to the development of the economy, particularly in the industrial field. The potentialities of private enterprise, he had stated, were commonly underestimated in India and its operations were subjected to unnecessary restrictions. In a country, short of capital with limited resources of managerial and administrative talent, "it is important that the respective roles of public and private enterprise should be fixed entirely on a basis which will ensure the most effective contribution of each to the economic development, and not on any theoretical concept of the role that each should play," Mr. Black said, adding that the Industrial Policy Resolution of

India of April last, reserved to the State exclusive responsibility for new undertakings in a large number of industries, including oil, coal and other minerals. He further adds: "It seems to me that this policy if rigidly applied, could only result in imposing heavy additional burdens on the already overstrained financial and administrative resources of the public sector and in restricting the rate of public development in these vitally important fields."

As regards the role and importance of the private capital in the development of India's industrial enterprises, we are afraid Mr. Black has made an overestimation of their resources. Ever since the attainment of independence, the role of the private capital has not been up to the mark; it has failed to rise up to the occasion to raise India's industrial potentialities. The indigenous capital has been more bent upon earning windfall profits on speculative deals rather than undertaking risk capital in new ventures. Even the established industries were not being run on a sound basis. The notable example being that of the ship-building yard of the Scindia's at Vizagapatnam. The Scindia were hard pressed in running the ship-building business as the vessels built at their shipyard did not have a proper market. Ultimately the Government of India had to come to their rescue and this private shipbuilding enterprise had to be nationalised. The performance of the private capital in setting up new industrial enterprises is none too encouraging. In 1948, there were 22,675 joint-stock companies in this country with a paid up capital of Rs. 569.6 crores. In December, 1955, their number swelled to 29,948 with a paid up capital of Rs. 1,013.3 crores. That is, in a period of 8 years, the total paid up capital of Indian joint-stock companies increased by only Rs. 443.7 crores, the annual increment in the capital stock of industrial enterprises being Rs. 55.4 crores on an average. This is, of course, a very poor performance and had it been known to Mr. Black, he would not have held a brief for the development of private capitalistic enterprises in this country. Of this amount of Rs. 443 crores, it should be pointed out that nearly Rs. 100 crores are accounted for by State industrial enterprises and another amount of about Rs. 50 crores are accounted for by private foreign capital. Between 1947 to 1955, consent for Issue of Capital was granted for a total sum of Rs. 125.4 crores, of which the industrial issues comprised Rs. 97.5 crores and the non-industrial issues Rs. 27.9 crores.

According to a Reserve Bank study, between 1948 to June 1956, issues of fresh capital amount to Rs. 134.6 crores, of which bonus issues amount to Rs. 53 crores or 28 per cent. The Second Five-Year Plan roughly estimates that new industrial issues during the First Five-Year Plan period, excluding bonus issues, amounted to Rs. 40 crores in the indudstries covered in the Plan, as against Rs. 150 crores of internal resources, giving annual averages of Rs. 8 crores and Rs. 30 crores, respectively. These figures will speak for themselves and the role of the private capital in the fields of industrial enterprises in this country has been very disappointing. That is why the Government of India has to step deeper into industrial undertakings hitherto run by private enterprise which has failed palpably to expand their activities. The new industrial policy of the Government of India is, therefore, a step in the right direction and it has been more than imperative that in view of the failure of the private capital to step up industrial production, the State should undertake upon itself the task of developing new industries with a view to creating new employment opportunities and also to augment the industrial resources of the country. Mr. Black's appreciation of the role of the private capital in the field of industrial enterprises in this country has been evidently mistaken and misinformed.

Mr. Black has also referred to the importance for securing technical co-operation and financial support of foreign private enterprise in carrying out development programme. While welcoming the arrangements made in the Second Five-Year Plan for the purpose, he states: "The Bank hopes that more positive measures will be taken to facilitate foreign investment and that consideration will be given to the suggestions made by the mission (the World Bank Mission which visited India earlier this year at the invitation of the Government of India) in its memorandum." The Bank feels that greater emphasis should be laid in the Second Five-Year Plan on measures to develop overseas earnings. While expressing the belief

that Indian economy has the capacity to develop the basic strength which would justify a considerable increase in overseas borrowings during the next five years, Mr. Black says that the IBRD hopes to play an important role in providing external finance for India's development efforts. He has, however, stated that the Bank's assistance would have to depend on the extent and character of the impact of external debt contracted from other sources on India's balance of payments as well as on the external financial assistance which India could obtain without incurring fixed foreign exchange obligations.

A lender is perfectly justified in enquiring about the credit-worthiness of the borrower. Ever since the devaluation of Indian currency in 1949, India has been suffering from adverse balance of payments position. The overall balance of payments during the First Five-Year Plan is adverse to India to the extent of Rs. 506.5 crores; the figures for individual years being, Rs. 3.5 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 232.8 crores in 1951-52, Rs. 31.1 crores in 1952-53, Rs. 52.1 crores in 1953-54, Rs. 85.0 crores in 1954-55 and Rs. 105.5 crores in 1955-56. During the Second Five-Year Plan, for the public sector a credit of Rs. 800 crores is taken by way of external resources. In the first Plan period, a total of Rs. 298 crores of external finance was made available to India for programme of development in the public sector, of which Rs. 204 crores is estimated to have been utilised. The balance of Rs. 94 crores will be available for utilisation in the second Plan period. In addition, arrangements have been made for credits from the USSR Government and the UK Government and British bankers for a net amount of Rs. 76 crores (after allowing for repayment of Rs. 20 crores of USSR credit of Rs. 63 crores) to finance the steel projects. As for the private sector, a sum of Rs. 22 crores is already made available as the undisbursed portion of the loan made by the World Bank to the Indian Iron and Steel Company, the Tata Hydro-Electric Company and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. India has already a large external liabilities and the World Bank can reasonably claim to suggest how India contemplates to meet her gap in balance of payments position before the Bank makes further advances.

American Views on Second Plan

Dr. W. S. Woytinsky, the noted American economic expert, discusses the targets and idcologies behind the Second Five-Year Plan of India in two articles in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*.

At the outset of his discussion Dr. Woytinsky notes that while all Asian countries had adopted plans for the development of their national economics, the role of Indian "Plan (with a capital P)" was greatly different. "In India, the Plan is the focus of public life, a part of national faith, while plans in the other Asian countries were little known to the public.

Referring to the overall targets set for the first Plan, Dr. Woytinsky says that "This would have been a fairly modest target even if all these outlays were capital investments (which they were not), but in the early phase of planning, Indian economic experts were afraid of their own boldness." He, however, notes that all things considered, the final results of the first plan "vindicates the caution exercised by the authors of the First Plan."

According to the learned economist, "The main impact of the (first) Plan was not in the accelerated growth of the production but in the change of the attitude of the people, a very important change that is not reflected in the current statistics. The country had become conscious of the Plan and its targets. The sullen passivity of the framers was broken . . ."

The Second Five-Year Plan, according to the writer, was "a very complicated programme;" but in spite of weaknesses, "fundamentally it is sound, not unduly ambitious and has a good chance of success." The extent of the success of the Plan would depend, partly on foreign assistance, that is, on American aid. "At this point," Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Indian economic planning gets tangled with the foreign policy of the United States."

Between 1956 and 1960—that is, during the period of the Second Plan—India expected to obtain $1,680 million from abroad. According to the estimate of the writer even at the beginning, India had $357 million at her disposal, $197 million outstanding foreign credit not utilised during the first Plan period, a promise of credit from the U.S.S.R. ($90 million) and Great Britain ($70 million). In addition, India

hoped to withdraw $400 million from her sterling reserves in London. "All this reduces to $900 million the amount of foreign aid—loans rather than grants—which India needs for the execution of the Second Plan. The gap is not 90 per cent but less than 10 per cent of all planned developmental outlays," Dr. Woytinsky notes and remarks that while the U.S. Government did not need to cover the whole 'gap' it must, if it decides upon helping India, provide aid to India in conformity with the economic status and standard of generosity of the U.S. Government. But such aid should be without string and should be given in friendly spirit and not on any agreement of ousting Russian influence.

Regarding the controversy about the increasing active role of the public sector in the Indian plan, Dr. Woytinsky writes, "Such is the prevailing trend in all modern countries." Indeed, even the U.S.A. was ahead of India in this respect—accounting for 25 per cent of the national income as against only 7 per cent in India. "If India increases this ratio by one point each five years (as proposed in the Second Plan), it will need eighteen five-year periods or ninety years in all to reach the present U.S. 'Socialist pattern of society'," Dr. Woytinsky remarks. However, he considers the direction of governmental efforts to be wrong in India inasmuch as in India the increase of the public sector was not aimed, "in the fields that would bring the greatest advantage to the people—such as, education, health services, and water supply—but in operations in which the replacement of the private management by Government officials promises little or no gain to the national economy."

Saar Treaty

The Franco-German Treaty re-incorporating the Saar in Germany was signed in Luxemburg on October 27 by the French and German Foreign Ministers, M. Pineau and Herr von Brentano. It may be recalled that after the failure of the draft of the European statute for the Saar, rejected by the population of the region in the referendum held on October 23, 1955, the Ruhr concerns demanded that this important industrial region be immediately included in the Federal Republic of Western Germany. The pro-German parties—the Christian Democratic Union, the Saar Organization of the German Social Democratic Party and the Saar Democratic Party won the elections to the Saar Landtag on December 18, 1955, and the Municipal elections on May 13, 1956. After winning the majority of seats in the Landtag and forming a Government of their representatives, headed by Gubert Nei, leader of Christian Democratic Union, the pro-German elements began a persistent campaign for the inclusion of the Saar in the Federal Republic, and supported the Bonn Government in its talks with France. There are many economic and political French monopolies in the Saar and under these circumstances they decided to barter the Saar for maximum economic concessions in the Ruhr.

The Saar provides 6.1 per cent of the total output of the steel and 7 per cent of the coal of the European Coal and Steel Community. It is, therefore, clear that by this treaty there would be further losses for the French in this super-cartel. The chief demands of the French trusts, primarily of Lorraine heavy industry, were that West Germany should consent to the construction of the Moselle canal and guarantee for continued deliveries of Saar coal. The Lorraine iron and steel industry has an important interest in the West German market, as German machine building works are its old clients. Since the Second World War, the Ruhr iron and steel concerns have successfully competed with the French in this field with the aid of high railway tariffs. The cost of transporting Lorrain steel to the sea ports would be reduded by 70 per cent with the building of the Thinoville-Coblenz stretch of the Moselle canal. The cost of sending Ruhr coal to Lorrain would be halved. With guaranteed deliveries of coal the Lorraine trusts can considerably raise their competitive capabilities. The Ruhr monopolies adopted a very hostile attitude towards the Moselle canal project and the West German experts claimed that the canal would not be a profitable undertaking.

These differences were, however, compromised at the Luxemburg talks on June 5, 1956. France has agreed to the political reunification of the Saar with the Federal Republic of Western Germany from January 1, 1957. The economic reunion is to be effected gradually, during a period of three years, beginning with January 1, 1957. France has received the right to exploit the Warndt coal mines until 1970, during which period she will extract 66 million tons of coal. The West German Government has promised to sell to France an additional 24 million tons of coal during this period as compensation for French investments in the Saar. West Germany will construct the Moselle canal at a cost of DM 550 million, out of which West Germany will contribute DM 300 million and France DM 250 million.

Bulganin-Eisenhower Correspondence

On October 19, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Washington handed over to the U.S. Secretary of State a letter from the Soviet Premier addressed to the U.S. President. The letter was released to the Press by *Tass*, the official Soviet news agency, on the following day before the U.S. President's reactions thereon became known.

In his letter, dated the 17th October, Premier Bulganin referred to the importance of an American-Soviet accord on disarmament in general and on banning atomic weapons in particular. He also mentioned the current controversy in the U.S.A. over the suspension of tests of nuclear weapons.

M. Bulganin said: "We certainly realize that a debate on any problems of international importance, including those of disarmament, is apt to take on a form of polemics in the United States today as the election campaign is going on. We cannot, however, afford to disregard the fact that in some instances official pronouncements are giving evidence of manifest misrepresentation of the Soviet Union's policy on those matters. This is, unfortunately, particularly true of the statements made by Mr. Dulles, who is not stopping short of direct attacks on the Soviet Union and her peace-striving foreign policy."

Pending agreement on the broader question of the prohibition of nuclear weapons, M. Bulganin continued, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. might strive toward achieving agreement on lesser points, such as, the suspension of the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. There would not be any particular difficulty in supervising the executions of an agreement on the suspension of tests of nuclear weapons "since with the present state of science no atomic or hydrozen explosion can be carried out without it being recorded in other countries. Would it not in itself be the surest guarantee against any breach of such agreement that undisclosed tests of nuclear weapons are impossible and that, consequently, no government which will have solemnly undertaken to cease tests would be able to break this pledge without having exposed itself in the eyes of the whole world as a violator of the international convention?"—M. Bulganin queried. He assured the American President that if the U.S.A. decided to discontinue atomic tests she would not be alone in doing so; the Soviet Union would also follow suit. To make the settlement of the question of atomic tests dependent upon the agreement on an overall disarmament programme would not be wise, he said.

Premier Bulganin said that the Soviet Government was "prepared to conclude an agreement with the United States of America at once on ending atomic tests. We, naturally, act on the assumption that other nations possessing atomic weapons will accede to such an agreement."

President Eisenhower's reply to the Soviet Prime Minister's letter was made known in Washington on October 21 immediately after it had been drafted and before it was sent to the Soviet Premier. This was a departure from usual diplomatic practice.

President Eisenhower said in his reply that M. Bulganin's letter was an interference in the internal affairs of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Premier's remarks about Mr. Dulles was "not only unwarranted but is personally offensive to me." He said that the Soviet Prime Minister's letter departed from accepted international practice in a number of respects. Yet he had not directed the State Department to return the letter because though he disapproved the Soviet Premier's departure from international practice the president still hoped that "direct communications between us may serve the cause"

President Eisenhower said in his reply to Marshal Bulganin's letter: "The sending of your Note in the midst of a national election campaign of which you take cognizance, expressing your support of certain prominent public figures in the U.S.A. constitutes an interference by a foreign nation with the internal affairs of a kind which if indulged in by an Ambassador would

lead to his being declared *persona non grata* in accordance with long-established practice."

In a subsequent statement on October 23 defining the official United States position on the tests of nuclear weapons, President Eisenhower said that the U.S.A. would continue tests of nuclear weapons until world peace was assured through "properly safeguarded international agreements."

President Eisenhower said that without a properly safeguarded programme of disarmament, the U.S.A. could not discontinue nuclear tests. The importance of U.S. strength in this particular weapons-field was sharply accented by the "unavoidable fact of our numerical inferiority to Communist man-power."

He said that the continuance of Hydrogen Bomb would not imperil the health of humanity. The American Academy of Sciences had reported last June on the basis of a study by 150 scientists of the first rank, the President said, that the radiation exposure from all weapons-tests to date—and from continuing tests at the same rate—was and would be, only a small fraction of the exposure that individuals received from natural sources and from medical X-rays during their lives. Moreover, radio-active fall-out could not be restricted by limiting tests to the smaller nuclear weapons.

The President said that the Soviet Union was sincere in its desire to stop H-bomb tests. But he could not regard a simple agreement to stop H-bomb test as automatically self-enforcing since it might not be possible to detect small nuclear weapons tests in the Soviet Union because of the vast Soviet land mass. Nor was it possible to state, immediately following the long-range detection of a test, its size and character.

"If your government were to suspend research and preparation for tests—as well as the tests themselves—and resume such preparation only upon knowledge that another nation had actually exploded another H-bomb," the President told his countrymen, "we could find our present commanding lead in nuclear weapons erased or even reversed."

Referring to the Bulganin-Eisenhower exchanges, the *Hitavada* writes in an editorial article on October 26 that while the American President was right in taking exception to M. Bulganin trying to interfere in United States domestic policies his objection was valid only to that extent. From the broad point of view of peace and security, M. Bulganin's proposal deserved serious consideration. Irrespective of who raised the question it was an acknowledged fact that suspension of thermonuclear tests was an essential precondition for the relaxation of international tension.

Referring to President Eisenhower's reply, the *Hitavada* writes: "The objection of President Eisenhower that without inspection and control it is not possible to stop these tests as there was no guarantee that the Soviet Union will not continue experimentation with these weapons is not convincing" on the face of increasing development of scientific knowledge on the subject rendering it practically impossible for any State to explode a nuclear weapon without being detected by others. The newspaper expresses the hope that M. Bulganin's proposal would be seriously considered by the U.S. President after the elections and that the new administration would apply its mind to the need for the suspension of those tests which had been asked for by those who knew atomic matters best—namely, the scientists.

"Humanity has raised this question and wants an answer from the American President," the *Hitavada* concludes.

Events in Singapore

Serious riots broke out in Singapore on October 25 over the Government's action in closing the students' union as an alleged subversive organization. Reports reaching here indicated that seventeen persons were killed and more than a hundred were injured as a result of the clashes between the police and the public. The number of arrests exceeded five hundred. British and Malay troops were used and Royal Air Force planes were also commissioned to frighten away the rioters. A curfew was imposed in the city. The Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Yew Hock blamed the Communists and the Opposition People's Action Party for the troubles.

There was widespread strike as a mark of protest against the government's action and the government responded by rounding up the Left-wing trade union leaders.

The background to these events in Singapore is provided in a dispatch of the *Economic Weekly's* Singapore correspondent in the October 27 issue of the newspaper. The correspondent writes:

"On September 20th the newly reconstituted Labour Front Government under Lim Yew Hock, the Chief Minister, suddenly ordered the arrest of five men and two women as 'a threat to the security of Singapore by reason of their Communist activities' and the dissolution of two organisations, the Singapore Women's Federation and the Chinese Brass Gong Musical Society. At the same time the Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union registration was cancelled and its chairman arrested who, incidentally, was also a member of the Executive of the People's Action Party, the principal opponent of the Labour Front in the Assembly. Every person arrested was a Chinese and every person arrested had been educated in the Chinese schools' system other than Mr. Lim himself.

"As a result of these arrests, which were made totally without warning and at a time when Singapore had been more peaceful than for many months past, students of two of the principal Chinese schools, the Chinese High School and the Chung Cheng High School, struck and shut themselves up within the school. The Government in reply deregistered the schools and immediately offered to set up new schools at which all the old pupils were required to re-register themselves."

A *Reuter* despatch from Singapore, dated October 26, describes the situation thus:

"At one of the schools, police claimed that all student resistance had been broken soon after the operation began.

"The students lodged in the building in defiance of Government orders to close the school, jumped from windows of the buildings towards the school gates.

"Two hundred policemen crashed through a barricade of tables and chairs erected by 1,200 students at the Chung Cheng High School.

"At the Chinese High School in another part of the city police used tear gas to dislodge 2,500 students who then fled through the school gates.

"Police succeeded in splitting about half the crowd of 2,000 Chinese students and dispersing them in small groups away from Singapore.

"But the other half linked arms at the roadside and continued to defy police efforts to drive them away.

"British and Malay troops were manning road blocks along the roads leading to the city and patrols of armoured cars and infantry moved into the city outskirts."

The periodical disturbances in Singapore, the *Economic Weekly's* correspondent notes, were only symptomatic of the economic difficulties. "The unemployment, both open and concealed, the political insecurity of the lowly Chinese-born labourer who is denied civic rights and the insecurity even within the family, where marriages need not be registered by the State and can, practically speaking, be dissolved by desertion, prevent the rise of a real civic consciousness," writes the correspondent according to whom the best policy would be to encourage the growth and creation of small territorial communities consisting of the Malayas and the Chinese, unified Chinese-English schools, common state registered marriages; and to accord equal social status to the Chinese children.

Communists Invited to U.S. Elections

Government of the United States invited representatives from several European Communist States to observe the U.S. elections on November 6. The Soviet Union and Rumania have accepted the invitation while Poland and Czechoslovakia have declined. Only Hungary's reply was not received. The expenses of the representatives attending as observers would be borne by the U.S. Government.

This is a step which indicates a new shift in the U.S. outlook towards the Communist world.

Pandit Nehru on Foreign Affairs

We quote the following report from the *Statesman*, to show how little even Pandit Nehru could guess about the impending conflagrations in Egypt and Hungary.

Secret diplomacy seldom gives any outward indications, excepting to the extremely wary, but even then the complacence in Pandit Nehru's remarks ending with "for the present, we stay at home," indicates an optimism in international affairs that seems extraordinary in the light of the events that followed:

New Delhi, October 25.—Events in Eastern and Central Europe, the Algerian crisis and the latest dispositions in the Suez Canal dispute, including the position of Israel, were some of the subjects covered by Mr. Nehru at a Press conference here this morning.

The Prime Minister, who was suffering from a cold, said perhaps it was not the right time to meet the Press. So much was happening that he might have to face awkward questions.

However, once he got into his stride, Mr. Nehru kept talking for more than an hour and his replies to questions were both frank and often comprehensive.

It was, he said, clear that there was a nationalist upsurge in Eastern and Central Europe. He did not think that it was likely to affect the broad foreign or economic policies of these countries.

There was an intense desire for independence there to fashion their own policies.

Referring to the Algerian arrests, Mr. Nehru said it was impossible for the Algerian question to be settled by force or by an attempt to suppress the nationalist movement. This would worsen the situation and there was already excitement in Morocco and Tunisia, which were hitherto friendly to France.

India's view was that the Algerian people were entitled to full freedom, but at the same time other interests, such as, those of the French settlers there, should be considered.

There were, it seemed to him, occasions in the past three or four months when efforts to negotiate had emerged, but the Suez Canal dispute had distracted attention.

He was not sure of the legal position as regards the reported French decision to search ships, for arms, but this could give rise to friction.

Mr. Nehru's assessment of the Suez situation was that hopes of settlement were brighter today. A negotiating stage had been reached. It was difficult to go back on that.

India had accomplished her part by presentation of the new plan and, "for the present, we stay at home." It was now for the countries concerned to deal directly with each other. There was the proposal for talks to be held at Geneva. No final date had emerged, but the talks must take place soon, he said.

Discussing the contents of the Indian plan, he said that in the ultimate analysis there could be no guarantee other than the normal kind of international guarantees.

His impression was that the broad approach of the Indian plan had the approval of Egypt, but that did not commit her to any specific part of it.

The reaction of other countries was also mixed. No one wanted to commit himself at this stage even if he approved of parts of it. It was, however, clear that Egypt would not agree to any kind of international control of the Canal as that would affect her sovereignty.

Asked about Israel, he said there were differing interpretations of her position. Egypt claimed that the 1888 Convention did not cover a country at war. The question was a legal one and his suggestion was that it should be submitted for decision to "some superior court."

Hungary

The following two news-items and the quotation from Noel Barber's report to the *Statesman* are given below just to indicate the agony that the Hungarians are passing through. The outside world is only getting flashes and glimpses, but even that is horrible:

Paris, October 27.—Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, today telegraphed to Mr. Nehru, asking him to "put an end to the bloodshed" in Hungary.

Mr. Nagy, who is in Paris for a 12-nation conference of European Peasant Parties, wired to Mr. Nehru:

"For some days past Russian troops have been fighting against the Hungarian revolutionary forces and against unarmed civilians. They have massacred thousands of Hungarians who supported by the Army and police forces of their own country, are demanding freedom for Hungary.

"I appeal to you as to one who has always sought peaceful solutions to help to secure an immediate armistice between the belligerent parties so as to put an end to the bloodshed."

Vienna, October 27.—Budapest Radio claimed today that the rebels' resistance in Hungary's embattled capital had been "broken" and many had surrendered.

But heavy fighting was reported to be still raging late today. Usually reliable sources here said the fighting was particularly fierce in the old sector of the city.

A new "national" Government was announced under the Titoist Prime Minister, Mr. Imre Nagy. It dropped 15 outstanding Communists, including four members of the key Politburo, replacing them mostly by Communists uncommitted to either a Titoist or Stalinist line.

The basis of the Government was not broadened except by the inclusion of the Peasant Party leader, Mr. Bela Kovacs as Minister of Agriculture.

This was the third political reshuffle in four stormy days.

The Austrian News Agency *A.P.A.*, quoting Hungarian railwaymen, said Hungarian rebels had shot Erno Gero, the deposed Communist Party First Secretary.

Budapest, October 27.—Tonight Budapest is a city of mourning. Black flags hang from every window. For during the past four days thousands of its citizens fighting to throw off the yoke of Russia have been killed or wounded.

Budapest is a city that is slowly dying. Its streets and once beautiful squares are a shambles of broken glass, burned out cars and tanks and rubble.

Food is scarce, petrol is running out. But still the battle rages on. For five hours this morning until a misty dawn broke over Budapest I (Noel Barber) was in the thick of one of the battles.

It was between Soviet troops and insurgents trying to force a passage across the famous Chain Bridge that links Buda with Pest across the Danube. Two of the insurgents into whose ranks I literally wandered died in the battle, one of them in my arms. Several were wounded. Today as I write this, heavy firing is shaking the city which is still sealed off from the world.

To get here I drove through endless Russian check-points and through fighting that has by now killed thousands of civilians. At least 1,000 were killed in one of the most ghastly massacres I have ever had to report.

It happened yesterday morning when the Russians turned the guns of their tanks on to a crowd of unarmed demonstrators. They mowed them down for 20 minutes.

Today Budapest is a shambles with broken glass, wrecked tanks and cars. Where the trams ran, the insurgents have torn up the rails to use them as anti-tank weapons. At least 30 tanks have been smashed so far, many with Molotov Cocktails. Their burned out skeletons seem everywhere spread on both sides of the Danube.

World Atomic Agency

The text of a 23-article statute for the establishment of a world atomic agency was unanimously adopted on October 23 by a conference of eighty-two nations in New York city. The statute open for signature since October 26 until January 25, 1957, would come into force with the ratification by eighteen countries including at least three of the following States, the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R., France and Canada. The agency, when it came into being, would supply fissionable materials to member-States for chemical processing. It would have authority to send inspectors to the countries receiving atomic aid in order to ensure that the fissionable materials supplied by the agency and their bye-products were used solely for peaceful purposes. The controversial 'safeguards' clauses, to which strong exception had been taken by India and some other countries were approved by the conference sitting as a committee by 79 votes to nil with one abstention (Afghanisthan) after incorporating therein a compromise amendment moved by France and Switzerland.

At the final plenary session on October 26, the conference elected an eighteen-nation preparatory commission under the chairmanship of Senator Carols Alfredo Bernardes of Brazil to continue the work until the statute came into force after the required ratifications. The members of eighteen-nation preparatory commission were Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A., Australia, Pakistan, Egypt, Argentina, Japan, Peru, Indonesia, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa.

Feroze Khan Noon's Ravings

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, the present Pakistani Foreign Minister, has long been known for his unusual sense and historical knowledge. It was precisely this Malik who

"discovered" that the battle of Plassey in 1757 had taken place not between Robert Clive and Seraj-ud-daullah but between Clive and Dupleix —contrary historical evidence notwithstanding. He was not yet a Pakistani when he discovered such a historical truth. It would be idle to expect sense from a man whose knowledge (understanding) of his own country's history betrayed such childishness. Nobody would have cared for whatever he might have to say on any matter had he not been the Foreign Minister of the largest Islamic State. Therefore, some attention has to be given to his utterances.

In a long speech on October 20 at the town hall Malik Feroze Khan Noon said that the "enmity of a powerful neighbouring country had obliged Pakistan to enter into defence alliances to preserve her freedom."

PTI adds: "The Minister, in an obvious reference to India, added: 'We have no desire to attack any country—these pacts are only meant to defend ourselves against the country with which we have great differences'."

On an earlier occasion the Malik had charged India of complicity with France in the matter of Algerian independence and Kashmir dispute. According to the omniscient Malik, India allegedly tried to strike a bargain with France to the effect that France should support India in the matter of Kashmir in the U.N. and that India would help France regarding Algeria.

Mr. Noon had further added: "Muslim world is watching with horror the massacres of Muslims going on, even today, in the so-called Secular State of India."

India sent a strong protest to Karachi against the unfounded utterances of the Pakistani Foreign Minister. As we have already mentioned Mr. Noon's utterances are not worth any attention but his official position makes the formality of a contradiction necessary to some extent. Nothing more, however, is deserved by him since his utterances do not bear any serious considerations and it would be sheer wastage of space to attempt a detailed refutation of his manufactured charges: the facts are too well-known to require that.

The best retort to Mr. Noon has come from his own compatriot—Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, leader of the East Pakistan Awami League and one of the great sons of Pakistan. In a statement issued on the night of October 25, Maulana Bhasani said that Pakistani people "cannot and do not consider India as their enemy" despite mutual differences over Kashmir. Even Kashmir dispute could not also remain unsolved for any great length of time. "We still believe," the Maulana added, "that it is not beyond the ingenuity of the people of Pakistan and India to solve the Kashmir problem in a manner satisfactory to India, Pakistan and, above all, people of Kashmir."

The *Hindu* reports: "While declaring that Malik Noon's remarks at Rawalpindi and elsewhere on Pakistan's defence and other Pacts with foreign countries had come as a 'rude surprise' to him, Maulana Bhasani said. 'Consistency has never been the qualification in him but people expected that as Foreign Minister he will practise discretion. Those who had been studying Malik Noon for sometime past would not be upset over this as only recently he said if Pakistan did not receive sufficient support and help from the Western bloc she would join hands with the Russian bloc," Moulana Bhasani said.

Referring to Mr. Noon's refusal to place the texts of Pakistan's agreements with foreign countries before the National Assembly, Maulana Bhasani said:

"It is an established convention and practice everywhere in the world wherever there is a democratic form of Government to have all pacts and agreements with foreign countries ratified by the Parliament of the country concerned. Debates on foreign affairs are very common features in parliaments of European countries.

"It is, therefore, very surprising and at the same time regrettable that our Foreign Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, tries to defend his or for the matter of that the Government's failure to place all pacts entered into with foreign countries for an examination by the National Assembly by saying that the Constitution does not provide for such action.

"If, as Malik Noon says, pacts, such as, Baghdad and SEATO, contain secret clauses it is all the more important that these pacts should be very carefully examined by the National Assembly. These pacts were entered into by the predecessor Governments. Therefore, people through their representatives in the National Assembly have the right to know whether or not honour, prestige, and even the very essence of independence itself have been bartered away in exchange for very paltry benefits—personal or general—for the character of the predecessor Governments was never representative."

The Congress and Pandit Nehru

Pandit Nehru was in a reflective mood when he made the remarks, quoted in the news-item appended below. Some salient truths stand out in them, though the causitive factors are not indicated. There are some very characteristic utterances in it as well, such as that about Life and Discipline, which latter term has been used by Panditji in its narrowest sense.

The trouble about speeches like the one quoted, is that there are too many points raised and no complete discussion of any. As a result they leave no impression on the public mind.

The roots of the Congress have been weakened, that is a fact. And the Congress will either perish or become a second "Tammary Hall" organisation, historical necessity or not, unless the disease is eradicated. But how?

Jaunpur, October 28.—Mr. Nehru said here today that the idea of relinquishing office as Prime Minister which had occurred to him four years ago was still in his mind. "I feel that whether I remain Prime Minister or not, I can well serve my country."

He added: "About four years ago while leaving the Congress Presidentship I decided to remain Prime Minister. But I do not like feeling that nobody could do my job except myself."

Mr. Nehru was addressing over 30,000 delegates and visitors at the open session of the 37th U.P. Pradesh Congress political conference.

He said that the Congress had become weak and it was the duty of Congresssmen to strengthen it. He regretted that the situation arising out of the States reorganization had slipped out of the hands of Congressmen. This, he said, indicated that the roots of the organization had weakened.

Mr. Nehru said: "It is a historic necessity that the Congress should exist and discharge the responsibilities laid on its shoulders without faltering. Its history is associated with the history of the nation. Therefore, it must be revitalized."

Discipline and organization were necessary for the Congress but they should not stifle the life of the organization. "Life is more important than discipline. There could not be discipline for the dead."

Congressmen were suffering from a fear complex—always afraid of losing seats. This was an unhealthy state of affairs, the Prime Minister said. He added: "Let us at once shake off this fear and think of losing all seats. This will give us strength."

The Congress had decided to bring in Socialism. But how many Congressmen understood this term? If the significance of Socialism was fully understood, then in the selection of candidates progressive elements in the organization would have been encouraged and preferred by those making the selections.

How many Congressmen realized that they were living in an atom age? he asked. How many ever thought about the atom bomb? Other political parties appeared ahead in this respect.

Mr. Nehru said the Community Project administration was in touch with at least 100,000,000 people through its development block link. It was bringing about a revolution in the countryside and doing good work.

The real problem facing the country was the question of stepping up food production which was not possible through small holdings. There was the urgent need of developing agrarian co-operatives. Mr. Nehru regretted that Congressmen today were not bold enough to emphasize such new things as agrarian co-operatives for fear of losing the sympathy of the electorate. They should abandon this fear and boldly assert what was right.

Mr. Nehru said: "The poverty-stricken condition of the kisans touched me. I do not want to say that nothing has been done for them, but it will take years to really improve their lot."

Mr. Nehru strongly deprecated communalism and warned Congressmen against developing communal tendencies. The door of the Congress, he said, must remain wide open for all if the organization was to be kept alive, but Congressmen should be on their guard

against being influenced by Hindu Sabha or R.S.S. workers when they joined the Congress.

He referred to the agitation relating to the publication of the book, *Religious Leaders*, and said that the book doubtless hurt the feelings of Muslims but interested parties and students of Aligarh had taken advantage of the situation and fomented communal feeling which was wrong. He asked what had Congressmen done on these occasions. There was no trace of them at the time to control the situation.

The whole world was looking at India. Foreign deputations and delegations were visiting the country every year. Some, however, came with happy intentions, some with motives. But on the whole, the impressions they got were good. Dr. Appleby, who had strongly criticized the Administration, had in his recent report all praise for India. India was progressing and this was accepted by foreigners, but the people here did not appreciate the progress.

India's Changed Map

The political map of India underwent its second great change since independence. The first was occasioned by the integration of princely States with India. The passage of the States Reorganisation Acts occasioned the second redrawal. India's administrative units came down from 29 to 20 including the six Centrally-administered territories. Except those six States, the other fourteen States would be equal in all respects. In area, Bombay was the biggest and Kerala the smallest of the States.

The new States, after reorganization, were as follows:

A. STATES

Name	Capital
1. Mysore	*Bangalore*
2. Rajasthan	*Jaipur*
3. Kerala	*Trivandrum*
4. Andhra	*Hyderabad*
5. Bombay	*Bombay*
6. Madhya Pradesh	*Bhopal*
7. Punjab	*Chandigarh*
8. Orissa	*Bhubaneswar*
9. Assam	*Shillong*
10. West Bengal	*Calcutta*
11. Bihar	*Patna*
12. Uttar Pradesh	*Lucknow*
13. Madras	*Madras*
14. Jammu and Kashmir	*Srinagar*

B. CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED STATES

1. Delhi	*Delhi*
2. Himachal Pradesh	*Simla*
3. Tripura	*Agartala*
4. Manipur	*Imphal*
5. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	*Port Blair*
6. Lacca Islands, Minicois and Amindivs	

India's First Music University

India's first Music University was inaugurated on October 14 at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The University grew out of the Indira Sangeet Vidyalaya established in 1944 by Rani Padmavati Devi of Khairagarh in memory of her deceased second daughter, Rajkumari Indira Devi. After the merge of Khairagarh with Madhya Pradesh, the school was converted into an academy in July, 1955. The magnificent contribution of the Rani Padmavati and of Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh of their palace worth about Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs made it possible to convert the institution into a University. India's newest University would be known as Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya.

In an editorial comment in the issue, dated the 11th October, the *Hitavada* writes that music and musicians had always been held in high esteem in India. The cause of music had suffered during the days of British rule. But some of the princely States had helped keep alive the great traditions of Indian classical music. A welcome trend was noticeable in the opening of faculties of fine arts and music in various Indian Universities and it was to be hoped that the Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya "would flourish into a great institution and attract students from all corners of India," the *Hitavada* concludes.

It must be noted, however, that a music "University" is a very ambitious project. Hitherto the institutions that have taught or dealt with the subject of Music and Fine Arts, have done so within very limited and distinctly stereotyped scope. In order that this new University may justify its name, it will have to take a catholic view and widen the field.

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INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD PEACE

BY SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJI,
Speaker, Legislative Assembly, West Bengal

THE subject of world peace with reference to a particular country related to its foreign policy. In the first speech of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"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."

In one of his early addresses to the Parliament President Rajendra Prasad said:

"While aggression has to be met and evil cannot be condoned it has to be remembered that war itself is an evil which brings greater evil in its train. It is firm policy of my Government to maintain peace and friendship with all nations of the world and to help in every way possible in the maintenance of world peace. The Republic of India inherited no enmities or traditional rivalries with other nations and my Government intend continuing a policy directed towards securing peace in the world and avoiding any alignment which leads to hostilities with other nations."

Based on these two fundamental policy-making utterances let us analyse how far India has played in the past its role in world peace and hopes to play in future a similar role. What are India's own traditions and what are her own urges? To understand these two aspects of the foreign policy of India we must have to traverse through a long course of history and legends running to an ancient period for over 5,000 years. Fortunately for her it is her pride and privilege to have inherited treasures in art and literature emanating from ancient times which is still today honoured, adored and studied and followed by the people of India. Without going further back into pre-historic days it would be convenient to examine this aspect of the question tracing our tradition for 2,500 years from the time of the appearance of Gautama Buddha on the Indian scene. A prince amongst men, considered by many thinkers to be the greatest man of the world, has left immortal teachings for the guidance of humanity. These are not confined within the narrow geographical limits of the territory of India. This spread thousand years after his death beyond the borders of India to distant lands as far back as China, Japan, Korea, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and other far-eastern countries. What message did they carry? Could anybody find in the volumes of Buddhist literature any idea of man's hatred against man, of nation's hatred against nation, of the mutual rivalries and jealousies between border States and border nations? On the contrary, they have tried to establish the principle of the universality of humanity, the oneness of the world, the removal of barriers between race and race and between man and man.

Like Buddha his another contemporary, the great Mahavira, in India about the same time, preached the famous religious principle of Jainism, which is nothing but a branch of Hinduism, based his whole doctrine and philosophy on absolute non-violence and love, discarding all evil means to gain right ends.

Coming back to 1,500 years after Buddha in India what do we find amongst the great teachers, Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak. They appeared on the Indian scene at a time when the political power of the State was weak, when society owing to its internal weakness through various historical reasons was deviating from the path laid down by their great *sastras* into mere rigid formulas, and spiritual teachings were forgotten and men became concentrated on doctrines, dogmas and ritual observance as the sole aim of religion. During this decadance Messiahs like Sri Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak and others appeared in different parts of India and spread their message of universal brotherhood, love and non-violence, the everlasting strength of solidarity of the people, and the strength of attaining the highest spiritual aim, *summum bonum* of Indian conception, *viz.*, the soul force and power of the mind is more powerful than the brute force of

the power of the senses and body. In the end of the nineteenth century the great Indian saint Vivekananda carried to the Western world starting from his Chicago speech and various utterances the eternal spiritual message of India of harmony of religions. Did he claim any physical gain for the Indian people from the people of the West? Through his soul-stirring speeches he wanted the West to understand the spirit of the East, and to throw light to the world amidst darkness prevailing, so that through this prophet of universal brotherhood and harmony of religions preached by his master Shri Ramakrishna the world may be rid of strife and tussle in the name of religion and other material ideologies. Did not Rabindranath, the greatest philosopher and poet of the twentieth century, establish 30 years ago at Santiniketan, the Visva-Bharati or International University for advancement of world peace and fraternity and interchange of respective cultures? Every Hindu has a conception of divinity which transcends beyond the personal, the sectarian and territorial limits. He does not think of God as a God of the Hindu only. A Hindu conception of Goodhood embraces universal Godhood. In every Hindu sacrament from pre-historic Vedic times down to this date during births, marriages and funerals and other religious ceremonies all functions end with a prayer for universal peace. In our ancient scriptures, in our great epics and in mythology we think and pray to universal motherhood and fatherhood of God. These fundamental and traditional characters of the Indians were not perhaps made adequately known to the civilized world due to India's foreign bondage. Therefore, from our ancient traditions and from our urges we are wedded to the principle of world peace, fraternity and universal brotherhood.

Now let us analyse our immediate objectives particularly in the light of our recent past. Let us analyse what part during the last nine years young India has played in the international sphere and for the promotion of world peace.

The question of world peace from the standpoint of Western mind has developed since the First World War and has further developed after the termination of the Second World War. During the First World War, statesmen of victorious Allied powers repeatedly asserted that war had been fought to end war and with that noble objective the League of Nations was ushered into existence so that world peace may be secured and world war may be avoided. We are all aware how the League of Nations came to a miserable failure and the very sponsors of the League of Nations were at loggerheads for self-interest, for respective positions of power and military strength. The Second World War started within 20 years. In the Second World War, too, the belligerents, particularly the Allies, during the deliberations about war policies, conceived the idea of a world organisation to prevent war through a machinery known as the United Nations Organisation and the Charter of the United Nations was ushered in San Francisco in 1946 under the auspices of the five big nations of the world. India after independence pledged herself completely to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as she believes in the Charter because if properly worked it has got the potentiality of preventing war and establishing world peace. India as a member of the United Nations from the very beginning of her independence has played not an insignificant role in her deliberations. Her fundamental policy has been an independent line of action of non-alignment with any of the power blocs of the world. This non-alignment may not be called peaceful neutralism, but is an active and positive policy of peace and not a negative one of doing nothing and sitting on the fence and watching both sides. A foreign policy for world peace, international co-operation and brotherhood cannot after all be completely divorced from her own needs. India knows that she is an undeveloped country. Economically she is a poor and weak country and she needs a spell of long peace in the world not only for her own development, but for the development of all the under-developed countries of Asia, which was along with her under foreign domination and under the grip of Western imperialism for nearly two centuries. Therefore on the very eve of independence in 1948 she sponsored the Asian Conference in Delhi. The speeches delivered there by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru show that such a conference was held not with the object of forming an Asian block, but to understand each other's difficulties and to frame a policy of mutual co-operation for

mutual strength to secure world peace placing reliance on the United Nations' Charter. That policy has been followed up continuously and culminated in the famous Bandung Conference of 29 nations of Asia and Africa in 1955. But apart from these friendly gatherings and policy-making conferences, the active foreign policy steps taken by India for the cause of world peace and lessening international tension leading to war should be examined.

Let us stage by stage measure the steps taken by India in her relations with the countries of the world. The first question of India's joining the Commonwealth was a unique event in the history for world peace. India has proved following the teachings of Gandhiji that with the British transference of power India's relations with Britain has been most cordial not because India is toeing the line of the British, but due to historical and economic associations during the last 200 years India has joined the Commonwealth with an independent outlook simply because she believes that this association of democratic countries with her past connections would help her to exercise the influence in the cause of world peace. The very fact that during her entrance into the Commonwealth she insisted that she would be the first Republic joining the Commonwealth without any allegiance to the British Crown, is a proof positive of her independent and courageous policy and the British and the rest of the Commonwealth countries had to change the Commonwealth structure to make it fit to admit India to the Commonwealth. Since India's entry into the Commonwealth other countries of coloured people of Africa and East Asia, which were under the domination of British imperialism, are also one by one joining the Commonwealth as independent countries, such as, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Malaya, Singapore, Mauritius and other places where the British people are gradually transferring power to these people. During the successive Commonwealth conferences India has played an independent part in the deliberations and discussions and the Commonwealth deliberations and the Colombo Plan emanating out of the Commonwealth discussions had helped to develop the under-developed countries of Asia without any string attached. As Pandit Nehru has recently said:

> "Commonwealth has a unique advantage to establish the right to disagree on the basis of substantial agreements for the mutual benefit of the adjoining countries."

India's next stand for the purpose of world peace is that she has a set idea against colonialism and racialism. Although she has succeeded in her policy in the United Nations on the question of racial discrimination in South Africa, South African Government is flouting the entire decision of the United Nations so far as the solution of the racial questions are concerned. India may not successfully act for lessening the racial tension in South Africa, but in her effort she has the support of the rest of the world, which is no mean achievement for a newly independent country and she will not rest until the last vestige of racial discrimination goes out of the world. With regard to colonialism India's boldest stand has been in regard to the countries of Asia and Africa. With regard to Indonesia she made a courageous stand by not allowing the Dutch planes to land in the country and this gave considerable strength to the Indonesian people. On the question of Korean war which was almost on the brink of bringing a Third World War, when China was forced to give military help to North Korea when 38 deg. Parallel was crossed, India exercised all her tremendous influence by discussions and deliberations to bring the Korean armistice to the United Nations and she had to play a part by sending her army in Korea not for war, but peace in that disturbed land. The action of her army in Korea has brought unstinted praise from the world. Although in the beginning India was terribly misunderstood by America and although America tried her best to keep out India as a non-belligerent country to be included in the political conference relating to Korea, still with the opinion of the rest of the world when the question of prisoners of war was a stumbling block, India was asked to take a leading part in solving that deadlock. Recently when events in Indo-China were almost threatening towards a Third World War, she played a gigantic role for bringing peace and armistice in the disturbed land, which was fighting for the last ten years or more and she is the Chairman of the neutral nations' supervisory commission on Indo-China

still working for bringing peace in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

In her foreign policy with China, India has played her trump-card by solving dispute with China through agreement containing the five principles of peaceful co-existence, which she has laid as an example of world peace. China follows an ideology, which has not been recognised by the United Nations nor is that ideology followed by India. She has played a great role in respect of the demand for China's membership to the United Nations. Through India's efforts 18 small nations, which were not members of the United Nations, have recently been admitted as members and India's efforts will soon succeed when China will be admitted also as a member and India's mission for world peace will get adequate strength. The five principles of peaceful co-existence for the first time agreed in the international field between India and China have gradually been agreed between India and other Asian countries, such as, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Western countries like Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and other countries are following on the line of India's policy with regard to world peace. This is India's greatest achievement, for by the high moral principle she has, without economic and military strength, been able to gradually influence the world opinion for maintaining world peace.

The role played by her accredited representative in the United Nations on the question of disarmament and on the question of avoiding nuclear tests of Atom and Hydrogen Bombs has been universally appreciated. Her scientist, Dr. Bhava, was now first Chairman of the world scientific conference for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and for banning Hydrogen and Atomic bombs. India has never claimed that she aspires to the leadership of Asia. She knows that if her policy is sound, if she can develop her potential strength—economic resources and talents—she will be reckoned as a great world force for peace, prosperity and development. Naturally all Asiatic countries are looking upon her for guidance. Her greatest triumph in the cause of peace has been the historic visits of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to China and Russia whereby the two countries with vast population and with vast potential strength, economic and military, and having complete ideals, have been able to admire and respect India's foreign and economic policy. By making those countries sign and agree with the principles of Panch-Shila, which contain the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in respect of each other's domestic and other affairs, India has taken a very big step towards lessening international tension. But she is not yet out of difficulties. Both America and England do not fall in line with India's policy of not supporting military pact because they believe in the marshalling of forces backed by their position of strength to bring world peace. As India holds diametrically opposite views that such military pact only creates suspicion, hatred and fear, she has strongly opposed Baghdad and SEATO Pacts and America's military aid to Pakistan being inconsistent with her policy of world peace.

During his recent visit to Western countries Prime Minister Nehru has been given ovations and his discussions about his country's policy with West Germany, France and other countries have not been unfruitful and have led to world peace. As in the East there are local areas of tension so in the West the great local area of tension has been the division of Germany into East and West. On the question of unification of Germany Pandit Nehru has been trying to play India's role so that tension may disappear, and the threat of war and use of force may be replaced by methods of discussions and deliberations. That is India's sole object. It cannot be said that India has completely succeeded in avoiding the Third World War, but the steps she has token one by one during the last seven years have all gone towards relieving world tension. The recent question of nationalisation of Suez has been another theatre of tension and we all hope that India will play her consistent role in relieving the tension between the Western countries and the East successfully to the mutual interest of everybody because her vital interests are concern over the international waterway for the very sustenance of her foreign trade, both export and import. In other words for her very economic need India is vitally interested as an Asian power on the successful solution of the Suez Canal issue and her countrymen will watch with interest the part she is going to play on this question.

Therefore, to summarise the seven years of retrospective view gives us a picture that we have acquired more friends than we had seven years ago. India's voice is now heard with respect and admiration by the rest of the world. Nearer home on the question of relationship with Pakistan and Portuguese India, she has shown tremendous patience to solve all problems peacefully so that she herself may not be guilty of taking means which are inconsistent with her loudly-proclaimed policy. She is following the lessons of the teachings she received in attaining independence by the peaceful methods of non-violence. She will rather wait indefinitely for the solution of the problems of Pakistan and Portuguese, who are trying to gain by threat and force. For this, India's actions may be questioned in some quarters in the domestic sphere, but outside India for her patience and restraint she is admired.

Therefore, in short, in infant democracy with numerous problems, some never faced by any country in the world, after 200 years of foreign domination, economically and militarily weak, India has with head erect stood up with glory and honour for establishing friendly relations with all countries of the world and for maintaining world peace.*

* Address delivered at the Indian Club, Colombo (Ceylon) on the 12th October, 1956.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PADMINI LEGEND

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

Rajput warrior's heroism and the hallowed memory of the sterner virtues of Rajput women who performed *Jauhar* thrice at least in medieval times have made the fortress of Chitor a place of historical pilgrimage in India. There the pilgrim of history visits Rani Padmini's "ancient palace of magnificent dimensions" standing on the bank of a tank, and particularly a small double-storied *mahal* rising from the middle of a tank. This was renovated by Maharana Sajjan Singhji. We have it on the authority of M. M. Gaurishanker Ojha that "even now people call this place *Padamini*, and the tank as *Padmini ka talao*."[1]

But who was Padmini? We read in our school history that Padmini was the wife of Bhim Singh, uncle of Rana Lakshman Singh Sisodia. This was on the authority of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. But our children dispute the statement as their text-book gives Ratna Singh, the son and successor of Rawal Samar Singh of Mewar, as Padmini's husband. This confusion was due to the fact that by the time Tod wrote his history, the very name Ratna Singh had disappeared from the books of the *Bhats*, and even from their memory a century before Tod, leaving only Ratan's imaginary better-half, the so-called queen Padmini. And this is to be noted that this Padmini was not the Padmini of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat;* because Jaisi writes that Padmini Padmavati was the daughter of Gandharvasen of Simhala island, whereas Tod makes her, evidently on the authority of the Bhats, the *daughter* of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon.

Rawal Ratansi, son of Rawal Samar Singh in whose time Chitor was invaded by Sultan Alauddin Khalji,—was discovered for authentic history about half-a-century after Tod, by Kaviraj Shymaldasji, the author of *Vir Vinod*. This new discovery was on the authority of *Ekalinga Mahatyam* and the Kumbhalgarh inscription (1460 A.D.) of the reign of Maharana Kumbha, which are the nearest contemporary Rajput evidence of Alauddin's conquest of Chitor (August, 1303 A.D.). But these authorities tell us nothing about any wife of Ratna Singh. And of Ratna Singh's activities, we get only "tasmin gate," *i.e.*, "after his death," when the defence of Chitor was taken up by Lakshman Singh (known also as Bhad Lakhamsi). Kaviraj Shyamaldasji's researches also spotted Bhim Singh as the grandfather of Lakshman Singh (Chirwa Inscription), correcting Tod's error of making Bhim Singh, an *uncle* of Lakshman Singh. As a compromise Shyamaldasji, therefore, got the Padmini of the Bhats of Mewar remarried to Ratna Singh, and left the

1. Ojha: *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 486.

legend undisturbed further. Since then no historian suspected the historicity of the Padmini legend till V. A. Smith, with the unerring instinct of a historian, suspected the whole affair to be a myth, without, however, mentioning the grounds of his doubt.

This challenge apparently disturbed the mind of the late historian M. M. Gaurishanker Ojha, the greatest authority in Rajput history in the present age. He criticised Tod's account threadbare, and examined the historicity of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, with which the story of Padmini and Ratna Singh originated. He comes to the conclusion:

"...Col. Tod has written this story on the authority of Bhats of Mewar, and the Bhats have taken it from *Padmavat* . . . Such being the case, Tod's statement lacks conviction. If there is any basic fact (lit. root; *jad*) behind the statement of *Tarikhi-Ferishta*, Tod and *Padmavat*, it is this that Alauddin captured Chitor after a siege of six months, that its ruler Ratna Singh was killed in this fight with Lakshman Singh, and that his queen Padmini died in the fire of *jauhar* with several other ladies".[2]

In commenting upon the historicity of Jaisi's poem, *Padmavat*, Ojha further remarks:

". . . In the absence of history people accepted *Padmavat* as a history. But in truth it is only a story in verse, like a modern historical novel, the structure of which rests upon these historical facts that Ratansen was the ruler of Chitor, Padmini was his queen, and Alauddin was the Sultan of Delhi, who wrested the fort of Chitor from Ratan Sen (Ratna Singh) by fighting . . ."[3]

With due respect to the revered memory of Ojha, we may be permitted to point out that Ojha has not been perhaps exact on the following points:

i. Ratna Singh or Ratan Sen was killed in this fight not *with* Laksman Singh but *before*, as Ojha himself elsewhere says on the authority of Kumbhalgarh inscription.

ii. Alauddin wrested the fort of Chitor *not* from Ratansen but from Lakshman Singh.

iii. "Padmini was his (Ratansen's) queen," has not been proved by Ojha to be a *historical* fact, and yet he speaks in the indicative mood about the so-called Padmini palace and Padmini tank of Chitor.

(2)

A perusal of Ojha's learned history roused my curiosity about the historicity of Padmini, and I began studying all the available evidence, historical and literary, about the heroine of Jaisi's poem, Padmavat, and the nature of poem itself. I published about fifteen years back one paper in Bengali, in the *Prabasi* with the conclusion that there is not even tolerably reliable evidence of the existence of Padmini as a historical personage of flesh and blood, and that Padmini was purely a poetic creation of Jaisi, whose literary genius practised a bluff on credulous chroniclers and the Bhats of Mewar of later times.[4] But a historical heresy once in possession of man's mind is very hard to kill, and there is no dearth of die-hards in the ranks of modern historians who would cling to the historicity of the Padmini legend desperately.

The latest and most tenacious champion of the historicity of the Padmini legend is my distinguished pupil, Dr. A. L. Srivastava, with whom I have agreed to disagree without bitterness on many a finding of Medieval history. He writes:

". . . . arguments of modern scholars (who have rejected the Padmini episode) are based on a superficial reading of Khusrau's work and are fallacious.... It seems the women performed *jauhar* after Rana Ratna Singh's arrest, and *then* the Rajputs fell on the invaders and rescued the Rana."[5]

This is not getting at authentic history, but creating a new *history* (?) altogether. How many absurdities are packed up in one sentence? It gives a lie to the whole trend of Rajput history, and to the character of Alauddin Khalji who was treacherous, but not foolish, and from whose clutches no important victim had ever escaped alive. What could have been the meaning of rescuing Ratna Singh and for whom, if Padmini with the families of Rajput warriors had already burnt herself to death? Dr. Srivastava has similarly pushed himself into a tight corner by too startling and confident a guess:

". . . . Jaisi wrote out a romance, the plot of which is derived from *Khazain-ul-Futuh* . . . . the story that Padmini was coveted by Alauddin and was shown in a mirror to the lustful Sultan . . . . is probably based on historical truth . . . ."[6]

Let us turn to the works of Amir Khusrau.

(3)

Amir Khusrau, the Parrot of Hindustan, was hismself present with the besieging army of

2. *Ibid*, ii, 494-95.
3. *Ibid*, ii, 491.
4. *Prabasi*, Falgoon, 1337, B.E.
5. *The Sultanate of Delhi*, 238.
6. *Ibid*, 236-238.

Alauddin at Chitor. He wrote two *bona fide* histories of Alauddin's reign; namely, *Tarikh-i-Alai* and *Khazain-ul-Futuh*. Both the works are available in English translation. *Tarikh-i-Alai* is evidently earlier in date and written in a comparatively sober style; wheras *Khazain-ul-Futuh* is an artificial embellishment in a grandiloquent style containing, however, more facts about Alauddin's buildings, etc. *Tarikh-i-Alai* gives us the date of the Sultan's departure from Delhi, brave sorties of the Rajputs, date of the fall of Chitor (August 26, 1303), escape of the *Rai* and his eventual submission. It should be remembered that Amir Khusrau though an eye-witness, does not give us an account of daily events, but only a summary of all the incidents relating to Chitor and the Rajputs of Mewar till the end of Alauddin's reign in a single passage. *Khazain-ul-Futuh* gives us the same facts in a more involved style, regarding the siege of Chitor. In the course of his English translation of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh threw a guarded hint that the insertion of the Quranic allusion to Hudhud, the legendary bird who served Hazrat Sulaiman Nabi as the captain of birds of the sky, and had once been absent to bring to Sulaiman the news of the beautiful queen of Sheba, to which the poet compares himself to fit in with his praise of Alauddin as "the Solomon of his Age"—perhaps alludes to Padmini by a metaphor. This is, however, the limit of literary criticism.[7]

The next nearest contemporary historians are Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, and Isami, who wrote *Futuh-us-Salatin* in verse in the Bahmani court of Gulbarga. Barani does not make any reference to Padmini, nor add anything to the facts mentioned by Khusrau. Nor do we find any mention or hint in Isami's history in verse about Alauddin's infatuation for any lady of Rajputana. He mentions eight months, in place of six months of Khusrau as the duration of the siege of Chitor. If it is argued that Amir Khusrau could not be expected to mention Alauddin's lust for Padmini, a flattering courtier as he was, the same argument does not hold water in the case of Barani and Isami, who could have no earthly motive in hiding such a sensational topic. If our masters failed to discover any history behind Hudhud in the rapsody of Amir Khusrau, we at this distance of time cannot make ourselves ridiculous by making Solomon's Hudhud yield a Padmini for Alauddin and Ratansen. As regards Khusrau's statement, "the Rai fled and afterwards surrendered himself", we have it from Rajput sources that this Rai could not have been Ratansen, the alleged husband of the non-existent Padmini, but some one else of the Sisodia family. This prince was Ajaysi, son of Chitor's defender Lakhamsi. He was wounded in the last fight with his brother Anantsi. Ajaysi became the Rana of his ancestral fief of Sisode. This might be due to Ajaysi's submission to Alauddin.[8]

About half-a-century after Jaisi's *Padmavat*, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, writes, 'Sultan Alauddin Khalji, ruler of Delhi, heard that Rawal Ratansi, chief of Mewar, possessed a most beautiful woman (*Padmini-i-darad*, *i.e.*, a woman of the Padmini class)'.[9] This mention of a woman of Padmini class in the harem of Rawal Ratansi by Abul Fazl is a landmark of the wide and sweeping publicity of Jaisi's *Padmavat*, which had already begun to assume the authority of a historical romance in Rajputana. It is clear that the Bhats took the clue of Padmini and Ratansen from Jaisi's *Padmavat*, and supplied information to the Delhi Secretariat for the use of the royal historiographer. Abul Fazl's notice of the Subah-s of the Mugal Empire is

7. In deference to my esteemed elderly friend Professor Habib, and my own pupil Dr. Srivastava, I have consulted a MS. of *Khazain-ul-Futuh* in the Lucknow University Library. I did not trust my own knowledge of Persian against theirs, and so read the passage with the best masters of Persian available in Lucknow. I referred also the relevant passage to Professor Wahid Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, Lucknow University, who has made a specialised study of Khusrau's works. Professor Wahid Mirza wrote to me in reply: " . . . the question to be decided is whether it contains a veiled hint to Padmini. I am inclined to think that the presumption is unwarranted. . . . As a matter of fact I have failed to find any allusion to Padmini not only in this description of the conquest of Chitor, but in any composition prose or verse by Khusrau" (Letter, 18-1-56). This should, I hope, stop any further controversy over Padmini under the shadow of Hudhud.

8. Ojha: *Rajputane-ka-Itihas*, ii, 512.

9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 269. Jarret has made here a correct translation of the word, *Padmini*, which, may however, disappoint a student of *Kamashastras*. According to the *Kamashastra*, *Padmini* is one of the four categories of women, the other three in order of merit being *chitrini*, *samkhini* and *hastini*. This passage cannot be twisted to yield "a wife of the name Padmini" without making it un-Persian; because *Padmini-e-darad* is as good as *Iraqi-e-darad* (so and so possessed an Iraqi horse). We shall notice later the use of *Padmini* in this sense in Rajput ballads and *khyats*.

much less historical than the old district gazetteers of British India, though prepared in the same way.[10]

Abul Fazl's worthy contemporary Nizamuddin Ahmed, was of too austere a type of historians to indulge in rhetoric and unhistorical romance. He dismisses Alauddin's conquest of Chitor in one sentence without taking cognizance of Abul Fazl's statement in the *Ain*. We are helpless against the stubborn logic of those who would argue that if Mir Qasim and Gurgin Khan were historical personages, where is the proof that Bankim Chanddra's Dalani Begum was not?

(4)

Ferishta, a younger contemporary of Abul Fazl, was a much-travelled man gathering the then current popular stories to supplement history. He seemed to have had visited Rajputana, where he picked up confused stories about Alauddin's siege of Chitor. He writes:

"...At this time (704 A.H.|1304 A.D.) Rajah Ratansen of Chitor,—who had been in captivity since the capture of his fort by the Sultan—fled away by a strange device. Alauddin having heard of the graces and unique beauty of a *daughter* of the Rajah, promised to set him free, if he would give that *daughter* to him. The Rajah under cruel torture in the prison sent for his daughter for surrendering her to the Sultan. The kinsman of the Rajah decided to administer poison to the princess for the sake of honour of their family, when they heard of this insulting proposal. The princess hit upon a plan to rescue her father and save her honour... (*Here follows the doli story as given in Jaisi's Padmavat*) ... The Rajah escaped from the town (Delhi) with his companions, and fled into his hilly country, where his relations had been hiding. Thus the device of the resourceful princess got the Rajah out of his captivity. The Rajah at once began ravaging the tract of country in the possession of Muslims. Eventually the Sultan having found it futile to hold Chitor ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate Chitor and hand it over to the Rajah's nephew."[11]

Ojha in his comment on this passage of Ferishta says that on comparng the story of *Padmavat* with Ferishta's narrative, it becomes clear that it is based on the story of *Padmavat*, and that Ferishta has given it a historical character, by making some additions and alterations; *e.g.*, Padmini is spoken of as *daughter* in the place of wife of the Rajah.[12] But this passage should not have been so summarily dealt with by the veteran historian. In all fairness and courtesy to an eminent medieval chronicler though uncritcal, it is only reasonable to hold that Ferishta has not *invented* anything, and that he has honestly reproduced the story as narrated to him by his informants in Rajputana, where gossips and facts in the melting pot seem to have been still in a fluid state.

It is to be noted that Ferishta does not mention Padmini by name either as wife or daughter, though the rest of the story down to the Rajah's escape is taken from *Padmavat*. We also owe to the historian to account for his "*additions and alterations*" and trace their possible sources. And this lands us into a digression into the story of Alauddin's earlier conquest of Ranthambhor and the poetic legend of Hammirdev Chauhan's fictitious *daughter*, Devala Devi.

(5)

Two years before the siege of Chitor, the fort of Ranthambhor, fell to the arms of Alauddin after a long siege (1301). The heroic defence of Ranthambhor by Hammir Chauhan, inspired two pseudo-historical poems, *Hammir Raso* (in Hindi) and *Hammir Mahakavyam* by Nayachandra Suri (*cir* 1336 A.D.). These were written within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, and they furnish best examples how rapidly history was smothered under the multi-coloured weeds of poetic fancy, and of the Hindu tendency to cut their own nose to spite the Muslim. According to these two works, almost identical in substance, Alauddin demanded in marriage Hammir's daughter, Devala Devi, for his son Khizr Khan. To save her father's kingdom from inevitable ruin, the heroic princess appealed to her father to sacrifice one daughter and "hand her over to the Saka ruler" (*Sakendraya pradehi mam*). At this Hammir's wrath flared up; the warriors wore the *kesariya*, and the fire of *jauhar* consumed women and children within the fort.

But what might be the real cause of

10. After Jaisi's *Padmavat* written in the reign of Sher Shah (1540 A.D.) Hussain Ghaznavi wrote a Persian poem, *Kissa-i-Padmavat*, and Rai Govind Munshi narrated the story of Padmavati in Persian prose (1595 A.D.). This shows that the story of *Padmavat* was already too well-known to be missed by Abul Fazl, who cannot, therefore, be taken as an independent authority for the legend.

11. Briggs, i, 262-63 (Italics are mine).

12. Ojha; *Rajputane ka Itihas*, ii, 493.

Alauddin's attack on Ranthambhor? *Hammir Raso* says that Alauddin sent an envoy named Muhallan to Hammir with this insulting message. A Muslim envoy went, no doubt to Ranthambhor as we learn from a fairly contemporary Muslim historian, Isami. But this envoy was sent not by Alauddin but by his general Ulugh Khan, who demanded in a letter the surrender of two rebellious Mongol chiefs, and not any princess. Ulugh Khan wrote to Hammir that as he counted the Rai among one of his well-wishers, it was not proper that he should harbour the Mongol rebels who ought to be expelled from the Raja's territory. Hammir held a consultation with his *wazir*, and sent a reply to Ulugh Khan in polite language saying that it was impossible for him to surrender the Mongol chiefs, who for fear of life had sought refuge with him.[13] There is not a single Indo-Persian chronicle, written within four hundred years of Alauddin's conquest of Ranthambhor in which a daughter of Hammir figures as the cause of quarrel, though Ziauddin Barani puts such courage and self-sacrifice by a Bhatti princess of the Punjab, whom Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq sought a bride for his brother Rajjab, father of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Thus it stands to reason for treating Devala Devi, a daughter of Hammir Chauhan as a creation of pure literary imagination innocent of history.[14] If Rajput fancy could create Devala Devi within forty years of the fall of Ranthambhor, it is no wonder that in far-off Awadh, Jaisi created a Padmini for Ratansen, one hundred and thirty seven years after Alauddin's sack of Chitor. So it appears that by the time of Ferishta, the Rajput tradition took the beginning of the legend of Padmini from *Hammir Raso*, its middle portion of *doli* story from Padmavat, and the concluding portion from some *khyat* about Ajaysi (son of Chitor's brave defender Lakhamsi), whom Ferisnta has confused with Ratansen. "The nephew of the Rajan," mentioned by Ferishta was Maldev Sonigara (brother of Kanwar Dev of Jalor; *Nainsi*), who was the "sister's son" of the ruler of Mewar.

It is to be noted that Tod has mentioned Padmini as the *daughter* of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon, on the authority of the Bhats of Mewar. In popular ballads, Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor figures as a haughty warrior, implacable and uncompromising where honour was concerned as the saying goes:

Tiriya tel Hammir hath na chare duji var.

So it is evident that Hammir, a popular hero, displace Jaisi's fictitious king, Gandharvasen, father of an equally fictitious queen Padmini by the time Tod wrote his history. At any rate, the variants of the story of Alauddin's sack of Chitor in the works of two historians, Abul Fazl and Ferishta, who wrote about the same time, point to the fact that the Padmini legend had not crystalised in Mewar, and that two poetic heresies remained strangely confused in popular memory till the end of the sixteenth century. We need not follow Muslim chronicles beyond the time of Ferishta, in search of the historicity of Padmini.

(6)

Now the question is what about Ratansen? He presents another difficulty. History and legend reveal not one Ratan but four Ratansens converging on Mewar's brave fight against Alauddin's imperialism. These are:

i. Ratna Singh (Ratansi), son of Rawal Samar Singh (Kumbhalgarh Inscription).

ii. Ratansen, son of Chitrasen and husband of Padmini (Jaisi's *Padmavat*).

iii. Ratna, son of Khem of Dhundher tribe (who gave the name of Dhundher to the tract, now known as Jaipur territory). He died fighting in defence of the lower town of Chitor, along with Bhim Singh of the fief of Sisode and grandfather of Bhar Lakhamsi (*vide* Ojha, ii, 473, 478).

iv. Rana Singh (son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor), who was given shelter at Chitor by Bhar Lakhamsi (Lakshman or Laksha Singh). *This was the real cause of Alauddin's attack on Chitor* (*vide* Surajmal's *Vamsabhaskar*, ii, 1626).

It is evident that the Bhats of Mewar found Jaisi's Chitrasen, father of Padmini's husband Ratansen, as inconvenient for the geneology of the rulers of Mewar, and they had forgotten the parentage of all other Ratansens. So in their memory, all the four Ratansens became merged

13. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Persian text, 261-64.

14. In a paper contributed by me to the Journal of *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* several years back, I discussed the historicity of Amir Khusrau's Deval Rani. All the views on Deval Rani have been summarised and subjected to scrutiny by Sri K. M. Munshi (*Glory that was Gurjaradesha*, Part II, Appendix VIII). I reached the same conclusion independently as that of Babu Jagan Lal Gupta, who in a luminous and well-documented paper in Hindi appended to the Persian text of *Deval Rani wa Khizir Khan*; namely, that Deval Rani is altogether a fictitious character.

Samyogita, the Lady of Qanauj, in Chand Bardai's *Prithviraj Raso* may soon find the same fate as Padmini and Deval Devi at the hands of historians, whom poets dread as herd of wild elephants spoiling havoc with a lotus in the pond of poetry!

into one Ratansen only. They tagged on the second half of the story of the *Padmavat* to their own tale, and gave new fathers one each to Padmini and Ratansen of Jaisi. Thus, Padmini became the daughter of Hammir Singh Chauhan of Ceylon and Ratansen was given Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi, as his father, though Ajaysi was born several years after Ratna Singh, son of Samar Singh, the ruler of Chitor.

About fifty years after Ferishta, Muhnot Nainsi began collecting materials for a grand history of the Rajputs. He was in the service of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and served in the Deccan against Shivaji. Mainsi writes :

"Ratansi, *son of Ajaysi and brother of Bhar Lakhamsi,* died in the affair of Padmini (*Padmini ke mamle*) by fighting with Alauddin. In fact the Badshah had once marched away from Chitor. But Ratansi, *son of Lakhamsi,* called him back from Pur (a parganah of Chitor). Twelve sons of Lakhamsi led sallies from the fort by turn. *Jauhar* took place on the thirteenth day. Lakhamsi, Ratansi and Karan Singh descended from the fort and died fighting valiantily ...."[15]

This bundle of confusion about two Ratan Singhs gives us definitely one important fact, *viz.,* one Ratan Singh, who was not surely a son of Lakhamsi, was in the fortress of Chitor, pretty long after the other Ratansi, who had died "in the affair of Padmini." A clue to this second Ratan Singh is afforded by the account of the siege of Chitor by Alauddin, in the work of the Bundi poet Surajmal Mishan, who wrote his stupendous history, the *Vamsabhaskar,* within twenty years of the publication of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and about twenty years before Kaviraj Shyamaldasji, the author of the well-known Mewar history, *Vir Vinod.* Surajmal is the first historian, who totally rejected the Padmini legend, sixty years before Vincent Smith suspected its authenticity, though Shyamaldasji and M. M. Ojha with strange consistency chose to cling to the shadow of this charming piece of falsehood.

The author of *Vamshabhaskar* says that Lakhamsi prepared for war and made up his mind "to sacrifice his kingdom and life for the sake of him, whom he had given shelter." We learn further from the same authority that Alauddin, enraged by this hostile act of the ruler of Chitor, ravaged the country and stopped supplies to the fort, the afflicted people raised the cry of lamentation at which some of the soldiers within the fort pressed the Rana hard to surrender Ratna Singh, son of Hammir of Ranthambhor.[16] But *Dharma* was dearer than life and *bhum* to a true Rajput. Lakhamsi died according to this authority, with twelve sons, eight brothers, two grandsons, and two other heroes, Hinglu Hada (Ahada ?) and Ballan. About the fate of Ratan Singh, son of Hammir, Surajmal says, "Some say that the son of Hammir was sent away to some distant place (*kaddi kahun dur*) ; some say that he died fighting heroically in the company of the Rana and his relations."

(7)

Apart from Alauddin's general scheme of conquest and aggressive imperialism, we find in the story of the fight of a son of Hammir, indirectly supported by the testimony of Muslim chronicles, a plausible cause of Alauddin's invasion of Chitor, in pursuit of a political fugitive. The very fact that Surajmal gives all that he had read or heard about Ratna Singh, son of Hammir, indicates his rare intellectual honesty. It is too much to presume that Surajmal was unacquainted with the story of Padmini, which though an exotic growth had taken deep root in the soil of Rajputana, centuries before him. Besides, there is ample evidence to show that Surajmal was acquainted with Tod's Annals. So Surajmal's rejection of the Padmini legend is very deliberate, and significant too. M. M. Ojha has simply side-tracked Surajmal's version of the Chitor affair, which even if incorrect ought to have been noticed by him for refutation.[17] Surajmal, though incorrect in many details, has made one positive contribution to the episode of Alauddin's invasion of Chitor, namely, the flight of Hammir's son for shelter; whereas the contribution of Ojha has only a negative value in the form of a luminous criticism that has evaporated everything about Jaisi's *Padmavat* except Padmini and Ratansen. Ojha has cautiously confined himself to more reliable Persian sources, which do not give any positive ground for Alauddin's wrath against Mewar except its independence. So he had to tolerate the existence of Padmini to explain the episode; and this is on no better authority than a mere poular tradition about Padmini's palace and tank, which itself had originated with the growing popularity of Jaisi's poem in Rajputana. The great historian admits that Jaisi's *Padmavat* was a poem of Sufi mystical allegory, in which Padmini stands for Human Intelligence (*buddhi*), and yet he believes that she was perhaps a queen of Rawal Ratansi, son of Samarsi.

(8)

Though the foregoing historical criticism may have shaken the faith of a few about Jaisi's Padmini having been ever a mortal of flesh and blood in the seraglio of Chitor, it will not at any rate satisfy a type of intellectuals under the powerful spell of Jaisi's poetic genius. Poets and novelists take out an ounce of history, to manufacture a pound of lifegiving elixir for our society, by their creative genius, against which the narrative genius of the historian, contend in vain for ascendancy over man's mind. In Ancient India, the Spirit of History assumed the ascetic garb of religion and morals, or a guise of political philosophy; in the middle ages that of royal scarlet of horror and woe rendered picturesque by the jewelled hems of love and loyalty strung with romance and legend remote from facts; in modern times only it has descended on *bona fide* edifice of History. In all ages and in every clime legend swelled by swallowing up distorted facts and gave birth to poetry of the Heroic Age; and poems like those of Homer created History for succeeding generations of childish curiosity and credulity.

It is within the range of experience of archaeologists that those who go in for collecting local tradition are themselves responsible for creating more legends in the very locality for subsequent visitors. The historicity or otherwise of the Padmini legend, therefore, hinges on the controversy whether Jaisi really picked up some older legend current in his time somewhere in India, or is it that Jaisi's own knowledge of history and poetic genius made his love-epic of Sufistic mysticism, *Padmavat,* the fountain-spring of the Padmini legend of later generations with whom it became serious history.

Pandit Ramchandra Shuklaji in a very learned literary criticism of Jaisi's *Padmavat* comes to the conclusion that the first half of the story is pure imagination; but the second half, *viz.,* from the Brahman traitor Raghav's arrival in Delhi down to Padmini's self-immolation, is based on historical facts. His authorities are some of those that we have already discussed and dismissed. But Shuklaji, too, is perturbed

15. *Vide* Nainsi's *Khyat,* i, 21 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha translation). Here is a confusion enough to confound the historian. The learned annotator of Nainsi's *Khyat* takes it for granted that Ratan Singh in this passage means Ratna Singh, son of Rawal Samarsi. But the express qualifying phrase, *Bhar Lakhamsi ka bhai,* goes against such assumption. Ajaysi, whom the annotator identifies with Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi,—might be a mistake for Jaisi, who was on the authority of Ojha, the *father* of Lakhamsi.

How is it true that in the same passage occur two Ratansis, one as *brother* and another as the *son* of Chitor's defender, Lakhamsi? Who might be this Ratansi, *son* of Lakhamsi, who is said to have brought back Alauddin from Pur, and why? It is surely not to give Alauddin a glimpse of Padmini. If he were a traitor, why should he again fight and die along with Lakhamsi?

Two Ratan Sings, were, in fact, involved in the siege of Chitor, one having been the son of Samarsi, the other, a son of Hammir Chauhan of Ranthambhor. Hammir at the last stage of the siege of Ranthambhor had sent away one of his sons, Ratna Singh, to take shelter in Chitor. This induced Alauddin to turn against Chitor, two years after its capture. This second Ratan Singh, son of Hammir died in the last attack on Alauddin's army before Chitor, according to one version of the bardic source. (see *Vamsabhaskar,* ii, 1695).

16. *Hammir Raso* of Jodhraj (Third edition, Nagari Pracharini Sabha) says that on the eve of his last fight with Alauddin, Hammir sent away his trusted lieutenant Chaturang with five thousand troopers, to escort his only surviving son, Ratan, to Chitor; two others having already died in battle.

At any rate, the flight of Ratan, son of Hammir, is an unassailable historical fact. We get a hint about it from the brave Mongol Chief's defiant reply to Alauddin before Ranthambhor that even if the Sultan would spare his life he would die fighting for Hammir's son (Barani).

17. Ojha has been uncharitable to Surajmal Mishan. He says, "Surajmal was a good poet, but not a scholar of history. So he has in that work taken ancient history from the Khyats of the Bhats." (*Rajputane ka Itihas,* ii, 558, fn. 2).

This is no fault but a positive merit of Surajmal's work as a store-house of bardic tales, which now one can subject to scrutiny. Tod himself drew as freely from the *Khyats,* and that is no reason to denounce his work as unworthy of notice by future historians. Dr. M. L. Sharma, the author of *Bundirajya ka Itihas,* has appraised the worth of Surajmal's work correctly, because he cared to read it. Surajmal might be incorrect in many details; but he has given us at least one important fact from Rajput sources about the real cause of Alauddin's wrath against Chitor, *i.e.,* the flight of Hammir's son; whereas Ojha has cautiously confined himself to Persian sources and failed to discover any positive ground for Alauddin's invasion. It is curious that Ojha has been at pains to dispute with Surajmal that a minor character Hinglu was not a Hada but a Ahada Guhilot hailing from Ahad in Dungarpur, and he died a century after Alauddin's capture of Chitor, and yet he did not care to test critically the incident of the flight of Hammir's son.

over Simhala (Ceylon), the traditional abode of demons and dark-skinned people, where a beauty like Padmini could not possibly be born. "If we accept, Simhala as correct," says Shuklaji, "this must be some place in Rajputana"[18] His hint has seriously been taken up by some of the *Charans* and young scholars of Rajputana, and they have at last come upon the historic site of Pugal in the Rajputana desert as the birth-place of Padmini, saying that Pugal changed into Simhala in popular tradition of later times! But where is Padmini herself? We ourselves have come across more than one woman of the *Padmini category* in *geets* and *khyats*, but none bearing a personal name of Padmini to square with the heroine of Jaisi's *Padmavat*.[19] Similarly, Ratan Sen and Chitor have been discovered outside Rajputana and nearer the abode of Jaisi in Awadh. Prof. R. C. Majumdar has brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript, *Ratansenakulavali*, according to which Ratan Sen of Chitaur fought many a battle with the Muslims, and his son, Naga Sena became the Raja of Prayag (Allahabad). Naga Sena defied the authority of the ruler of Delhi. Naga Sen's son Totha Rai, out of fear fled to Riddhkota, in the Nepal territory.

This "Chitaur" could not be the famous Mewar capital in Rajputana, but a place somewhere near Allahabad. The official name of Mewar's capital was also Chitrakut, and an equally well-known Chitrakut is there in the Banda district of U.P., the latter having been apparently "Chitaur" of this *pothi*.

Ramchandra Shuklaji further contends that in Northern India the story of Padmini Rani and Hiraman (parrot) is narrated in the countryside almost in the same form in which Jaisi has cast it; and that as Jaisi knew history, he has given such names as Ratansen, Alauddin, etc. But where is the proof that its story had its origin earlier than the time of Jaisi? In East Bengal every villager, Hindu or Muslim, know much more about Alauddin, Padmini and Hiramon Parrot than his counterpart, anywhere in India. If we did not know that this was no old legend, but one picked up from the highly popular *Padyabati Pothi* of the Bengali poet Alawal of the Arakan Court, where he translated *Padmavat* into Bengali in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, we might as well argue that Jaisi had travelled to Bengal, the land of mysticism and magic, where he must have picked up the essentials of his famous poem! It is Jaisi's poem that gave birth to such stories everywhere, and not *vice versa* as Shuklaji argues. Another argument of Shuklaji is that Jaisi knew the story of Alauddin very well, and as such Padmini cannot be a fiction. We may also add that no Muslim before Jaisi had known the Rajput and Rajputana better. And yet it is exactly here that the trouble lay in store for us. Had not Jaisi given us more than the usual proportion of fact and fiction to make a poem or a novel, "historical," we would have taken Jaisi on his own word that his poem was no history, but at best a story (*kahani*) wholly allegorical. It is common knowledge that one who knows history can only spring a surprise on unwary students of history, and herein lies the skill of a Scott or of Bankim Chandra and Rakhaldas Banerji in our country.

A wild goose chase through literature and history for Padmini Rani betrays only a lack of humour and promises no better results than a search by ardent Sanskritists for Chandragupta Maurya's mother, Mura, born thirteen centuries after in the commentary of Dundiraj.

Jaisi wrote "to *amuse* the young and old, but to *enlighten* the wise!" We have nevertheless allowed ourselves to be befooled for full four centuries. Let us now heed the warning of Jaisi, who foresaw such a plight for us. We have no reason to believe otherwise, and so "Padmini is Intelligence, the offspring of our heart's heart," whose charms and mysteries are so alluring as those of the landscape of Simhala (*not* Ceylon). But Padmini has proved a *Maya* (illusion) to modern historians. The poet has summed up the only unassailable historical fact about his poem at the close of the narrative:

Jauhar bhoyi sab istiri, purush bhave sangram;
Badshah garh chura, Chitaur bha Islam.

[*i.e.*, Women burnt themselves in the fire of *Jauhar*, men perished in battle. The Badshah sacked the fort, and Chitor became Islam.]

18. Introduction, 34-31 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Banaras).

19. To quote only two: i. *Pingala-putri padamini, Maravani tini man* (*i.e.*, A Padmini, daughter of Pingal the ruler of Pugal), whose name was Maravani (*Dhola Maru ra Duha*, text, 2). ii. "With a *padmini* woman the marriage of Khut, son of Nagahi (Mata), took place" (Nainsi's *Khyat*, ii, 248).

HOUSING IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., M.Com.

The Indian Nation dwells in cottages. According to 1951 Census there are 558 089 villages, and the average population per village is 529. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 451 lakhs so that each village on an average comprises 97 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.5 persons. In contrast to this the total number of towns is 3.108 with an average population of 20,510 persons per town. The number of occupied houses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each town on an average comprises 3,413 occupied houses, and each urban household on an average consists of 6 persons.

The average population per house was 4.9 in 1911 as against 5.2 in 1901. 5.4 in 1891 and 5.8 in 1881[1] and 4.9 in 1921 (1921 Census, p. 46) and 5.0 in 1931[2] and 5.5 in 1951. The average number of houses per sq. mile was 21.7 in 1881, 33.9 in 1891, 31.6 in 1901 and 35.8 in 1911, 36.1 in 1921, 39.3 in 1931, and 50.8 in 1951. The following Table gives the number of persons living per house:

Persons Per House in different Provinces[3]

Provinces	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951.
Assam	5.5	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	
Bengal	6.3	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.1	4.7	
Bihar	6.4	5.7	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.2	
Bombay	5.6	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.1	
M. P.	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.0	
U. P.	5.4	5.7	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.8	
M. B.	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.6	4.5	4.6	
Madras	..	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.1	5.1	
Punjab	..	6.6	6.2	4.5	4.5	4.8	

The following Table gives the average number of persons living in each house both in urban and rural areas:[4]

Average No. of persons per occupied house

Zones	Rural	Urban	Total
North India	6.0	8.0	6.3
East India	5.3	4.5	5.3
South India	5.5	7.0	5.8
West India	5.4	6.0	5.5
Central India	5.5	8.0	5.2
N.-W. India	6.7	7.0	6.8
All India	5.4	6.1	5.5

It is estimated that of the 541 lakhs occupied houses in India's villages, not more than 2 per cent are *pukka* or brick-built houses, and not more than 7 per cent are well-built *kutchcha* houses, namely, houses with walls of mud, wood, or bamboo-matting, roofs of thatch, tiles, or corrugated iron sheeting and with doors and windows of some kind or other. The rest are just huts, hovels, or shacks, hardly deserving the term *houses*. The vast majority of these hovels are ramshackle one-room affairs, with low ceiling barely permitting an adult to stand erect, and with floor areas of anything between 80 and 120 sq. feet. Their only opening is usually a doorway so low that you cannot enter without stooping, and there are no windows or other apertures to admit light and air. Even the doorway is often covered up with a piece of matting or screen to secure privacy and protection.

On an average, four to five persons live in each of these hovels. They are born there; they eat, live and sleep there and they die there. All their personal belongings usually consisting of a few pieces of rags which serve as clothing, a mat or a cot to sleep on, and a few earthenware cooking utensils and perhaps one or two brass vessels are also kept there. Bathrooms are unknown, although the average Indian villager habitually, and as part of his religious practice, takes a daily bath at the village well or in any nearby pond, spring, river or waterway. A tiny tinshed in the yard or a covered recess on the outside wall of the hut usually serves as a kitchen, though in cold and rainy

1. *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I, Part I, p. 47.
2. *Ibid.*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 37.
3. *Census of India*, 1901. Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 33; *Ibid* for 1921. p. 62; *Ibid* for 1931. p. 37.
4. Calculated from the figures given in the Census of India paper No. 3 (1953)—Summary of Demographic & Economic data—1951 Census, pp. 8-9.

weather cooking may have to be done inside the huts. Latrines and privies are a luxury, reserved for the well-to-do, while for the vast majority of the population, the fields and the wide open space take care of the daily necessities. The lack of running water offers a formidable obstacle to any desire for "family planning" on the basis of contraceptive technique.

Housing conditions are very unsatisfactory in villages in large parts of India, especially in regions where there is high rural density. In rural areas, the usual type of houses has a court-yard but no windows. The material used for construction is mud with a thatched or occasionally tiled roof. A separate latrine for a house is rare. Food is usually prepared and eaten in the court-yard, occasionally a room may be set aside as the kitchen. It is a common practice for the villagers to permit cattle, goats and other domestic animals to share the available living space in the house with human beings. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult. Indeed, many houses are completely isolated for long periods during the monsoon.

In the East Punjab, where the standard of farming and living is the highest in Northern India, the mud huts of the peasants show a terrible congestion. Such huts are "low-roofed, windowless, airless and miserable abodes." Dr. Lucas remarks:

> "Of course for nine months of the year the entire family practically live out of doors and the houses are used only as store-rooms and shelters in case of storm. In the winter nights of December to February they are so ill-clad that a closely-shut mud box is their chief protecton against the bitter cold."

In the villages in the eastern districts of U.P., which have been intensely surveyed, the average number of persons living in such mud boxes varies from 8 to 12 and inmates are found to sleep along with cattle and other livestock. In many villages of Oudh, *e.g.*, in Jaunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy room with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many cases cattle-shed combined.[5] In the Hatwa village, a hut measuring 7 ×13×5 ft. was found to be occupied by five persons and a goat and the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty.[6] Similarly, in the village Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found that two bullocks, a fishing tackle and four members of a Guriya caste labour family were packed into a dark and stinky house measuring 14×14×7 ft.[7] Too often a village family has for home a dwelling which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

Again, in the rural areas of Bengal houses are generally built with mud walls or occasionally with bamboo-matting. Windows are provided but they are insufficient in size. Latrines are rarely found. A common feature in the province is the *doba* or tank attached to each house or a group of two or three houses. The villages are scattered over a wide area and communication between houses is often very difficult.[8] Thus in large parts of Northern India the homesteads are seen to be huddled together at all angles in order to utilize the space as far as possible while the streets are narrow and tortuous and sometimes impassable owing to the collection of refuse-water from the house-drains and the excreta of village cattle. The growth in number of 'city servants and village residents,' and the increase of bovine population have aggravated the effects of congestion in rural areas.

"To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukerjee, "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night, and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old, sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and home, that should radiate noble, social and aesthetic influences, is a den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."[9]

In Madras, the houses of the labourers are usually built of mud and has a roof of palmyrah thatch. In front there is a verandah or *pial*, and the interior consists of a single room. The dwelling of the average ryot is also usually built of mud but the roof is thatched with bamboo and straw or is sometimes tiled. The *pial* is raised higher above the ground and the interior consists of four or five rooms opening on to a verandah which surrounds a small court-yard. One of the rooms is used as a kitchen, one as a store-room for grain and other property and the rest as sleeping apartments. The cattle are also tethered in the court-yard at night, though usually they are lodged under a sloping roof outside the walls of the house. The houses are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated and window openings are either too few and narrow or totally absent. What is reckoned as a house for census purpose is not a house in the sense that it provides the accommodation, floor space and living room reasonably required for its inmates. 90 per cent of the rural houses are unfit for human habitation. The flooring is damp, the walls are deeply indented, light and air practically absent, roofing low and flimsy and in short all the conditions exist which make for sickness and disease.[10]

Thus, it will be seen that the existing housing conditions are, generally speaking, extremely unsatisfactory in rural areas. The growth of housing accommodation has not kept pace with the increase in the population and the overcrowding is therefore a common feature. In addition, the requirements of sound hygienic construction have largely been neglected, while the state of insanitation that exists in the towns and the countryside helps to reduce still further the value of home as the place which provides reasonable satisfactory living conditions for the maintenance of the health of its inmates. Proper housing has a profound influence on the health of the people. Specific reference may be made of the three groups of diseases, namely, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and bowel complaints, such as, dysentery, worms and typhoid, the incidence and the spread of which are profoundly affected by the housing conditions of a community.[11]

The unsatisfactory state of rural dwellings are due to several causes. First, most of the houses are fairly old. Moreover, the new houses are not required to conform to any regulations. Secondly, in many cases the dwellings are too scattered to enable the common services, such as, water supply, drains, electric lights to be provided on an economic basis. Thirdly, the present state of rural housing seems to be mainly due to the low income level. With the poor income of the agriculturist in general, there is little margin for him to make an adequate outlay on proper housing.

The level of health services is unsatisfactory even in urban areas and the position is much worse in rural areas. The space between the houses is narrow and full of depressions which allow water to stagnate and offers a suitable breeding ground to the bacilli of innumerable diseases. All these contribute towards the regular visitations of malaria after the rains, and cholera and plague during the winters. Sanitary reforms, village planning and housing schemes are practically unknown in the rural parts of the country.

A Housing Policy for Rural India

It is clear that the sanitary and housing conditions of the agricultural workers and the peasants are deplorable, and their improvement is an urgent duty incumbent on the Government. An attempt should, therefore, be made to revive the healthy, beautiful and picturesque village sites of ancient India. This will require the planning of village streets and lanes with reference to the important buildings and village meeting-places; the extension of congested village sites by acquiring land from the landlord on payment of such compensation as is within the means of the villagers; the controlling of the contsruction of model houses in the interests of public health, safety, adequate lighting, ventilation, repairs and protection against fire; the development of the means of communication to distribute more extensively the population over the country and to bring about a closer contact between agriculture and industry, rural and urban life; the disposal of waste and sewage, and the provision of education, marketing, recreation, etc. This programme will have to be taken up under the supervision of the resident organiser and the Panchayats.

The main factors involved in the promotion of large-scale housing schemes are: (1) the availability of land; (2) the provision of streets, water supply, drainage and other utilities to serve the common purpose; (3) the production of building materials of the required quality at

5. B. Misra: *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.

6. Mathur: *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*. p. 48.

7. A. Lorenzo: *Agriculture, Labour and Market Gardening in Oudh*, p. 69.

8. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Vol. I, p. 138.

9. R. K. Mukherjee: *Food Planning for 400 Millions*.

10. S. Y. Krishnamurthi: *Rural Problem in Madras*, p. 410.

11. *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, Pt. I, p. 138.

reasonable prices; (4) cost of the execution of the schemes and their maintenance, when completed. A housing programme can only be carried out successfully if the Government, the local authorities and the improvement trusts, and the village panchayats are prepared to enter the field with large-scale housing schemes of their own, and to stimulate the co-operative and building societies and private interests for more satisfactory performances, by financial and technical assistance and the rigid enforcement of better standards. Government and public authorities can perform these functions: (*i*) The planning, execution and regulation of housing programmes including the participation by local authorities and improvement trusts in house construction and maintenance; (*ii*) the grant of financial aid by long-term loans at low rates of interest, or grants-in-aid; (*iii*) the prescription and enforcement of standards; and (*iv*) the promotion of housing research.

The following are some of the suggestions for improving the housing conditions:

1. Accommodation space and the height of the house according to the size of the family should be fixed. A house has on an average 5 inmates which may be assumed to consist of four adults and one child. At the rate of 100 sq. ft. for each adult member and 60 sq. ft. for each child, the minimum floor space for a dwelling house may be fixed at 460 sq. ft. This will include all occupiable floor-area including verandahs.

2. The minimum floor area in any living or bed room should not be less than 120 sq. ft. The height of these rooms should not be less than 9 feet from floor level. The floor level of the rooms should be generally at least 18 inches above the level of the adjacent street.

3. The health of the inmates of dwelling houses is very much dependent on adequate ventilation of rooms and proper circulation of air within rooms. Thorough ventilation and free passage of air should be ensured in the living and bed-rooms, and as far as possible windows and ventilators should be provided on opposite sides of the rooms. The aggregate area of the openings provided by windows and ventilators should be at least one-sixth of the floor area of each room.

4. A small compound attached to the house is necessary. An independent open bath and a latrine should be provided at a corner of the compound screened from the view of the living rooms and sufficiently away from the well if the house is to have its own water supply. On one side of the compound may also be erected cattle-shed.

5. The use of single-roomed tenement by a family should be condemned. No house or portion of a house intended for occupation by a family should consist of less than two living rooms with a separate kitchen, a bathroom and a latrine, and in the warmer parts of the country, a verandah. One-room tenement should be restricted for occupation by single persons and should be adequately provided with common kitchen, bath and latrine accommodation.

6. The house should be so constructed as to give protection against rain and fire and may be suitable for all seasons. The walls, floors and roofs of houses should be so constructed as to prevent dampness and also provide insulation against the easy transmission of heat, cold and noise. In the designs, as few opportunities as possible should be given for the harbourage of vermins.

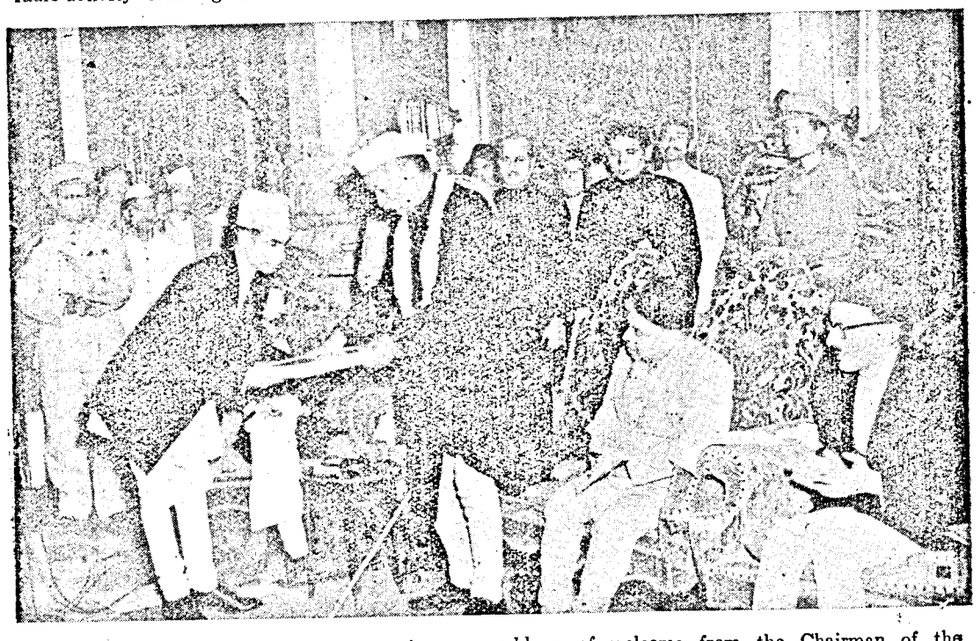
7. It is better to have a common protected source of water supply for a group of houses forming the hamlet or village.

8. Disposal of house drainage will depend on the arrangement for drainage for the particular schemes of housing as a whole. Subject to this, suitable arrangement must be made in each house for leading off all domestic sullage and refuse by the provision of a sanitary type of drain. At a convenient place in the compound, rubbish-bins of suitable size and design should be provided on low masonry platforms about 2 feet by 1½ feet.

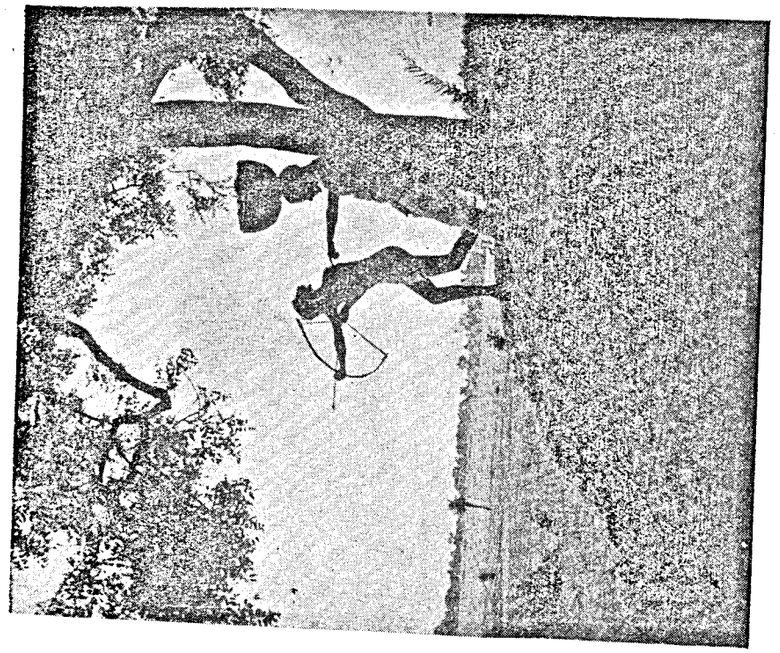
9. The Government should also consider the desirability of arranging for mass production of standard fittings for village houses and for their sale to villagers at controlled rates, and if necessary on an instalment basis. Some of the articles suggested are door frames and doors, window frames with bars or expanded metal or wire mesh for protection, fire-places and chimneys, wall-cupboards, planks for shelves, squatting slabs for bore-hole latrines, hand-pumps and ventilators.

10. The lodging of agricultural workers, whether voluntary workers or those supplied by employers, in the stables or out-houses, should

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, being explained the working of the radio-activity counting machine at the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, on October 27, 1956



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, receiving an address of welcome from the Chairman of the Nepal-India Friendship Association at the reception held in his honour at Singh Durbar, Kathmandu on October 24, 1956



Husband and wife

Photos : Ramkinkar Sinha

Two friends

be prohibited, the degree and nature of the isolation that must be insisted upon being that cattle and men should not sleep together. Further, a tenant should not be ejected from his residential house in the village merely because he has been ejected from his holding in the village.

It must be remembered that no schemes of rural housing will be successful which does not seek the co-operation of the State and the Employers' and Workers' Organisations. In India, in the absence of strong workers' organisations, only State and Co-operative Housing policies can be successful. The All-India Co-operative Planning Committee has recommended that a co-operative housing society may be organised for a group of villages, that after construction the house may be taken over by the society which will be responsible for the collection of rent from the occupier members and that option may be given to them to purchase the houses; that the value may be determined with reference to the local market rates and that payments may be made under the hire-purchase system over a period of 20 to 30 years.

The landless agricultural workers who do not own any land in a village cannot afford to have anything more than huts with mere mud walls and thatched roofs without any help either from the Government or the landlord. The bigger landlords in rural parts must be treated on a par with industrialists of the urban centres and they may be persuaded to make a contribution to the housing of the agricultural workers and other poorer classes of the village community and may be given similar facilities for construction of houses as those given to the industrial labour.

A comprehensive survey of housing conditions at present obtaining in rural areas should be immediately taken up. Such surveys have been made in some of the European countries like U.K., France and Finland. A representative village in specified villages may be chosen for the purpose and an intensive study may be made of the habitable nature of the houses in them. Such a survey will furnish the data necessary to determine (*i*) how many or what percentage of houses are already in a fit condition, (*ii*) how many require modelling, and (*iii*) how many require to be demolished altogether and rebuilt. A comprehensive view of the magnitude and nature of the problem may be thus obtained. A plan can then be drawn up to tackle the problem in a systematic way having regard to the various aspects which have a bearing on the problem, *viz.*, the agency best suited to execute the plans, the financial implications and the method of financing the operations and so on.

It will be interesting to note that the building of a new farm house, as is the belief of rural folk in America, is one of the most important episodes in life, and it should be given long, careful and prayerful study. It should be built in keeping with its surroundings and the tastes and requirements of the people.[12] Therefore, in evolving a Housing Policy of Rural India, we require not only a system of planned housing and zoning of settlements, but the close co-operation of the State and the workers' organisations for the enforcement of protective and constructive measures by legislative enactment.

Urban Housing

In urban areas housing conditions present the most shocking contrast as between the rich and the poor. In the following paragraphs the housing conditions of industrial workers in some important industrial centres are described:

'Chawls' of Bombay

In Bombay, the majority of the workers live in *chawls* (blocks of flats erected for the accommodation of a large number of families).

"Many of these *chawls* have tall narrow frontages and extreme depths, with the consequence that the rooms, especially those in the middle and on the ground-floors, are denied both sunshine and air, lavatory arrangements are frequently inadequate and crude, and the air is filled with an indescribable stench. As though this were not sufficient to poison the atmosphere, there is the common practice of throwing all the household rubbish and filth into the gullies. Much of this stagnates, and with the liquid sinking into the soil when the drains are in a bad condition, the net result is better imagined than described. It is to such a life that the worker and his family (if he has one) are condemned. To minimise discomfort the windows of the room opening on the gullies—the only outlets to the open are kept practically always shut. Where the lavatories are not

12. Waugh : *Country Planning*, p. 79.

detached from the main building, of course, nothing can keep out the stench."[13]

Often in one room of these *chawls* measuring 15 ft. by 12 ft., five to six families are found living, preparing their food separately. During night, clothes or sacking are flung on bamboos hung from the ceiling to partition the room for different families. And as the Royal Commission on Labour remarked:

"In the majority of cases these *chawls* are impossible of improvement and therefore fit only for demolition."[14]

An enquiry conducted by the Bombay Labour office in 1938 revealed that, of the families covered, 91.24 per cent live in one-room tenements and that the average number of persons residing in each such tenement is 3.84. The approximate floor space available per person and tenement is 26.88 sq. ft. and 103.23 sq. ft. respectively. The average monthly rent is Rs. 6-14-4 for one-room tenements, the figure varying between Rs. 5 and Rs. 9 for 79 per rent of the total number of families. One-room tenements constitute 81 per cent of the total tenements in the city, 74 per cent of the population of which dwell in these tenements.[15]

A considerable majority of workers, therefore, live in *chawls* privately owned. Most of these *chawls* are built of cheap material and almost 60 per cent of them have plinth below 1 ft. According to the Bombay Labour Office Enquiry conducted in 1938, the average number of persons per tenement was 4.05. Sometimes more than 10 persons live in one room measuring 12 ft. × 10 ft. Very often more than one family live in one room. The floor is mostly *kutchcha* and the roofing is either of corrugated iron sheet or of country tiles. Generally there is no lighting arrangement. A few *chawls* have common taps and some have tube-wells. Bathrooms are not provided at all. A large number of *chawls* have not provided for latrines and even where they exist they are in a most insanitary condition. Everywhere rubbish, dirt, stinking water are found, keeping the whole area unhealthy and insanitary.

13. B. Shiva Rao: *Industrial Worker in India* (1939), p. 103.
14. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour* (1931), p. 273.
15. *Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee Final Report* (1940). Vol. II, p. 273.

'Bustees' of Calcutta

While in Calcutta one can admire the luxurious buildings around Calcutta, one will be horrified to look at slums known as *bustees* where a considerable majority of the workers live. These *bustees* are constructed by private landlords, often mill-Sirdars. Every available foot of land has been utilised for building huts, dark, damp and leaky. The degree of overcrowding and congestion that can be seen in *bustees* around Calcutta are probably unequalled in any other industrial centre of the country. The huts are mostly kutchcha with roofs of thatch, corrugated iron sheets or tiles. The height of these huts is not more than 8 feet. A large number of huts have plinths below the ground level. The size of the room does not exceed 80 sq. ft. and still several families (up to 12 persons) will be found living in one room. The same room serves the purpose of kitchen and store-room. Most of these huts have no windows and even if there is any, it is kept closed to secure privacy. The Administration Report of 1869 of the Corporation of Calcutta described the *bustees* as follows:

"A *bustee* or native village generally consists of a mass of huts constructed without any plan or arrangement, without roads, without drains, ill-ventilated and never cleaned. Most of these villages are the abodes of misery, vice and filth and the nurseries of sickness and disease. In these *bustees* are found green and slimy stagnant ponds, full of putrid vegetable and animal matter in a state of decomposition and whose bubbling surfaces exhale, under a tropical sun, noxious gases, poisoning the atmosphere and spreading around disease and death. These ponds supply the native with water for domestic purposes, and are very often the receptacles of filth. The articles which feed these tanks are the drains that ramify over the village and carry the sewage of the huts into them. Their position is marked by development of rank vegetation. The entrances to these *bustees* are many, but are not easily discoverable, whilst the paths are so narrow and tortuous that it is difficult for a stranger to find his way through them. The huts are huddled together in masses, and pushed to the very edge of the ponds the projecting eaves often meeting one another, whilst the intervening spaces, impervious to the rays of the sun, are converted into urinals and used by both sexes in common. In these huts often live entire families, the members of which occupy the single apartment of which it is not infrequently composed, and in which they feed and sleep together, the wet and spongy floor with a mat spread on it serving as a bed for the whole family."

Though the condition was described three quarters of a century ago, still, it is deplorable, no change has taken place in the condition of these *bustees*.

The quarters built by employers are also mostly unsatisfactory. The houses are built back to back, usually of brick-walls and have either brick-paved or *kutchcha* floor, the roofs are either of beaten *soorki* or asbestos corrugated sheets. Generally these rooms have no windows and are damp, dark and dirty. Such houses are also quite inadequate in number. Recently, however, some employers have constructed quite good houses for their employees. The Birla Jute Mills have a colony providing housing for 43 per cent of the employees. The Hukum Chand Jute Mills have also recently constructed some good flats for their employees. The Bata Works at Batanagar have provided housing for some 4,000 of their employees. There are quarters for bachelors as well as for families. Most of the houses are lighted with electricity and have decent sanitary arrangements. There is also adequate arrangement for water supply.

'Ahatas' of Kanpur

The Kanpur Labour Inquiry Committee in their report points out:

"Most of the workers have to live in slums locally known as *ahatas*, where small dingy rooms are let out on exorbitant rents. Most of these *ahatas* are extremely insanitary and over-crowded and lack adequate sunshine and ventilation, to say nothing of water, light and conservancy. Quite a number of huts are below the street-level. The condition under which men, women and children in their thousands (about 40,000 souls) live in their *ahatas* are indescribable. The space within each tenement where the worker lives with his family, often numbering eight to ten persons, is smaller than the space we usually have in our bathrooms. An animal, especially if it be a horse or a cow, is given more room than the poor tenant. A night visit to these areas is for a stranger a positively risky undertaking—a sprained ankle is almost a certainty, while a broken neck by stumbling into a blind well or a goodly-sized hole, would not be an impossibility. Even the elementary services of public lighting is denied to these people. As for drainage and water supply, such luxuries are thought to be superfluities. The underground rooms, in which thousands of Kanpur workmen live reminded one of the members of the Committee of the "dug-outs" of France during war-time. While the slum-dwellers should be somewhat protected from shot and shell in the event of an aerial bombardment, they are but easy victims of those ever-active enemies of mankind, namely, the germ and the bug. These have wrought havoc, especially amongst the ranks of infants, the young and the women. The rate of infant mortality in Kanpur is still appallingly high. The paradox of the situation is that the *ahata*-owner, who has done the least for his tenants, stands to gain the most at the time of acquisition of land either by the Municipality or the Improvement Trust. The entire situation is iniquitous. It should not be permitted to continue a day longer than possible. Little wonder that the so-called agitator in Kanpur has such widespread and wholehearted response from the labouring classes. The wonder is that they have kept silent for so long."[16]

In 1938-39, an official inquiry was conducted which covered in all 1,421 families living in *ahatas*. It was found that 64.6 per cent lived in one-room tenements, 32.3 per cent in two rooms, 3 per cent in three rooms and only one per cent in more than three. The average size of these rooms was 11.4 ft. × 8.5 ft. × 10.2 ft. and the area on an average was 96.9 sq. ft., with a capacity of 988.4 cubic feet. Sanitary conditions were conspicuously absent. All these facts throw a flood of light on housing conditions in Kanpur.

'Cheries' of South India

Worse than the *bustees* in their planless confusion, squalor and insanitation are the *cheries* of such South Indian towns as Madras, Madura, Coimbatore, Tuticorin and Cochin. Where the *panchamas* dwell filth and dirt are even more marked. Each single hut, as in Bengal, is made of mud and thatch or of old kerosine tin plates and the entrance to it is an aperture rather than door. The average size of the hut is here reduced to 8 ft. × 6 ft., and the materials used are flimsier than those used in Northern India, yielding more easily to rain and storm which are frequent. Inside each hut, complete darkness reigns supreme even in daytime, while there is overcrowding of the worst kind. Mahatma Gandhi's description of the *cheries* of Madura may be given here:

"One *cheri* I visited is surrounded by water and drains on all sides. In the rainy season, it must be a place unfit for human habitation. Another thing is, it is below the road-level and all these places are flooded during rains. The cottages in all the three

16. *Kanpur Labour Enquiry Committee Report*, (1938), p. 78.

cheries are built anyhow. There is no lay-out of the streets or lanes, and cottages in many places have no vents worth the name. In all cases without exception they are so low that you cannot enter in and get out without bending double. And in all cases, the upkeep of the place is certainly not even to the minimum sanitary standard."

In the city of Madras there are about 200 such *cheries* of which more than half are owned by private individuals, 26 by the Government, 25 by the Corporation and 27 by Trusts. In these are quartered about one-third of the population of Madras. A survey has revealed that 35 *cheries*, where about 15,000 persons live, are not provided with Municipal water supply. 134 *cheries* occupied by 183,000 persons have only 460 water taps. Only 12 *cheries* have an adequate supply of taps. In respect of latrine accommodation, 72 *cheries* have none at all while 109 have 121 latrines with about 1,200 seats.

'Dhowrahs' of Mining Areas (*Coal-fields*)

Dhowrahs or mines quarters are built usually by colliery proprietors from the point of view of the minimum permanent labour force required by them.

In the colliery *dhowrahs* 85 per cent of the miners' families are living in one-room houses and 10 per cent in two-room houses, 3 per cent in three-room houses and only 2 per cent in four-room houses.

A *dhowrah* is often occupied by 12 to 15 persons. New relations are brought in and especially in winter some of the worst forms of over-crowding are met with. Miners and loaders of the same village, caste, or gang prefer to live together in the rooms of the *dhowrah*, while those who work on different shifts deliberately choose to occupy one set of rooms alternately.

Only at some of the bigger collieries are some latrines provided for the *dhowrahs*, but these are grossly inadequate in number. Miners, especially the children, ease themselves too near the quarters and pigs do the work of scavengers.

In the *dhowrahs* for which piped water supply is provided the taps are too few and distant. It is found that in four collieries, there is only one tap provided for 75 to 80 *dhowrahs*.

'Bustees' and Barracks of the Plantations

In the plantations the usual housing accommodation adopted is of the *bustee* type, long lines of barracks with iron roofs and brick-walls, or bamboo huts with thatched roofs, are built usually along the banks of streams or small channels and the usual defects of congestion, lack of light and ventilation, and insanitation are met with. There are also hamlets consisting of small groups of separate huts scattered over the cultivation on high and low grounds, the coolies building their huts on receipt of advances from the garden.

The lanes are narrow and crooked and littered with garbage and washings, and with the excreta of cattle and goats which are frequently found here. There are no separate cow-sheds, an adjoining room serving to shelter the animals.

The huts are built at all angles in short or long blocks as space permits and also back to back. The danger of fire-outbreaks is serious in summer; while during the rains the pathways to the *bustees* become small channels and there being no plinths water flows into the huts when their inhabitants are compelled to go without cooking and perch themselves on earthen-ware vessels, their only belongings.

In the Darjeeling tea-estates and in the plantations occupying hill-sides, as in Coorg and Travancore, the lines of labourers' huts are similarly located on sites lying on the banks or streams, and the dangers of water-logging or inundation are equally recurrent. Bathing and washing arrangements are seldom met with in the plantation-*bustees*, although piped water supply is found in a number of gardens. There is hardly any latrine accommodation in a plantation. The labourers use the field and the jungle for nature's call.

The sudden outbreaks of cholera in an epidemic form and the prevalence of hookworm disease testify to the dangers of the lack of provision of latrines and sanitary bathing and washing places for the labourers. Where the *bustees* and their surrounding areas are not adequately drained, malaria and pneumonia become endemic causing a heavy mortality, especially among women and children.

Small employers are generally incapable of providing houses to their workers. Moreover, the houses built by the employers are likely to be of high rent, whereas the workers need cheap, but healthy houses. The responsibility of the State is, therefore, two-fold: Firstly, it should prepare a housing plan, lay down the type and size of the houses to be constructed and the rent to be charged. This plan should be executed by the employers and special housing boards which should be constituted in each industrial centre. Secondly, the State should help the employers and the housing-boards in acquiring suitable lands near the mills for building houses, by enforcing the Land Acquisition Act in their favour.

There are certain important problems connected with housing. The *first* is that the rent of the workers' quarters should be within their means. A living wage at least must be paid to the workers and the rent of the houses must be such that they may afford to pay it out of their wages. Secondly, such amenities of life as dispensaries, markets, schools and post offices must be available near the labour-colonies. Thirdly, there is the question of cheap conveyance. The employers should provide cheap bus-services to bring to and fro the workers from their dwellings to the mills. Fourthly, some reasonable principles, preferably according to the period of services put in, should be adopted by the employers for making allotments of the houses amongst the workers. Lastly, for effecting a long-term solution of this problem, the State should prohibit further starting of industrial concerns in areas which are already over-crowded and where housing is already a serious problem.

To conclude, we might say, improved housing is the first step towards an improvement of the standard of living, behaviour and morals of the industrial worker. With all this will come the conquest of the preventable disease and mortality, the improvement of health and morality and the improvement of health and output. The problem of housing is undeniably the most central and the most urgent for the efficiency and the well-being of the Indian working class. For those who assert that India cannot afford to spend more money for industrial housing, there can be only one answer that she can no longer afford to delay such expenditure."[17]

17. R. K. Mukerjee: *The Indian Working Class*, (1951), p. 321.

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EXTENSION OF THE CITY

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A walk through the Strand Road in the rush hour or a peep into the slums makes one feel about the immediate necessity of the expansion of the city. In this article an attempt has been made to analyse briefly the cause and the magnitude of the problem and to put forward a suggestion towards its solution.

According to 1951-Census, the population of Calcutta stands at 2,548,677 on an area of 32.32 square miles. It means a density of 88,953 persons per sq. mile, probably the greatest in the world. Comparison with other cities of India may be useful for the study:

Table 1

City	Population	Area (sq. miles)	Density per sq. mile
Calcutta	2,548,677	32.32	88,953
Bombay (greater)	2,839,270	210.90	13,463
Delhi	1,191,104	39.52	30,139

Even the average figure of 88,953 persons per sq. mile does not reveal the true picture. There are 3,615 *bustees* in Calcutta, which have 21,556 huts and 155,624 living rooms where live 617,374 souls, almost a quarter of Calcutta's population. The condition of the other residents of the city is no better than the *bustee*-dwellers. The following table will clarify the position:

Table 2

Year	Total Municipal premises	Population per Municipal premises
1921	50,004	20.6
1931	61,890	16.8
1941	76,555	27.5
1951	82,313	31.0

The number of living rooms, as counted in December, 1950, was 710,579. So the average number of persons per room with a population of 2.55 millions works out at 3.6. This is a high figure even for a moderate 144 sq. ft. floor area, which is also not very

common in Calcutta. Similarly, acute is the problem of traffic congestion in the streets. Widening of some streets is an urgent necessity.

Census figures indicate that certain localities have reached the saturation point and possibly cannot accommodate more persons.

TABLE 3

	Percentage variation.				
Locality	1941-51	1931-41	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11
Bara Bazar	−1.4	+192.1	−43.3	+ 8.1	— 3.4
Colootola	+0.1	+ 83.9	+27.2	+32.5	— 9.6
Muchipara	−0.3	+ 69.8	+15.7	+10.0	— 1.2
Taltola	−1.6	+ 83.2	+21.4	— 1.4	— 0.4
Beniapukur	+0.6	+ 88.4	+15.8	+ 0.5	+24.1

For certain reasons, 1941 Census figures seem to be exaggerated and unreliable.

The above figures all point out to the same problem—how to find out the living accommodation for the existing population without touching the question of the daily passengers.

There are three ways to reduce the density of the city population or to provide more accommodation: (a) by shifting a portion of the population from the city, (b) erecting sky-scrapers and (c) integrating new lands with the city proper. It may be relevant to discuss the merits of the three ways.

It is the employment opportunities which bring here the immigrants in thousands. The location of multiple industrial units at Calcutta is due to the interaction of some factors, *e.g.*, port, transport and market facilities. Unless these facilities are available elsewhere and that the possibility is distant, the prospect of migration of industries from Calcutta, particularly of the industries under private management, is remote. The factories outside Calcutta are located chiefly within the 30-mile radius of the city and they are intimately linked with it. These factories are promoting settlements in between those centres and Calcutta and stretching lengthwise the ribbon of our ribbon-shaped city which is undesirable for reasons more than one.

The development of cottage industries at least can check the migration of surplus rural hands to Calcutta and cannot cause emigration from the city. For obvious reasons the commercial core of the city will remain the commercial nucleus of not only the State but of Eastern India as well. Nearly four-fifths of the city's population is engaged in commerce (756,168), production other than cultivation (547,262), transport (287,681) and other services (934870). Comparable opportunities are not likely to be available outside Calcutta and the prospect of emigration is not at all bright. This is evident from the table below:

TABLE 4

	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911
Immigrant	1389128	630550	378776	371575	397274
Emigrant	41536	26591	22301	46030	34000

This meagre emigration, too, according to the version of the Census authorities, "predominantly represents those whose parents were on short or periodic visits to Calcutta on business." All these show the reluctance of the permanent settlers to leave the city and hence the poor response for Kalyani. It may be relevant to mention that it is the density which is alarming and not the total population of the city. As regards total population, Calcutta is much behind the great capitals and cities of the Western Europe, U.S.A., China and Japan. So it will be improper to believe that the reduction in density will come through emigration from the city.

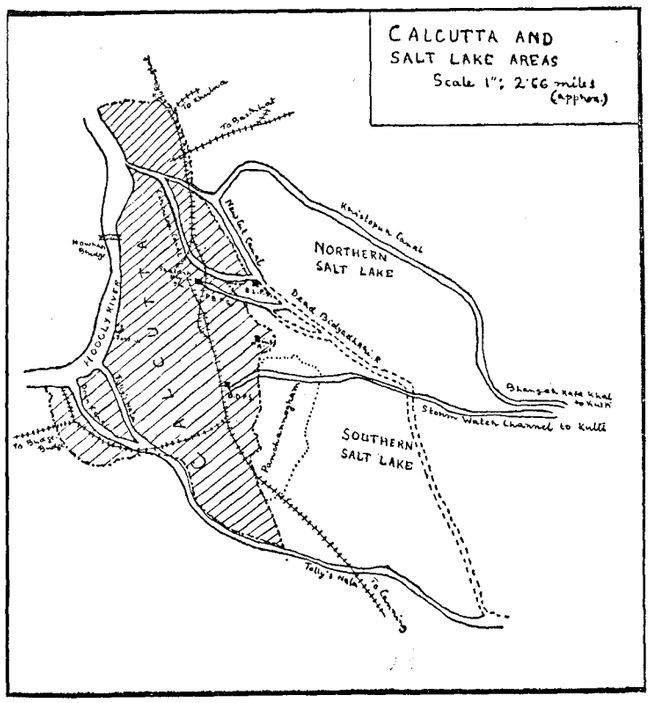
Sometimes it is suggested that the solution lies in erecting sky-scrapers. But it is not within the means of the average people to bear the financial burden of building such mansions and if the State does not take up the enterprise it will only promote capitalism. Capitalists can only build such sky-scrapers and the common people can only hope to enter those houses as tenants. Moreover, the construction of the sky-scrapers is associated with vital points, such as (1) the soil conditions and its capacity of carrying loads, (2) wind pressure on the structure, (3) water supply and sewage disposal, (4) fire protection and (5) traffic problems. Again, the attempt to accommodate more people on a limited ground will result in increasing the density which is already alarming. So the suggestion is not practicable.

In the light of the above-mentioned arguments it may be concluded that the way to reduce the density lies in the horizontal expansion of the City, *i.e.*, by integration of the new lands with Calcutta proper. But to what direction Calcutta will expand to the north, south, east or west? The writer, on consideration of different aspects, is of the opinion that the best chance lies in the east. Reclaimed Salt Lake area integrated with the city will solve the problem. The reasons for such choice are stated below.

Enclosed between the Kristopur canal in the north and Tolly's *nala* in the south, Salt Lake area is divided into two halves by the storm water channel and jointly measure 37* sq. miles. If this 37-sq. mile area is amalgamated with the city, the density will be reduced to less than half of the present. Even the reclamation of only the northern Salt Lake area (19 sq. miles) will considerably reduce the overcrowding in the houses and streets. The shape of the City, after the incorporation with this area, will be corrected and the task of the Corporation will be easier in providing civic amenities.

To make the area suitable for habitation, the surface level will have to be raised by 4 ft. to 6 ft. It

* The figure is from the Corporation, Government figure differs from it. On the Indian map prepared by the Government, the northern Salt Lake area measures 18 sq. miles and the southern one 15 sq. miles.



means the surface level of the built-up area will be +10 ft. At present the altitude of the Salt Lake area varies between +3 ft. and +6 ft. There are two ways to raise the level: (*a*) by dig and fill method, (*b*) by transporting material from outside.

Dig and fill method means excavation of half the area in different parts for giant tanks and filling the rest of the area by the material thus derived. Large portion of Dhakuria was built up in this way. Previously it has been estimated that it will cost nearly two and a half crores of rupees to build up the northern Salt Lake area by this method.

The alternative way is to bring soil from outside. The Government proposes to bring here the soil that is to be dredged from the Hooghly bed by hydraulic force. If 20-sq. mile area is to be raised by 4 ft., 223.20 crores cubic feet of soil is necessary. But this huge figure should not be a cause for disappointment. It has been estimated that before the execution of the D.V.C. project, Damodar alone used to contribute nearly 340 million cubic yard of silt and sand to the Hooghly basin. There are other tributaries too. And the most serious problem that the Port authorities face is the silting up of the Hooghly Channel. So the initiation of the reclamation work will serve the double purpose.

The position of the Salt Lake area is advantageous in respect of providing civic amenities. One of the basic necessity of man is water. At present tap-water supply system of the Corporation is a centralised one, Tala tank in the north is the sole distributing centre. Although at present water-scarcity prevails all over the city yet it is South Calcutta which suffers most. As the distance from the Tala tank increases, pressure falls due to friction. So, further extension to the south will make the situation worse. If more main pipes are to be taken to the south to ease the problem, it will be a heavy financial burden on the municipality. The chief difficulty in the way of decentralising the distribution system is the increasing salinity of the Ganges water downwards of Palta. Hence, installation of pumping machinery in the south has its own difficulty. On the other hand, proximity of the Salt Lake area to the Tala tank is a good advantage.

Proper drainage of the area is the second most desired civic amenity. At present only the city proper gets the benefit of the underground drainage system. The following table shows the drainage of Calcutta:

TABLE 5

Location	Storm Water *Served by*	*Area in acres*	*Total discharge in Cusecs*
North Calcutta	Palmer's Bridge Pumping Station	4800	1260

South Calcutta	Ballygunge Drainage Pumping Station	6400	1120
Tangra Area	Point 'A'	878	171
South Maniktola	Dhapa Lock	1477	193

The diameter of the underground drains and the capacity of the pumping stations are the two factors which determine the proper drainage of an area. It has been observed during the recent cyclonic rains that it is beyond the capacity of P.B.P.S. or B.D.P.S. to drain storm water excess over normal. Water-logging of some streets even during a normal shower is a common sight. So if the underground network is further extended to the north and south without the installation of new pumping stations, the situation will deteriorate. The position of the Salt Lake area by the side of the storm water channel is advantageous in respect of the installation of the pumping machinery as well as for implementing decentralised drainage system to enforce efficiency.

The time needed to reach the nucleus of the city, *i.e.*, Dalhousie Square from the two extremeties, Cossipore in the north and Tollygunge in the south, is nearly double the time that is taken to reach the heart of the city from Maniktola, Narkeldanga and other eastern areas. So the extension to the east will bring economy in time and fare. The ramifications from the railway lines proceeding to Ranaghat in the north and Canning in the south from Sealdah will serve the area very well. Moreover, Sealdah Railway Station is proposed to be shifted half-mile further east from its present position. So the position of the Sealdah Railway Station, due to the integration of the Salt Lake areas, will be nearly central and the divergence of the traffic in all directions will remove congestion in one or two directions.

One of the chief causes of the increasing lungs diseases is over-crowding in ill-ventilated houses or in the houses negatively placed in respect of the prevailing winds. The following table shows the actual percentages of days on which wind blows from a particular direction:

TABLE 6

N.	N.-E.	E.	S.-E.	S.	S.-W.	W.	N.-W.	Calm
10	3.5	5.5	9.5	19	18.5	5	7.5	21.5

It appears that the prevailing winds on majority days are from the South, South-east and South-west. Undoubtedly the south is placed in the best position but the location of the Salt Lake area is not unfavourable. Slums and closely spaced buildings of different sizes cannot enjoy the breeze from the south due to blocking. No such obstacle stands in the way of the breeze that blows over the Salt Lake area. On this newly developed part municipality may strictly impose its building rules, may bring uniformity in shape and size of the houses to be built, so that, even when developed, free passage of air will not be checked.

Nearly half the population of Maniktola, Entally, Beliaghata, and Tangra are *bustee*-dwellers. If the slums are to be removed, settlement of these *bustee*-dwellers in the immediate vicinity will prove an advantage.

If the Government or C.I.T. takes the charge of the distribution of the land, it is hoped, that land price will be moderate. An opportunity will be opened for the lower middle-class people and the wage-earners to own a piece of land.

The idea of the reclamation of the Salt Lake area is not a new one. As early as 1865 Salt Lake Reclamation Committee was set up to devise ways and means. Various committees were formed since then for the same purpose. But it is the present State Government which has taken it up earnestly and, it is understood, the reclamation work will be started soon. The Government will at first reclaim the northern Salt Lake area. But the Government's aim is to reclaim only 4 sq. miles for habitation and to keep the rest of the areas as 'polders.' This very limited addition to the city will not be able to produce any remarkable result. Moreover, the difference in level between the area to be built up for the city extension and the rest of the area will cause flow of drainage water from that zone to polder areas which will create an unhealthy environment. And for the drainage of the polder areas and to guard against possible flood water it will have to depend on the embankment and pumping arrangements, the maintenance of which is costly. In view of these considerations it may be suggested that the reclamation of the entire northern lake area for habitation and building it up to a uniform level will bring greater benefit.

The objective of the article is not in any way to support more immigration to Calcutta or to seek space for the future immigrants. Extension is the urgent need to provide living accommodation for the existing population, to increase the ratio of the street area to total area, to remove the traffic congestion and to transform the unhealthy environment into the finest spot of the city.

It may be hoped that the days are not far away when the present-day abode of the blood-sucking but musically-humming mosquitoes will be changed into an integral part of the city. And the light peeping through the trees of the shady avenues of a not very distant future is visible.*

* Tables 1, 4, and 6 are taken or prepared from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 31st Anniversary Number. Tables 2 and 3 are taken or prepared from the *Census Report* on Calcutta City, Vol. VI, Part III. Table 5 is taken from the map "Calcutta and Its Environs of Calcutta Corporation." I am indebted to Sri A. N. Banerjee, retired Outfall Engineer, C. C., for information and Sri N. C. Chatterjee of the Geography Department, Presidency College, for suggestions on the construction of the map.

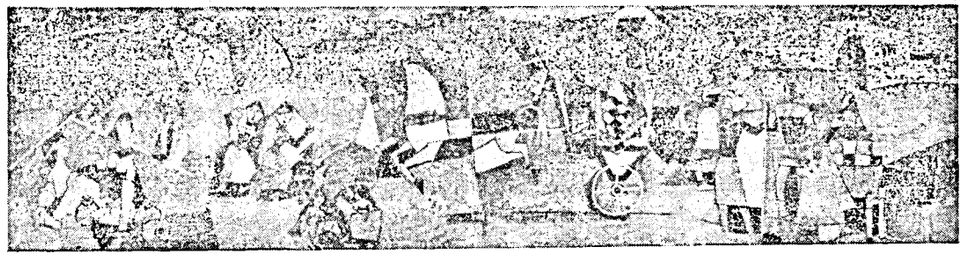


Fig. 1 Village Scene
By Maqbul Fida Husain

INDIAN PAINTING AT THE VENICE INTERNATIONAL

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE International Exhibition of Art, held at Venice, every second year, popularly known as the "Venice Bi-Annual," has justly become an institution, where artists of all countries and all nations send their works of art for appraisal by an universal or international standard. We do not know what is the constitution of the Judging Committee and what are the accepted standards and canons for judging the productions which come from all parts of the world to this modern international forum for appraisal of their respective merits. Until a few decades ago, the best critics and connoisseurs of the West were unable to appreciate any merits in the productions of the arts of Eastern countries and the finest masterpieces of Chinese and Indian art were looked upon as freaks of Asiatic barbarism, unworthy of the label of "Works of Art." But since the beginning of the twentieth century and a few years earlier, serious attempts have been made in Europe and in America to understand in a liberal spirit the Eastern point of view, to appraise the art of oriental countries by a critical analysis, the peculiar forms of expression, their techniques and modes of revelations judged from their own point of view through the phases of evolutions in the context of the art-history and traditions of Eastern schools of art through their own national philosophy and their different attitudes towards life. In order to set up a just and fair standard of judging works of Oriental Art, the Western connoisseurs and collectors of art set about in a serious manner to collect and study masterpieces of Chinese, Indian and Near Eastern Art. For this purpose, a museum of Far Eastern Art was set up at Cologne, a department of Chinese, Japanese and Persian Art was opened in the British Museum and the most distinguished and representative collection of Indian Art was installed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the United States. So that there is now a trained group of specialists in all phases of Eastern Art, competent to evaluate the exotic arts of the East and to critically appraise their modern expressions. But, in the present context, it is necessary to enquire if the Venice Judging Committee had included a few, at least, of specialists and connoisseurs in the schools of Asiatic Art. But a more pertinent enquiry would be: Is there a definite policy on the part of the Exhibition authorities to encourage the exhibition of works bearing the unmistakable marks and characters of the nation exhibiting in the different sections assigned to different nationals of the world in the Venice Bi-Annual? The Venice authorities would be perfectly

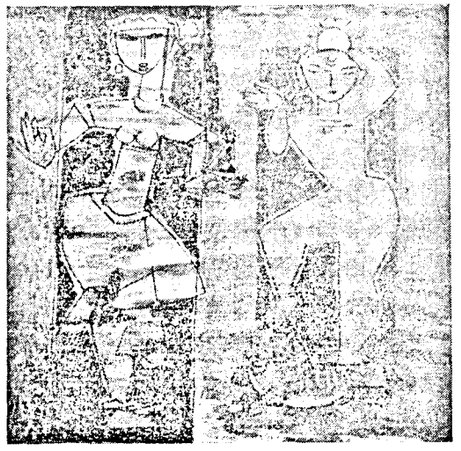


Fig. 3. Two Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

justified in maintaining a perfectly neutral attitude leaving each national to exhibit any kinds of Art, national, nationalist or anti-national in complexion, the object of the international show being to present the actual tendencies now predominating in the current productions of contemporary Art, say from China, Japan, and India. We have no materials to judge of

the nature of the contributions of China and Japan to this world-famous Exhibition which opened its 28th Show a few months ago. We are, therefore, confined to an appraisal of modern paintings, which were sent to Venice from India. No one expected that any of the works of the senior artists now living would be represented in the show. So that we do not complain that no works of Nanda Lal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar, Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury or even of Jamini Roy, were represented in this international assembly of modern Indian paintings.

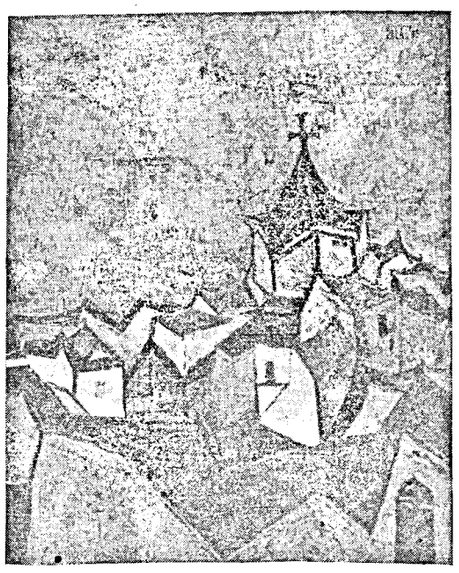


Fig. 4. The Red Chapel
By Sayed Haider Raza

Fig. 6. Labourers
By Dinkar Koushik

We reproduce here seven of the Indian paintings which elicited praise from the international critics at Venice. The artists who earned praises are Dinkar Kowshik, (represented by two specimens), Maqbul Fida Husain, (represented here by three pieces), Padamsee Akbar and Sayed Haidar Raza (each represented by one example). We do not know if Amina Lodi, Rathin Maitra, or Subho Tagore, was represented in the Show. If not, then, one would be entitled to comment that the best phases of "Modernistic" Indian painting were not presented in the show. Apparently the Bombay group was adequately represented. It may be, by accident or by deliberate gesture of exclusion, the Santiniketan group was not represented. But we have no right to complain, as we do not know if any committee was set up in India to make a representative selection of "modernistic" and contemporary paintings from India. It is unfortunate that no accurate information is available and we do not know if the Indian Ambassador in Rome took any interest in this representation of contemporary Indian painting at the Venice Show. Our regret is all the more when we find that American nationals took their part very seriously and have published a magnificently printed and lavishly illustrated brochure, setting out the contribution made to the show by modern American artists, with an Introduction written by so famous an art-historian as Lionello Venturi. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and/or the Lalita Kala Akadami apparently did not do anything to sponsor the cause and claims of modernistic Indian painters in the Venice Show. It is quite possible that the Bombay Group had elected to send their paintings on their own initiative without caring for any official help or backing. This must be regarded as a piece of good fortune, as we have been repeatedly told that Indian paintings sent abroad, under diplomatic auspices, through official Indian channels, never receive any independent criticism or review, but unstinted diplomatic praises which can never be accepted as accurate and sincere appraisals. We are happy, therefore to find that the few Indian artists who sent their pictures (even if they did not fully represent all the leading artists of modern India and all phases of the modern trends in painting) have earned praises judged by the international standard. This must be to us a

matter of great gratification, as it must be taken to enhance the prestige of India in the field of Art.

From the national point of view and from the point of view of the great traditions of Indian Art, shining through the corridors of time, one might say, there is nothing 'national' or characteristically *Indian* in the seven pieces of *Indian* painting which earned praise for India at Venice. For, there are thousands of responsible critics who still entertain the superstition that Art is nothing if not national and if it does not reflect the national spirit expressed in the language and vocabulary of the art of a nation. Even the most fanatical exponents of modernism in Europe have been able to outgrow or repudiate the manners and mannerisms of old masterpieces, as they have repeatedly revealed the so-called old outworn formulas of their El Grecos, Duccios, and Byzantine Icons. And it has been pertinently said by a modernistic critic, "Revolution is one of our fondest stereotypes in disguise," and "there is nothing more out-of-date than the *moderns*!"

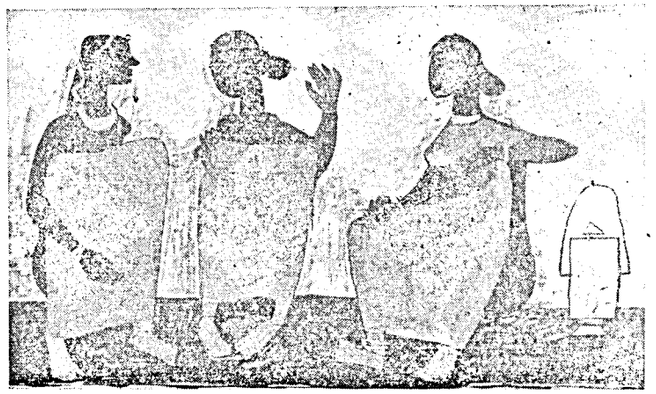


Fig. 2. Three Women
By Maqbul Fida Husain

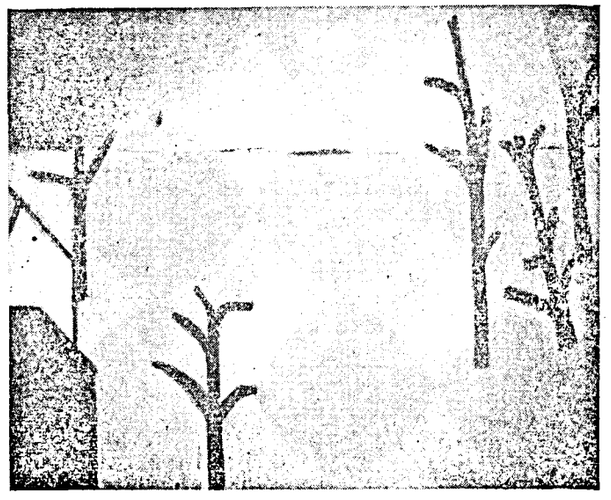


Fig. 5. Landscape
By Padamsee Akbar

Rightly or wrongly a few group of contemporary painters in India have chosen to repudiate the age-long traditions of the great heritage of the language of Indian painting and slavishly accepted the so-called International Esperanto, borrowed from the modernistic language of Post-Impressionism and Cubism and a host of other "isms," unintelligible and unacceptable to most of the educated Indians of the modern age. They are trying to express themselves in a pictorial language which has not grown out of the soil of Indian social and spiritual life. Yet, one cannot quarrel with those who repudiate their own nationality, their Indian citizenship and their great artistic heritage. They cannot complain if sincere nationals look upon them as "outcasts" of Indian culture or rebels from Indian spiritual standards.

Even if the seven specimens we have chosen for illustration, do not pay any manner of homage to the techniques, manners, and mannerisms and to the best traditions of Indian Art, we must concede that each of them is a work of Art, judged by the modern canons of Europe. And even if we cannot accept them as genuine productions of Indian Art we cannot deny the praises due to them as vigorous and able essays in line and space-compositions, revealing a wonderful sense of rhythm, balance and harmony. If there are no "reasons" in them, there are enough "rhymes" in them, which sing out in an exotic melody. Poor in *content*, they are rich in *form*. If they have no serious message or even any substantive story-values, they are full of excitements and agitations reflected from the flutter of the hearts of the artists.

Let us comment on the pictures one by one. Of the four artists, Maqbul Fida Husain appears to be the more versatile, having chosen three divergent

manners in his three different compositions. In the *Village Scene* (Fig. 1) all the varied and exciting elements of village-life have been translated and

Fig. 7. Woman with bird
By Dinkar Koushik

transcribed in a series of mosaics, and space-compositions carefully balanced and consummately woven into a convincing epic, a moving tapestry in which the flavour of Indian life is not obliterated by the Cubistic formula. It is a clever interpretation of Indian life couched in an exotic language. The *Three Women* (Fig. 2), summarily rendered in three black but vigorous silhouettes, is a masterly reduction of a fully comprehensive realistic impression into an essential formula, which, ignoring all details misses nothing. The third picture *Due Donne*, two figures, (Fig. 3), is a still more masterly reduction to essentials the artist's impression of a *Deva-Dasi* dancing before the image in a Hindu temple.

Sayed Haider Raza, a resident of Paris, studying Art under a Government of India scholarship, is a landscape artist, here represented by *The Red Chapel* (Fig. 4), has been recently praised in the French journal *Prisme Des Arts*, but he does not appear to have yet developed any originality, still confined to repetitions of familiar formulas. Padamsee Akbar, very familiar in Calcutta exhibitions, is here represented by a moon-lit landscape *Paesaggio II* (Fig. 5) almost imitating the brevity of Japanese *Haikai* poetry without its flavour or fascination. It is a mere dry and deceptive formula with all lyrical flavour cruelly pressed out and banished. The subtle gradation of light is very commendable. Of this group, Dinkar Koushik easily outstrips the others both in his vigorous and realistic visualization, analysis of spaces and a true presentation of types, emphasized but not obliterated by his Cubistic formula. His *Lavoratori* (Labourers) (Fig. 6), has all the merits and charms of 'academic' painting, translated into modernistic conventions. His *Women with Bird* (Fig. 7) is a masterly presentation of a *genre* theme with all poetical and lyrical elements intact, not submerged under the daring *bravura* of his modern technique. These are talented artists who have stepped across the geographical boundaries of Indian painting, yet still claiming to be Indian painters. They have yet to answer the relevant query of an eminent French critic, "Art in *India*, should it be *Indian* or should it not be so?"

A NEW LOOK AT ASIA

An expectant hush fell over the auditorium at the Spring Garden Girls' High School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As the school principal introduced her guest, colorfully dressed in a brilliantly patterned sari, an enthusiastic burst of applause filled the crowded assembly.

Miss Indira Nalin, a dynamic educator from Bombay, was the first Asian lecturer to participate in the new consultant teacher program of the National Council on Asian Affairs. Two other graduate students, Melencio Gay Cua of the Philippines and Pak Kun of Korea, and the noted Burmese lecturer Daw Mya Sein went to other Philadelphia public schools as guest lecturers. The program is one of the many activities sponsored by the Council to promote a better understanding of Asia in the United States.

Indira Nalin of India, lecturing to a class at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, shows her large purse as one example of Indian handcrafts

With the help of a student in Spring Garden Girls' High School, Indira Nalin of India shows the class how to wear a *sari*

The Council was formed in the summer of 1955 by a group of Philadelphia citizens who were interested in Asian affairs. They recognized a growing interest in Asia throughout America and felt that there was a need for greater knowledge of this important area of the world. In addition, they recognized that many of the 10,000 Asians studying in the United States are particularly well qualified to interpret their countries to Americans.

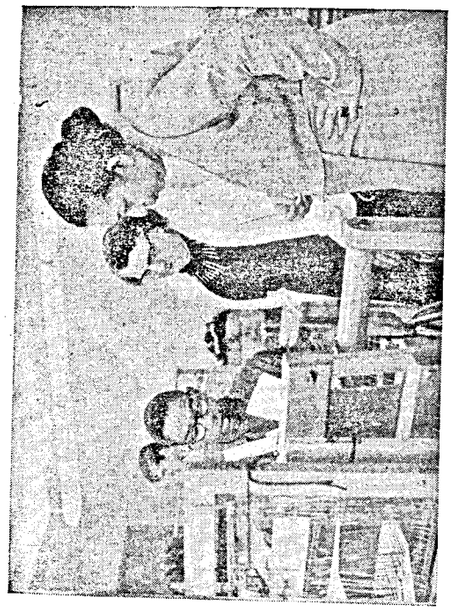
Dr. Norman D. Palmer, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, who has taught in Asia, is President of the Council's Board of Directors. The Executive Vice President is Dr. John F. Melby, a former U.S. foreign service officer in Asia. Mrs. Elinor K. Wolf, the Secretary-Treasurer, and other members of the Board also have had experience and interest in Asian affairs. The International House of Philadelphia has made space available for the Council's headquarters.

The Council co-operates with such groups as the Far Eastern Association and the Conference on Asian Affairs, and with scholars, educators and others who are interested in Asia. It sponsors meetings for representatives of these groups and serves as a clearing house for the activities planned at the meetings.

Such a program of Asian education could be limitless in scope, embracing primary, secondary, college and adult education levels. The Council decided that the place to start was in the primary and secondary schools, where it found less work being done and where the attitudes and opinions of tomorrow's adults are being formed.

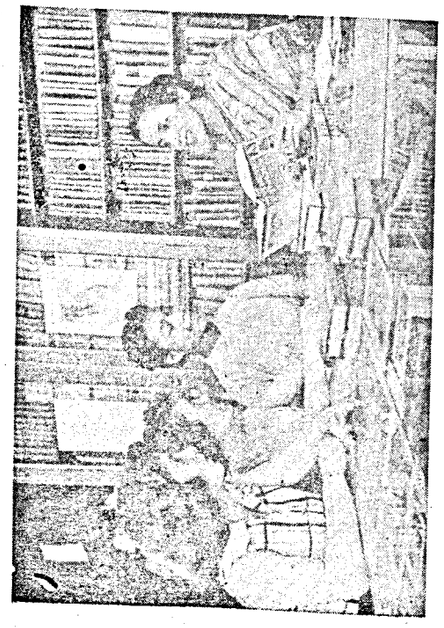
The first efforts were concentrated in the Philadelphia area. Council members felt that if they could show a program in operation in their own city the idea would spread to other areas.

Teacher placement is one phase of the experimental program begun in Philadelphia. Several Asians who are studying in the United States were selected to partici-

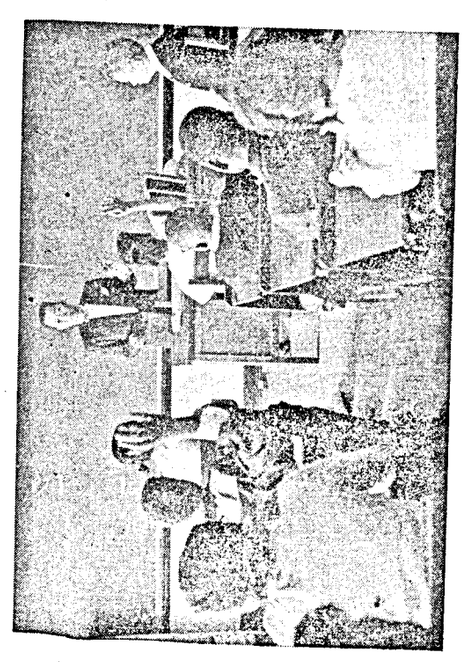


Daw Mya Sein (*right*), the well-known Burmese lecturer and historian, visits a weaving class at Widener Memorial School for handicapped pupils

An American pupil demonstrates to Daw Mya Sein, how the fork will hold a vegetable or fruit firmly in place so that it can be cut or peeled with one hand



Indira Nalin answered as many questions about India on an informal basis as she did in her class talks at the Spring Garden Girls' High School



Melencia Cua answers students' questions at the Audenreid Junior High School during his informal lecture on the Philippines

pate. While they are in America to advance their education they can, at the same time, contribute to America from their rich background and knowledge.

They teach regular classes. as would American teachers, but with a difference. Asians talking about Asia stimulate greater interest in the subject and bring more authoritative knowledge to the young pupils. This

Before his class lecture at the Andernreid Junior High School, graduate student Melencia Cua shows the pupils a Philippine shirt made from pineapple fibre

year the Council has placed Asian students in teaching positions in both public and private schools in several American cities.

The value of this approach is indicated by the overwhelming success of the consultant teacher program. The Council, the Philadelphia Board of Education, and the Asian lecturers all felt that the program should be repeated.

After their visits to the Philadelphia schools, the Asian participants were asked to write frank reports of their experiences and to suggest ways of improving the program.

Melencia Cua, for example, was a lecturer in five different schools. Finding varying degrees of understanding and background in each of them, he recommended an "easygoing approach" on the level of the student's understanding.

He also reported great advance interest in his visit. One school had a long list of questions on the Philippines prepared for him to answer. Another was devoting its annual international project to a study of the Philippines.

In one school he was asked to hold a student press conference. The young newswriters questioned him for forty-five minutes to get information for their special international issue of the school publication. This group also wanted to begin a "pen-pal" exchange of letters with Filipino students.

Pak Kun was a lecturer in one school, where he spoke to various classes. He told the students about the customs, religion and culture of Korea, as well as the history of his nation in its relationships with others of North Asia.

In reporting to the Council, Pak Kun emphasized the "scope and intensity of the student interest in Asia," and the teachers' "good understanding of recent Asian history." He told also of the school's gift to his country. The students voted to use their special class funds to ship a large collection of books to the Seoul University research library.

The Korean lecturer made thoughtful recommendations to the Council for its Asian studies program. He suggested that a course in Asian history should be offered in American high schools or that Asian material should be integrated more extensively into related courses.

He felt that American teachers can do a good job of presenting factual knowledge to the pupils. The role of visiting Asian teachers, he said, should be to present a picture of Asian customs, traditions, way of life, and thinking that they cannot get from an American, regardless of academic background.

Daw Mya Sein visits a sculpture class at Widener Memorial School

Daw Mya Sein, an historian and lecturer from the University of Rangoon, spent three weeks in the Philadelphia schools. Like the other consultants she spent part of her time with faculty members, helping them to evaluate and improve their presentation of Asian studies. And as she told the students about the history and customs of her own country she brought the entire Asian area close to the minds and hearts of her young listeners.

She included in her report some of her interesting personal experiences during the two weeks. She was asked to pose for the art class, helped to arrange a special Indian exhibit in the library, and was invited to be a guest on the annual senior class trip to Washington.

Riding on the train with the class, she was constantly surrounded with a group of enthusiastic girls, who were eager for answers to more questions about

Brightening his lecture on the Philippine economy Melen is. Cua shows the class a peso, explaining its value in terms of an American dollar

Korean educator Pak Kun, who is working for his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, tells a tenth grade history class at West Philadelphia High School about the geography, climate and customs of his native land

Indira Nalin found "an eager interest in India" at the Spring Garden Girls' High School, where she spent two weeks. During the first days she was a guest in various classes, met informally with faculty members, and later was introduced to the entire school assembly.

By this time the interest of both faculty and students had reached such a high point that she was unable to fulfil every request to speak. Teachers and pupils were stopping her in the halls or library to ask if she would talk in their classes on various aspects of Indian life. Thus she was able to base her lectures on topics suggested by the teachers and students.

As a result of this experience, the Indian educator confirmed the desire of American educators for more intensive Asian studies in the schools, and the American teachers agreed with her that Asia should be interpreted by Asians as well as by Americans. Miss Nalin also suggested that visiting Asians could do their best work if they were familiar with the methods of teaching in American schools.

India. They also asked her to join in their singing of familiar American songs and wanted her teach them some Indian songs.

The experiences of the four lecturers proved the value of this two-way exchange of knowledge. They expressed an awareness that they, too, had gained from their school lectures. Faculty and school administrators who were their hosts unanimously approved of the experiment and said that the visiting Asians had enriched the backgrounds of the teachers as well as their pupils.

The consultant teacher program is but one activity of the Council on Asian Affairs. Many others are planned or under way.

There are plans, for example, to make known to American teachers the vast amount of Asian research that has been done in the United States. Bibliographies, new

maps, films and study outlines will be made available. It is planned to co-ordinate the experiences of the many Asian seminars for teachers, to improve existing seminars and to encourage the start of new ones.

At the suggestion of the Council, American textbook publishers are enlisting the help of Asian scholars to improve the quality and content of Asian information in American school books.

The Council plans to work closely with these developing public school curricula, and to stimulate secondary school interest in Asian studies it has urged that the College Board Entrance Examination include more Asian questions. It also is encouraging school magazines to publish more articles on Asia, as has been done by *Scholastic* and *Current Events*.

Another successful Council project is the assembly of "teacher packets," containing pamphlets and illustrated articles on Asia. Half of the material was written by Asians, and the rest by Americans. Embassies of the various Asian countries have co-operated in furnishing some of the materials.

American teachers have shown great interest in using this authoritative material for their classes. Most of them had not known such material existed or where it could be obtained.

The National Council on Asian Affairs has a wealth of ideas for further expansion of its activities. Interest and support is coming now from educational leaders and groups all across the country. The program gradually is becoming nation-wide in scope.

Those working closely with it already can see encouraging results. But with any education program the true results lie in the future. The affection and understanding of Asia now building in the minds of American children is a foundation for peace in the years to come. —*USIS.*

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SHRINES OF ART IN INDIA

Genesis and Evolution of Museum Movement

In the beginning, it was the enthusiasm and love for art of enterprising individuals and private institutions that accounted, in the main, for the rise of different museums that now enrich the Indian contemporary scene with the vast treasures of the past.

The genesis of the museum movement in India can be traced to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by that brilliant scholar Sir William Jones in 1784. Comprising of two sections, one of archaeological and ethnological material and the other of geological and zoological, the Society's museum grew rapidly and in 1839 the Court of Directors of the East India Company sanctioned an amount for the maintenance of the museum and also authorised the Government of India to make other grants from time to time for special purposes.

The Museum of Economic Geology at Calcutta, opened in 1840, was also at first housed in the Society's museum but later removed to the premises of the Geological Survey of India and was finally brought to the Imperial Museum, which was then newly established after protracted negotiations between the Society and the Government.

As early as 1819, efforts for forming a museum had been made in Madras, and the Madras Literary Society, an auxiliary of the Asiatic Society of London, desired to have a museum of Economic Geology in 1823. In 1813, the Society requested the Government for the formation of this Museum and the Court of Directors of the East India Company agreed to the formation of a Central Museum at Madras. The formation of local museums at Bangalore, Bellary, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Cotacamund, Secunderabad, Mangalore and Tirchirapalli followed.

The idea of a museum at Bombay originated in 1848, and the collections got together in connection with the great Exhibition at London in 1851 gave it an impetus, and in 1857 (thanks to the efforts of Dr. Buist), a Museum of Economic Products was established. The museums at Lucknow and Nagpur were established in 1863. The Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore came into existence in 1865. The year 1874 saw the creation of the Madhura Museum. The next year saw the birth of the Museum at Raipur. In 1883 the Rajkot Museum was formed and a few years later the Museum at Srinagar. The foundation-stone of the Baroda Museum was laid in 1887.

Official Encouragement

The celebration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 ushered in a new era in the rise of museums in India. Several museums were started at this time such as the Victoria Technical Institute at Madras, the Museums at Jaipur, Udaipur, Rajkot, Bezwada and the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta.

But the greatest impetus for the development of museums in the country was during the time of Lord Curzon, whose interest was in no small measure followed up by the enthusiasm of Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of the Archaeological Survey.

The Museums established at Ajmer, Baripada, Chamba, Jodhpur, Khajuraho, Gwalior, Bijapur and Dacca within a space of ten years, owe their existence to the keen interest evinced by Sir John Marshall, who was also responsible for the Archaeological Museums at Sarnath, Nalanda, Taxila and other sites, and the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi. The Museums at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay, at Bijapur and Bombay, in the Taj at Agra, at Dhar and at Peshawar were at the instance of Lord Curzon. The creation of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay was thought of in 1904, but, with liberal grants secured both from Government and large-hearted donors like Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the building was completed in 1914.

Flying Celestials
Early Western Chalukya sculpture (c. 6th century A.D.) from Bijapur

In the wake of this creative activity several States, with collections brought together by their respective departments, established museums of their own. Thus came into being the Museums at Indore, Hyderabad, Himatnagar, Jamnagar, Kolhapur, Padmanabhapuram and Rewa between the years 1921 and 1947.

Private Initiative

The Museum of the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal at Poona sprang up through the enthusiasm of a society and some individuals. Again, it was originally the museum of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti of Gauhati, that has now developed into a provincial museum. It is interesting that a Historical Society of a College could build up the nucleus of a provincial museum, but so is the case with the Provincial Museum of Orissa at Bhuvaneswar, which grew out of the Museum of the Historical Society of the Ravenshaw College. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, opened in 1910, is another case of this kind.

Through the efforts of Rai Krishnadasa, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, a fine museum of art, was established in 1919 at Banaras. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad in no small measure owes a debt of gratitude to the enthusiasm and the collections made by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas. The Museum at Madanapalle in the Theosophical College owes its existence to the personal collections of Dr. J. H. Cousins, and similarly the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute in St. Xavier's College owes its material to the efforts of Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

There is practically no college of importance in India without the different departments having a museum of their own to promote the study of different scientific subjects. There are museums for engineering and the different branches of medical science.

There is a fine group of museums attached to the Forest College at Dehra Dun with separate branches for silviculture, timber, minor forest products and entomology. The building of museums of the Forest Research Institute and colleges at Dehra Dun is one of the best not only in India, but in Asia.

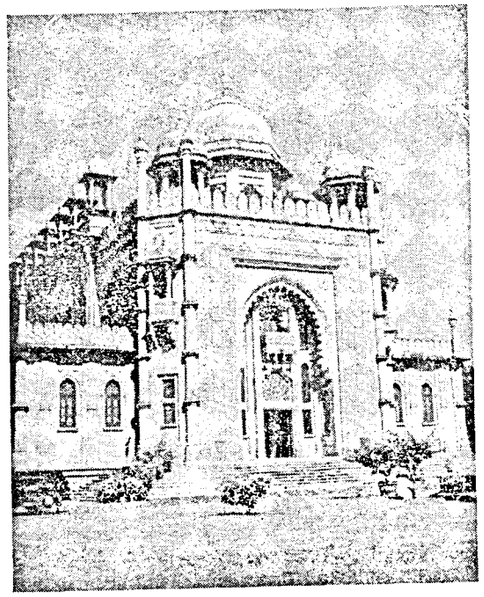
There have been cases also of museums developing purely by industrial institutions. The Lord Ready Maharastra Industrial Museum at Poona, which dates back to 1888, was born out of an exhibition of Indian arts and manufactures held in Poona and has grown into an admirable museum of its kind. A remarkable museum of recent origin is the Calico Museum of Textiles established in 1949 at Ahmedabad by Mr. Gautama Sarabhai.

Another important phase in the growth of museums, specially in the South, is the springing up of small, but interesting museums in the larger temples. Of these temple museums, mention must be made of the Rajaraja Museum in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, the Museum of the Srirangam temple and that of the Minakshi-Sundereswara temple of Madurai, the first containing a remarkable collection of sculpture in stone and metal and the rest a collection of splendid ivories.

Role of the Archaeological Survey

In the earliest stages of the museum movement the nucleus of collections have mostly been geological or biological. It is with this material that the principal museums of India started functioning. But with the formation of the Archaeological Survey of Northern India by Lord Canning and the appointment of General Cunningham as the Archaeological Surveyor, the place of archaeology in museums came to be felt.

With equal anxiety for the the proper emphasis on museum development in the Department, Sir Mortimer Wheeler constituted a Museums Branch in 1945. The formation of the National Museum of India at Delhi in 1949 opened up new vistas.



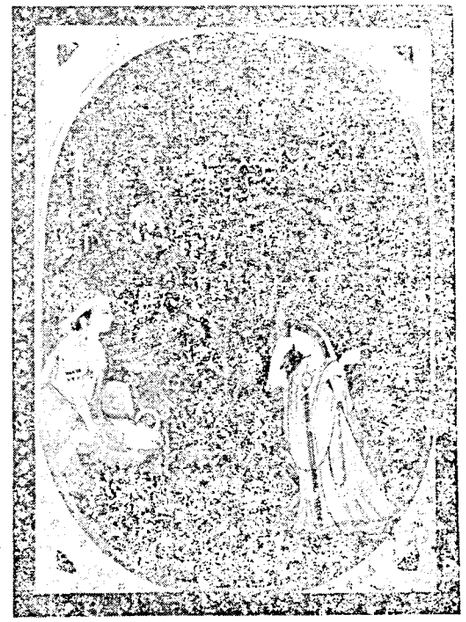
The Building of the National Art Gallery, Madras

The National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi is a museum devoted to the modern phase of Indian art as the scope for its collections. The National Museum has a rich collection of paintings of the Mughal and Rajasthani schools and is now building up the collection of copies of ancient frescoes portraying the different phases of art from the earliest paintings at Ajanta to the late mediaeval paintings of Vijayanagar period to make the story of Indian paintings complete in its galleries in a magnificent new building rapidly coming up on Kingsway in New Delhi.

Material from archaeological sites has been freely distributed among the museums by the Archaeological Survey, and it is thus that items from Mohenjo-daro collections are found in almost all the principal museums in India. The Patna Museum was enriched by the finds at Basarh and Pataliputra as well as by the Kurkihar bronzes, the Lucknow Museum by the antiquities from excavations at Bhita, Saheth Maheth, Sankisa, etc. Thus, both directly and indirectly, the building up of museums in India was accelerated by the enterprise and encouragement shown by the Archaeological Department.

II

Among the large number of museums that today exist in this country, those that were the last to be organised have had better facilities in the matter of their buildings. The earlier ones are at a disadvantage, having been housed in buildings that are quite antiquated



Abhisarika Nayika
Kangra painting (c. 18th century A.D.) kept at the National Museum of India

and unsuitable, judged by modern museum standards. Any large, easily available building was considered fit for housing a museum, making impossible attractive display of even the best material. The Lucknow Museum is a case in point, where the defect is aggravated by the location of the Museum in two different buildings separately situated.

In the case of some of the museums, which were more recently created, it is indeed gratifying to note that fine new museum buildings amply compensate the few years of cramped existence in inadequate old structures. The Municipal Museum at Allahabad has now an excellent, well-planned building in place of the dark old rooms it so long occupied in one of the dilapidated wings of the Municipal building. The new building of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum in the Banaras University, which has just been completed, is another fine structure. An excellent building has

recently been completed for the occupation of the museum at Raipur.

The Mathura Museum, which was originally started in an unsuitable building, is now housed in a well-planned structure with ample scope for future expansion. The Bombay Museum was well-planned, and has been particularly fortunate in the matter of its building. The Madras Museum, well laid out on spacious grounds, has got the finest block in the latest lay-out for the Archaeological Galleries.

Museum Planning

Planning for museum building is most essential and without well-lit suitable galleries even the best material cannot be effectively presented. Moreover, a museum is primarily a growing institution and requires ample space for expansion. The Indian Museum, for example, which is the finest in the East, not to talk only of India, is unfortunately housed in an old inadequate building, and lacks the space around it for further growth.

In a properly planned museum, there should also be room for a decent laboratory, for chemical treatment of the museum material, in addition to the galleries, working place for the staff and storage capacity for reserve collections. Ideal provision for this has been made in the Madras Museum, where in addition, they have a Museum Library, which serves the public besides benefiting museum research.

It is the Madras Museum, again, which probably provides the best school services. It is a museum where school children pay frequent visits and gather first-hand knowledge of things that they may have read about in books. University students, however, are able to make the best use of the material kept in museums. In this respect, the Archeological Section of the Indian Museum is a valuable source of information to the students and teachers of several universities, and specially that of Calcutta.

Research Publications

Research publications form an essential aspect of museology. It is due to the indefatigable work of Dr. Gravely that the Madras Museum leads today all the other museums in the matter of research publications. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. M. Goetz, the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery has a bulletin of its own, which has been regularly publishing interesting papers on the material in the Museum and has recently prepared a handbook of its collections. The Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay has also started a bulletin of its own. The Indian Museum, which has had several valuable publications to its credit in the past, has recently revived this activity. As for the Indian Museum, the earliest publications pertaining to the different sections were issued by the Museum itself, as for instance, the Catalogue of Mammals by Dr. Anderson, the interesting work on Coins by J. C. Rodgers and others. Most of the books and pamphlets, including the records and memoirs of the Indian Museum, however, are publications by the Geological, and other Surveys. The two volumes of "Guide to the Archaeological Section" like several other publications dealing with the material in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, are publications by the Archaeological Survey.

Though the Art Section of the Prince of Wales Museum has several interesting publications on Art, probably no other museum except the Central Asian Antiquities Museum has published anything on the material contained in the Art Section of that Museum. Recently, however, the Indian Museum has published an attractive book on the early works of the great Indian artist, Abanindra Nath Tagore.

A Curator's Job

And now, a few words about curators. The living voice of a museum is its curator. The growth or decay of a museum depends mainly on the energy, enthusiasm, knowledge and equipment that the curator possesses, and the sympathy and co-operation he is able to receive from the management and the public. It may be realised that the curator of a museum, in addition to his duty as the custodian of the material, has numerous other and equally exacting functions to discharge. He has at once to satisfy the scholar and the layman, bringing to bear on his work both scholarship and practical experience of a variety of visitors' needs. The duty of the curator, in short, is to present the museum in an ideal setting, as a befitting home of the Muses, and a temple of learning for the visitors. —*PIB.*

MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

II

Leningrad

Leningrad, the city of the mighty Czars, is simply lovely. Man and nature have joined hands to make it almost a dreamland. Its colourful settings take its visitors' minds back to its colourful history. The Winter Palace and the Hermitage through their architectures and art collections and grandeurs reveal chapters of Russian history full of brilliant achievements as well as dark episodes of exploitation and oppression. The solid one-piece marble column in the square represents the solidarity of the will of the reigning powers as well as the skill of the peasant-born architecht and his craftsmanship. The square itself which had a blood-bath on what is now known as Bloody Sunday reminds one that the will of a ruler however hard and arrogant might it be and whatever cruelty might a ruler perpetrate to perpetuate a tyrannous rule, is bound to break into fragments to be mixed into the rust while the determined will of the people, solid like that one-piece marble column in the square works to assert itself. The descendants of the very people whose blood was made to flow in torrents over the cobbled areas of the square had entered the Winter Palace from the very square itself and succeeded to close for ever the chapter of tyrants' rule, the last of whom had in his earlier days splitted the blood of their patriotic and humanitarian but helpless forefathers.

The *Aurora* still kept afloat on the blue waters of the Neva did full justice to her name by radiating the first glow of hell-fire across the Neva right into the room where the reactionaries had assembled for the last time to decide what steps should be taken to ward off the waves of the people's Revolution. History has numerous names of battle-ships that had carried conquests far and wide, that had carried galley-slaves as well as captured rulers and emperors; but none so glorious as the *Aurora* which carried liberation and victory to a people, disregarding the command of her feeble commander. The crew of the *Aurora* could read the writing on the wall as did read the revolutionaries who had besieged the Palace. Victory to man was the writing. And from the moment the first shell was fired from the *Aurora* the man's march onward to victory started in Russia, and since then the people there have been marching onward from victory to victory to demonstrate to the world what the victory of man really means. It was demonstrated during World War II when Leningrad suffered terribly but did not succumb to the Hitlerite onslaught, stood unconquered, and proved how ridiculous was Hitler's idea to hold victory banquet in the halls of the Astoria Hotel. Hundreds of thousands of the citizens of Leningrad starved to death to prevent Hitler from holding the victory-banquet in their city which had for the first time brought victory to man in Russia. Victorious stood Leningrad, the people's will proved too strong for the Nazi warmachine.

And then the Smolensky. It was a palace too. A palace where pride of wealth and birth and prejudice against the people were zealously nurtured and instilled into the tender minds of the future mothers of Russia's rulers and nobles. It was a palace of spurious culture. But how fatefully it fell in the hands of the revolutionaries and how wonderfully was it converted into a real palace of culture that helped to grow what the world took to be the spirit of Russia.

In an unostentatious little room of the palatial premises lived Lenin and his wife in those days when the vanquished power had not vanished altogether. That little room had been partitioned into two halves by a wooden screen; one half to be used as Lenin's office and the other half as the bedroom for the comrade-consorts. On two opposite walls of this office of one of the greatest architects of the modern world we found fixed the world-famous two decrees, The Decree on Peace, and the Decree on Land. They were preserved in original as were they initially drawn up, penned through, and corrected, by the handwriting of Lenin himself. These two decrees alone bore in them the spirit of New Russia—the spirit of peaceful reconstruction. The history of the Brest Litovsk Treaty was known to us. We also were aware of the vituperations flung against Russia by her former allies in World War I. Few of us realized that Russia made that treaty not to escape an unwanted war but with the definite objective of her own rehabilitation as well as to eradicate the possibility of any future war by providing the world an example of a society which for its growth and fulfilment needed no war of conquests nor any exploitation.

That Russia had been consistently striving since 1817 to give the spirit behind the decrees a material shape could be noticed in the new social order she had founded, and by her persistent attempts to bring the four powers into agreement both before and after World War II. I have already referred to the repeated attempts of Litvinov, Stalin and Molotov. The Decree I witnessed in the small room of the Smolensky written by the supreme architect of New Russia. Lenin himself convinced me that the desire for peaceful reconstruction of Russia as well as the determination for the elimination of the root causes of War from the social orders of nations were born of a spirit that sought to imbue man in different ages, since the birth of civilization, but, unfortunately, repelled by the weilders of powers and upholders of individual interest at the cost of the common man.

Attempts to make this spirit a guiding force to

modern works of arts and letters. He who will seek for conventional forms and contents and styles even, is likely to be disappointed more or less. But the Russian artists have themselves planned that their arts should be developed so. They do not feel that all the products of arts are simply superb because they come from a new set of artists. But they feel that arts would not suffer stagnation if art-expressions of virgin minds are encouraged, and formalistic restrictions are removed. This particular planning has also succeeeded to create a new social atmosphere. Arts have been able to get the support of an ever-increasing number of men and women of the society, with the result, that both the society and the arts have been growing more beautiful and at the same time more real to life.

Formerly artists were a fraternity of dreamers, and arts were more like mere expressions of dreams. I do not belittle dreams. There are dreams without which life seems to be hardly worth living. Pushkin, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Turgenev and even Gorky, each of them, had dreams to dream. The difference that is noticed today is that the fraternity of dreamer-artists have been widened to include the entire community within it and arts have been more than mere expressions of dreams of the artists alone but expressions of dreams that the entire Russian people dream today to make their land and the world wonderful to live in.

The Operas and the Ballets reflect these dreams of the people to the people. Life is no more a burden. It is as brisk as the dances are. It is as sweet as dreams of the lovers are. It is as colourful as the costumes, the scenaries and the effects are. It swells and surges just as songs and music do. This life does no more exist only in the imagination of artists taking part in those operas and ballets, but it is a reality today. They are proud of this life and proudly do they reflect it to their auditors and spectators to instil into them this just pride. It is no pride of any individual, but of the entire community. There is no propaganda, no narrowness in any of these operas and ballets. Only those human notes that soar high are given expression through the performances jointly given by hundreds of actors, dancers, singers, musicians and technicians, the whole bunch of them. This community display of the community-dream of the people of modern Russia is also witnessed in open air ensembles organised by unions of the workers. They are no professional ventures but skilled performances given by amateurs, without any amateurish degeneration.

As the number of literary figures are swelled by men and women coming from farms and factories and other places of work, so the number of artists, dancers, and singers are also swelled by efficient artists coming from the very same sources. No barrier is ever placed anywhere to stop man from his journey onward to fulfilment. Steady work, gradual progress, broader outlook, and desire to march forward along with the entire community towards fulfilment are precisely what Moscow expects of her citizens. The Grand Planning based on these requirements is not a blue print of regimentation, but a humanitarian scheme to prepare the citizens both individually and collectively, for a better life and a better world. Moscow is as creative as the mother earth, as holy as Mecca, as beautiful as the Madonna. Moscow reflects the spirit of Russia. And it is no wonder that every year between four and five hundred delegations from different countries visit Moscow.

Uzbekistan

From Moscow we flew to Uzbekistan, a distance of about two thousand miles. We had a mixed feeling, both bitter and, sweet, for Samarkand, now in Uzbekistan. It was from there that Taimur came and sacked Delhi. Babar too had come from that region. India had suffered from their aggressions. India had also profited by their contacts. They had brought death to many an Indian. And many were their gifts to Indian art and culture. The dynasty that Babar had founded in India did change the face of India. And India today holds as much a legacy of the Central Asian culture as she does of her own ancient one.

We knew all these. But few of us had any idea of what Tashkent was. Tashkent, the principal city of the State, now known as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, is a garden-city and yet an industrial one; the best and the biggest in the Republic. On landing at the air port itself, we felt that we had at last reached the land of eastern romances. There were those vine-yards, those multicoloured flowers sweetening the air by Arabic perfumes, those shining dark eyes and smiling faces. Only burkhas and veils we missed to notice.

We had read much about the backwardness of the people of that part of Asia. Yes, the people were backward not unlike many other peoples in many other parts of the world. But what we heard and found during our visit was astounding in contrast to what we had read. The new Republic has totally liquidated illiteracy, has provided work for every able-bodied man and woman. It is today the biggest cotton-producing state in the U.S.S.R. It holds the second place among Soviet States to generate electric power. Culturally it has made a tremendous progress.

We witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's Othello in Uzbeki language. I cannot, of course, tell my readers how far correct the adaptation was. But the performance itself was in no way inferior to those we have seen in India given to us by troupes coming from England from time to time. The artist who appeared in the title role was a Stalin Prize winner. Not a few of the cast had the distinction of being National Artists.

We had visited an Opera House that was described

to us to be the Second Taj Mahal. It was indeed so. We had not seen an equal to it anywhere else in the U.S.S.R. It might be called an art-museum as well. In the spacious halls of this five-storied Opera House specimens of Central Asian architectures and paintings are presented as decorations. Audiences of the Opera House are invited to visit these halls. Trained guides conduct the audiences through this museum and explain to them all about the decorations. Here we also witnessed a performance of the famous opera "Laila and Majnu." Its heroine too was a Stalin Prize winner and also a member of the Supreme Soviet. We also attended an ensemble of songs and dances. A tiny girl gave us a Hindustani song. She presented it so correctly that donned in an Indian costume she might have been passed easily for a girl from Upper India.

An academician and professor of mathematics invited us to lunch with him. Fruits and viands and bottles of wines were so heaped on the table that hardly could we see the faces of our friends sitting opposite us. Our hostess, the motherly wife of the professor, fed one of us by her own spoon when he said that his stomach had no more space left to receive further food. The professor himself provided feasts for our brains. When we told him that there was no mathematician among us, he started to talk on the cultural history of Central Asia. He had actually written a book on the very theme. He left the table and brought out from his book-shelves copies of it and explained to us what he had written. One of us recited a poem from Hafiz and immediately after, our learned host and the hostess gave us recitals from the very same poet.

We were similarly entertained by a poet who was also an academician. We learned from him that his publishers were paying him twenty roubles for each line of his poems they published. A professor of history gave us his constant company during our stay in Tashkent and worked as our guide, friend and philosopher. The minister for culture honoured me by giving me a seat next to him while we were invited to witness a variety performance of dance and music. In him I found not only a young and handsome and deeply intellectual person but also an artist. He confessed that while he was a student he used to take part in stage-plays and song-recitals.

From Tashkent we flew to Samarkand, and spent a whole day there. We visited the famous observatory founded by the renowned astronomer Abu Bekir. It was constructed after the model of the equally famous Jaipur observatory, remarked our learned guide and read out to us an inscription in support of it. We visited Taimur's tomb and many other tombs of his dear and near relations. The grand Buland Darwaja was almost in ruins. A part of it only could be protected. But even the remnant shows how magnificient was the structure when it stood high in all its glories, against the azure sky.

We were told a romantic tale while we visited a big mosque built under the command of the most favourite of the wives of Taimur to commemorate the conquests of her mighty husband. The construction was entrusted to a handsome young architect. The lady herself used to supervise the daily progress, because she wanted to see it completed before her lord had returned. But Cupid stole in between the queen and the architect, and made the two enamoured of each other. The architect slowed down his work thinking that the more time he would take to build the mosque, the more opportunity would he get to drink deep the love of the queen. But the lady did not forget that she was Taimur's consort. She insisted on the quick completion of the mosque. The architect realized that unless he complied with what she wanted, he would be surely thrown out as surely as he would be denied her company as soon as the construction would get completion. His dismissal was equally certain in either circumstances. He grew desperate, and desperately declared to his lady-love that he would complete the structure even in advance of the scheduled time if her ladyship would allow him to impress one little kiss on her ruby-red pair of lips. His boldness amazed the lady. But she could not resist him either. Lips pressed against lips for a few seconds. And then all was over; both the love and the construction before the scheduled time. Taimur came back and was surprised to find such a magnificent mosque built in so short a space of time. How could she manage to get it done was his query to his queen. The queen told him of the price she had paid for it. Taimur wanted to see the architect. But he could not be found anywhere in the city. An apprentice to the architect could only say that he saw his master mounting on to the top of he highest of the minarets and disappearing from there in the endless blue. Behind the veil that covered the deep dark eyes of the queen two pearl-drops rolled over two rosy cheeks turned ivory pale.

We had a late lunch that day at a collective farm. The director of the farm and his comrades, both men and women, made it a gala occasion. It was no lunch but a feast in right royal oriental style that they arranged for their Indian guests. Carpets were spread under the shades of farm-trees, fat pillows in velvet were placed on them, Hand fans to cool ourselves were handed to each one of us. Tables for the feast was laid in green groves bordered by plants which bore blossomed flowers displaying all the seven colours. Big round Samarkand breads, grapes black and red, chicken roasts, vegetables and wines of three different qualities and colours and tastes were littered on the tables. Speeches and songs and applauses and peals of laughter followed one after another in a continuous expression of a festive occasion. After an hour and a half the feast was over. And we were led back on the carpets for a little rest. No sooner had another half

lead the new generations on, culture has been saturated with it. Young generations are being given a connotation of the culture in this respect that it means wilful surrender of individual interest to the growth of the community. Within the bounds of a country and in the fields of its social and political activities it means communism. But when it is projected to other countries it is bound to be international communism unless necessary stress is laid on international peace. When that stress is given, co-existence of systems cannot escape attention. And co-existence of systems demands free existence of a system that a country has developed. No plea for international communism may therefore be reasonably put forward by those communist countries who have come forward to enunciate and to lend support to Panchashila.

Does not Russia believe any more that international communism is an integral part of her plan for world communism? There is Lenin's admission that co-existence of nations is possible to be achieved. The Neheru-Bulganin joint statement as well as the speeches of Russia's representatives at the Helsinki Peace Assembly indicate that the present executive heads of Russia as well as her intellectuals and representatives of the workers and the peasants do not only believe in co-existence but have also pledged themselves to make it a practical proposition. We had during our travels in the U.S.S.R. met many men and women, workers and peasants, who were not eminent persons. But nowhere did we meet a single one who had said anything against the Chou-Nehru principle; on the contrary, everybody expressed to see it implemented. So was the case in Helsinki. None of the sixty-eight nations assembled there had a word to say against co-existence of nations. Each delegate was anxious to see that the powers waste no time to accept the Five Principles. It is exactly why China and India are found to be the most popular countries with the peoples of the world today.

Acceptance of the principles of co-existence of nations may not be found feasible unless nations develop mutual respect for one another. To respect a nation one must know it; one must try to arrive at a correct appraisal of its system, its culture, its ideology, and its way of life. The communist countries have devoted themselves to this task more seriously and sincerely than other countries have.

In Leningrad we found quite a number of young men and women who had talked with us in Hindi and Bengali. In Moscow we found in the public meetings that Russian boys and girls could interpret all the speeches delivered in most of the Asian and European languages. In Czechoslovakia the welcome address to us was interpreted through Hindi. Our Hindi and Bengali speeches were rendered into Czech by the teachers and the students of those two languages. There have been already a pretty large number of trained interpreters in all the communist countries. Their number is daily on the increase. Translation and collection of literary masterpieces and their study by experts have been made a part of the cultural programme of all the communist countries.

The directors of the Leningrad Oriental Institute took immense trouble to show us how their scholars and research workers had engaged themselves to the study of oriental languages. We know that the Western countries too take particular interest in them. We know of the care and pains that some of the western scholars in different countries took to vindicating the culture of the East. But for them many of the West and also of the East would not have known today that the East had a cultural heritage no less precious than the culture of the Western nations. But the approach of the present orientalists in Russia seem to be different in this respect that they are interested to discover if there had been any unity among the diverse cultural currents of the orient. That there must be some is obvious to those who care to consider seriously the international aspect of the Buddhist, the Hebrewite, the Christian and the Islamic cultures, each of which originated in the orient.

Those today who think and speak of Asian solidarity must know what Asia really is. To know it, the cultural trends of Asiatic nations must be discovered and placed anew before the world to prove that there is no reason to believe that 'East is East and West is West' and the twain shall never meet. To study oriental languages and cultural pursuits of the orient is one thing. And to study them with a view to discovering the streak of unity in diversities for the benefit of the progressive humanity, is quite a different thing. The Leningrad orientalists are at present doing the latter which, I believe, is exactly what the world badly needs today. There are persons who tell us that this amazing interest in the study of the oriental languages and of the cultural heritage of the orient is also purposive; it aims at the world-expansion of communism. One has to meet these orientalists and to hear them to be sure of their aims. Yes, they believe that communism is the best of the social orders man has founded up till now. But they do not believe that it could be extended over to any part of the world by a mere study in languages and cultural traits of nations. They have full knowledge of what communism stands for. And now they want more knowledge about man—both communist and non-communist.

Moscow

Moscow appeared to me to be mighty and massive but not as elegant and as majestic even as Leningrad seemed to be. In Moscow I noticed the implementation of what I found in spirit in Leningrad. There was, indeed, the Kremlin in Moscow. But it did not touch my soul as deeply, in spite of the accumulated treasures in it, as the Winter Palace, the Summer Palace, and

the Neva did. I saw only that part of the Kremlin which bore the relics of the dead past. The living Kremlin where the leaders meet and talk on their problems I had no access to. But even then I found pretty big slices of it outside the walls of the Kremlin. I found them in the University Buildings, in the Metro, in the opera houses, in the factories and shops, in the creches and the kindergartens, in the hospitals and the rest-houses for workers and retired artists and most of them in the Agricultural exhibition and in the unions of writers and workers.

The Grand Planning which has made Russia what she is today, unfolded itself to me, part by part, to all its entirety through the workings of the institutions I was able to visit. The main university building is indubitably an architechtural wonder. The settings and the monumental structure is marvellous. Splendid are the decorations within and without. The faculties and the laboratories and the libraries and the amenities provided for the students are faultlessly perfect. They must be requisite parts of the Grand Planning. But the most important part of it is the provision for scholarships to ninety percent of the students. There had been many excellent universities in the past in many countries of the world. There are excellent unversities in all the countries of the world today. But most of the universities in the past were sectarian. They kept their doors closed against students who did not come from families of particualr sectarian views of life. In latter stages of the general development of education the universities became more liberal but not secular altogether. Modern universities opened their doors to all seekers of higher education but made education so costly that students coming from lower income-groups found it almost impossible to sit for university education. It was not the faculties of the existing universities outside Russia that were found undesirable by the Russians, but it was the system that they found objectionable. Universities, they decided, must be thrown open to all. And arrangements must be so made as to bring the largest number of qualified students within their portals for higher education. That was the idea why scholarships to the ninety percent of students were arranged for.

In Russia today students from the families of peasants and workers and, as a matter of fact, from every income-goup may get university education. And that the standard of education has not suffered the least is proved by the fact that Russia today does not need any foreign experts to assist her. Experts coming out from her own universities and factories and institutes are found competent enough to deliver goods and also to compete with their counterparts in other countries pursuing different educational systems. In certain fields of the sciences the Russian scientists are said to have advanced far ahead of others. I am no competent person to elaborate the progress the Russians have made in those fields. I refer to them only to say that by providing facilities to the students coming from the lower income-groups and from the families of workers and peasants, the universities have not lowered their standards but have possibly been able to raise it by tapping new sources of virgin intellect. Fields and factories in Russia have now been made feeder institutions to the universities. That is the redeeming feature of the Moscow University more than its superb material structure.

The creches, the kindergartens, the cultural palaces, the libraries and the agricultural exhibitions, every one of them, functions both as a social and a cultural institution. Even farms and factories have equal attention to material and cultural progress of the nation. On looking at Moscow industrial works one has to ponder just where a line might be drawn to separate industry from art and culture. Factories have been given appearances of garden-cities, and workers that of artists. Arts, therefore, have started to draw from farms and factories living models to be represented as art-creations. New types of men and women are found in novels and stories.

As there exists no leisurly class in the society, those types of men and women have totally disappeared from arts and literature also. The life of a worker has to be portrayed in a different manner from that of the portrayal of a dreaming leisurly man. New style has to be set in, new words have to be coined, new psychology has to be dealt with, and forms of dialogues even have to be renewed. All these are being done. To do this the authors have to know intimately the workers, the farmers and, as a matter of fact, all the working people. On the other hand, the cultural activities in farms and factories and other places of work give rise to some men and women who find arts to be the best medii of their self-expression. They take to arts, from connoisseurs they come to be creative artists themselves.

There are today in Russia artists, writers, dancers, painters, singers and actors who started life in factories and farms and other places of work. With the advance of mechanisation in all the fields of physical activities, a worker's physical strain is being reduced to the minimum, and his intellect is allowed to grow more imaginative. A worker's mind is creative by itself. Infusion of culture makes it more creative. When he gets inspired by arts, he happens to be a successful artist. From farms and factories he shifts his workshop to the temples of the muses, where only a chosen few had access in the past. When these workers take to arts, they look to their former workshops and to their comrades-in-work for contents and forms that would be easily appreciated by those who were once their colleagues.

One who does not take into account the Russian way of life today will fail to appreciate Russia's

an hour passed, a gong was sounded. We looked all around to find what had happened. Our hosts informed us that we were to go back to the tables. Every one of us shrank at the very idea of it. But there was no escape from it. The Biriani Palao was ready steaming on the dishes. To refuse it, would not only be an expression of ungratefulness but would be taken as an insult, our Russian companions explained to us. We had to sit at the tables once again. A few of us showed gastronomic feats, but every one of us deplored why it was not served as the first course. But it was the custom there; and we had to respect it.

Throngs of men and women and children greeted us wherever we had gone. The expression in their eyes showed that they did not take us absolutely as foreigners. A feeling of kinship had possibly seized some of them. These people looked comparatively poorer than their comrades in Tashkent. A budding journalist whom I met at the air port in the morning came out of a crowd and handed over to me a copy of Lenin's life in Russian. I thought he wanted my autograph. I was about to put my signature on it, when my interpreter told me that the book was given to me as a presentation. I looked for the youngman to offer him my thanks. But he had disappeared. His dress suggested that he was not well placed in life. But he had purchased the copy of the book after he had met me in the morning at the air port and had followed us throughout our journey to snatch an opportunity to make the presentation, when he was able to reach me he could not find a word to say. Silently he offered me the book, and before I could know what it was for, he had disappeared. The book is written in Russian language. I shall never be able to read it. But I will ever remember the generous young journalist of Samarkand.

We were to fly back to Moscow from Tashkent. I boarded the plane a little ahead of the time of departure. In came the President of the Local Peace Committee. I thought he would not find time to see us off, busy as he was. He gently held my arm and asked me to get down. When we had landed he said, "We have yet twenty minutes to strengthen our friendship. The longer an Indian stands on our soil the stronger gets the friendship of India and Uzbekistan." I looked at his eyes. They were humid.

Kiev

Leningrad plus Moscow equals to Kiev, is my estimation of the principal city of the Ukraine situated on the Dnipper, famous for the great dam, the first surprise the Soviet sprang on the world. Kiev is as beautiful as Leningrad and as active as Moscow. She suffered terribly at the hands of the Nazi aggressors. But her spirit could not be subdued. Half the city was demolished. Citizens were killed by thousands. Kiev bore the brunt and retrieved as soon as the enemy was forced to retire. We were shown a street where not a house stood erect during the war. But we could not discover a single blow-out heap. We saw palatial new houses on both the sides of the broad road. They were tenament houses, newly built for working families. Some of the buildings were as big as to accommodate two hundred families in two hundred suites consisting of bed rooms, sitting rooms, kitchens and baths. Community kitchens are also provided for, and tenants are encouraged to take advantage of them. Nobody is, of course, forced to have his meals at the community kitchen, but every one's attention is drawn to them with a view to building up the community habit of living. A family gains in money and time and labour if its members prefer the community kitchen to the private ones. We were told that the number preferring the former to the latter is on the increase.

Everybody knows that the Ukraine is the granary of Eastern Europe. Its principal city Kiev has, therefore, directed her energy to industry and culture. She has become an industrial centre as well as a centre of cultural activities. That is why I call her a Moscow in miniature. She has a university big enough. But she contemplates to make it bigger yet after the pattern of the New Moscow University. Her Theatre buildings and Opera houses are big and bright and they cater first class art productions. Ukrainian folk-songs and dances are famous for their emotional appeals, colourful presentation and vital expressions. Gogol's *Ukranian Night* was no poet's fantasy but a reality that might be felt every night even now.

Culture is the keynote of the present activities of Kiev. The Shivchenko Memorial Museum shows how sacred the Kievans hold the cause of culture. Shivchenko was the national poet of the Ukraine in the distant past when the peasants in Russia had to live as serfs. Shivchenko himself was a serf. He had to tend sheep for his master when he was quite a boy. But the boy had talents which no bondage could curb. A behevolent connoisseur discovered the talents in him and purchased for him his liberty from his master-lord. Freed from serfdom Shivchenko found opportunities to develop his talents. He passed out from the school and got admitted into the university and came out of it as one of the most brilliant scholars of the age. But he was no book-worm scholar. He proved himself to be a creative artist. He wrote poems and songs and painted pictures. As he came from the peasantry, his poems and songs and pictures represented and reflected the woes and the sufferings of the peasants. The peasants themselves found in him a friend and guide. Shivchenko became the link of contact between the progressive intellectuals and the dumb and the ever-oppressed serf-peasantry. Literary figures including the great Gogol and progressive intellectuals used to seek company of Shivchenko. But Shivchenko himself, spent most of his time with the peasants. He built up

peasant organisations and inspired them by his poems and songs to throw off the yoke of slavery. This the Tsarist government could not tolerate. They started persecuting him. But Shivchenko could not be humbled or coerced to give up his mission. Twenty-three years of his life did he spend in prison in different stages. Once out of the prison gate he would at once take up his sacred mission to be thrown back into the prison again. We know today that the cause for which Shivchenko stood and fought had been vindicated by the foundation of the dictatorship of the proleteriat of peasants and workers. The Ukraine is not ungrateful, nor is she unmindful of her precious heritage. She has therefore founded in Kiev Shivchenko Memorial Museum, a big and bright park, and a mammoth statue on the Dnipper to commemorate her national poet whose life and works truly reflected the nation's life then.

In the museum Shivechenko's poems and songs have been preserved. His printed books, their translations published in different languages, letters and documents are all to be found collected as exhibits. His paintings too are being exhibited. There is a painting depicting the event of the purchase of his liberty from serfdom by his benefactor. The surprise and the feeling of unbounded gratitude was so masterly represented in light and shade in the facile expressions of young Shivchenko that looking at it hardly any visitor may stand unmoved. There is another painting where Gogol along with Shivchenko was enjoying the peoples' funs and frolics. There are exhibited numerous portraits, too, drawn by Shivchenko. When a person visits this museum he does not only get himself acquainted with the life-story of Shivchenko and his tremendous struggle for the freedom of the people, but also does he get a clear idea of how the present nation was made. Kiev has a very well organised Association for Cultural Relations with foreign countries. Its Secretary, Madam Zina Erevina expressed that her Association seeks for a closer relationship between India and Ukraine through exchanges of arts and literatures representing their respective cultures.

The night we left Kiev will be ever remembered by every one of us, I believe. It was a sweet night as most of the Ukrainian nights are, but the parting was very painful. After the farewell banquet was over, we approached the workers of the hotel where we had stayed and apprised them of our sense of deep gratitude to them for the attention and care they had given us. The women workers heard us and then suddenly some of them sobbed aloud. What had happened? Had we offended them by our thanks-giving? No, they were not as unappreciative and uncultured as to misunderstand us. They had accepted our thanks. The memory of their husbands and sons and daughters and many a dear and near ones who were killed by the Nazis had come back afresh to them on hearing us talking of peace. Had the progressive men and women of the world taken this step a few years earlier, they said, they would have been spared of the misfortune of a War that had killed those who were verily the throbs of their hearts, the lights of their eyes. It was this thought that had rushed into them and broke all restraints. One of the ladies pressed a palm of one of our women-colleagues and said in her own language with tears in her eyes, "Farewell, sister. Go back to your country and work hard for world-peace. Tell the peace-loving people of your land that the Ukrainian women have suffered too hard to keep themselves aloof from any movement that will bring world-peace." None of us left the hotel with dry eyes.

But there were more painful moments we were destined to suffer. They came the following morning when we reached the frontier of Czechoslovakia. Our Russian guides would no longer give us their company. For three weeks every hour of the day till midnight we moved from place to place under their care and guidance. Their anxiety to see us happy and comfortable, their earnestness to show us as much of their country as was possible, their zeal to leave nothing unexplained to us were more than mere expressions of friendliness. We loved them, respected them, and placed ourselves entirely under their stewardship. We never thought during those three weeks that a time would come when they would cry a halt, and we would have to part from them perhaps never to meet again. We gratefully remember every one of them. We remember teacher-interpreter Lyda, who guided us in Tashkent and Samarkand and helped us by translating our speeches but unkindly left us when we returned to Moscow without giving us an opportunity to express our gratefulness we owed to her. We remember the tall and handsome figure of Andrey and his untiring assistance, as we remember the distinctive personality and ability of young Tamara. Both of them left us at Kiev. We left behind in Tashkent sweet Misha who was placed in charge of the small groups of our delegation who decided to come back by the Kabul route. Amiable Henrietta and wonderful Chelesov, Hindi-teacher, stuck to us till the last. Above everybody else stands bright in our memory the motherly and no less lovely, personality of Madam Krivapolova of the Soviet Peace Committee. It was she who bore the whole brunt of our weakenesses and not unoften childish caprices. She is a typical expression of the qualities the Soviet Woman has achieved. She was the first person to extend to us a warm welcome when we had touched the Soviet soil. And she was the last person to bid us Farewell when we were about to cross over to Czechoslovakia. Hosts and guests stood on the borderline looking at one another; hands pressed hands; and farewell greetings sounded like stifled sobs.

Czechoslovak guides stepped forward and took over the burden our Russian friends had unloaded.

(To be continued)

AUTOMATION

By ARUN KUMAR ROY

"Automation" or "Rationalisation" brought a commotion in the industrial world in the recent past. Though India is not so well-advanced in industry as U.S.A. and U.K., still this step became an important topic throughout the length and breadth of the country wherever there are industrial regions. Opinions, however, differed on the point whether this would be a blessing or a curse.

In the Second Five-Year Plan where main stress has been laid on heavy industries which are yet to be built, we shall be getting up-to-date plants with recent automatic techniques so far applied to these industries in the countries which shall be helping us with the erection of these plants and hence we may not have to face much difficulty for several years, but we have a few important industries which have served the country since the first decade of this century, *viz.*, jute and textiles, which require innovation with the most up-to-date machineries and labour-saving devices to enable them to compete in the market with the materials produced in technically advanced countries. Even in industries not very old, due to continuous research and development, changes in processes may be required to be made quickly. "And with each change, certain jobs, certain skills and sometimes whole plants or companies are made economically obsolete."

This would naturally create problems—problems for individual workers and individual companies, problems for those industrialists who lack in sufficient capital to automate the plants—in other words problems which will inevitably arise in making the adjustment to the new technology.

There are limits to the weight one can lift, to the calculations one can complete, to the distance a man can walk and to the information one can absorb. During the industrial revolution means for extending man's physical capacity were developed resulting in creation of machines. Today means for extending man's mental capacity are being linked to these earlier devices. The expansion of man's activity has developed a series of bottlenecks each of which has been solved leading from industrial revolution and technological progress following that to automation.

It will, therefore, be worthwhile to make a study of automation, its advantages, disadvantages, limitations and scope, the problems it will create, whether those can be removed and such other points.

Automation is a new word to us and hence no concise and accurate meaning is yet ready. Some are of opinion that this is a "second industrial revolution" while others say that "the word is new, not the principles involved." It is the natural outgrowth of scientific research and development in the field of mechanisation and means the general technological progress that has been taking place in industry for many years but the word was coined not very long ago.

To a layman it sounds like something where everything is done automatically and calls up a spectre of robot and workerless factories and consequently produces various sorts of fears in various sorts of individuals—fear of change, fear of technology itself, fear of displacement, fear of unemployment, fear of machines, fear of science in general.

The most common statements in this respect are that "automation is merely an extension of mechanisation," "the use of machines to run machines," "the automatic handling of parts between progressive production processes," "relegation to a machine of the functions of performing operations previously performed manually." These concepts do not give all the requisite conditions of automation. To be more exact we can speak of automation as any continuous and integrated operation which uses electronics or other mechanical devices to achieve optimum use of all production resources and yield faster, better and greater quantity of mass-produced products at less cost. It is a technology arising from electronics and electrical engineering. I is applicable to a great many industrial and clerical operations.

Here are some special features of automation. "It is a departure from the older methods of machine production by machine operators since it represents the automatic operation of machines on four major principles—mechanisation, feedback, continuous process and rationalisation." It is both cost-reducing and labour-saving. "It normally results in increased productivity, lower rejection rates on finished goods, lower costs, wider acceptance of products and prompter customer services." Its application differs widely from industry to industry.

In U.S.A., automation dates back as early as 1784 A.D. There is mention of an automatic flour-milling plant built near Philadelphia in the book *The Millwright's Guide* written by Oliver Evans near about 1784. In railroad industry, it has been in use since 1872 and in metal-working industry for over 100 years.

There is a difference between "Automation" and "Rationalisation." Of course, the two are interrelated. "Rationalisation means the application of reason to the solution of problems or to the search of knowledge.

In a production system it means that the entire process from the raw material to the final product is carefully analysed so that every operation can be designed to contribute in the most efficient way to the achievement of clearly enunciated goals of the enterprise." When we use "Rationalisation" we pass over from the primarily technological to the primarily economic meaning of automation. To a man who is displaced due to either of them, both words carry the same meaning.

The history of the effort of man is to harness and utilise more and more energy to free him and his progeny from manual labour and hence automation is inevitable. With every technological change our standard of living increases. To meet this increase we would crave for wider and better variety of goods and services at reasonable cost. A rapid and continuous growth of market where these materials can be had at competitive prices, is, therefore, essential. Automation starts with marketing. Competition forces automation. If the producer does not keep his price low, his sales drop. He will find market invaded by a more progressive competitor. To keep his price competitive he should try to have more output at less cost and the machine is the answer to this. Production in aggregate and per man hour is enormously increased without any increase in the number of production workers. It makes possible better utilisation of capital equipment and all the components of production, —labour, capital, natural resources and management—higher productivity and a greater rate of return though it is a costly affair.

The advance of automation depends upon two essential conditions, *viz.*, full employment and mass purchasing power. A dynamic balance between our ability to create greater and greater economic wealth reflected by expanding productive power and the ability to expand purchasing power in the hands of millions is to be maintained to get the maximum benefit of automation. If the demand does not keep pace with growing productivity, the goods will pile up unsold, production will be interrupted and automation will cause serious unemployment. If, on the other hand, the consumer shares in the benefits through lower prices, and workers share by higher wages and greater purchasing power, then we are keeping in balance the greater productive power and purchasing power.

The first goal, full employment, is now generally accepted as both an economic and political necessity. There is, however, difference of opinion as to whether automation would achieve this goal. On the one hand, automation has been deplored as a trend which will disrupt entire economy, on the other, it has been claimed that the machine will one day relegate man to a life of plenty and leisure. Let us now see if this will help us and society as a whole.

According to the proponents society as a whole will be benefited, for—

(1) It will create employments;
(2) It will give increased production at lower direct labour cost, improved quality, lower accident rates and higher wages;
(3) It will create more leisure and wealth for cultural and educational activities and thereby there will be an all-round progress of the standard of living.

According to Union people, it would create countless problems, (1) for individual workers and older workers who will be displaced, (2) for entire communities when plants move to a new area, (3) for small business concerns that cannot compete against automated giants, and these in turn endanger the economy as a whole.

Let us go through them in more details.

(A) It will Create Employments

Though it will displace some direct production jobs for a very short period, its introduction would extend activities in other fields which will create many employments. "The machines cannot buy components, cannot receive them, cannot inspect and test them nor deliver them to the production floor. It does not pack the final product, does not ship it and certainly does not market the product. The mechanised part accounts for a small portion of the total working force." The increased production, therefore, is to be marketed, skilled workers are required to operate, maintain and repair the machines. The service industries will expand. There will be shift to industries, *viz.*, retail trade, construction, professional and related services, public administration, manufacturing of machinery, wholesale trade, transportation, metal manufacturing, finance, insurance, real estate, repair services and telecommunications. It creates a demand for new skills of a higher order necessitating increase in salary.

A concrete example is electronics industry. The increased demand for and availability of the products of the electronics industry has brought a great expansion of the basic material industries: metals, glass, chemicals, plastics. Electronics distribution and service industry has increased enormously whose distributors, jobbers, dealers, servicemen and others do a heavy volume of business.

"It is not a case of putting a machine to work in 1 or 2 plants. It is a case of creating an entire set of industries, hundreds of thousands of jobs that did not exist, millions of dollars of personal incomes, of buying power, new life-blood for the entire economy. In industries yet unborn, it will offer job opportunities of a number and nature which only future can determine." The static unchanging industries are not the sources of growth in employment.

Such extension of activities will bring vast new opportunities to those, especially those displaced by

machines, who are willing to work and learn. There is, therefore, no reason to fear long-run mass unemployment.

Good timing for automation is extremely important because losses occur from premature modernisation as well as from delayed replacement. If a company fails to modernise in time it will lose business.

(B) Production Advantages

Though it implies an increase in capital cost, due to a decrease in direct labour and higher output, the cost is reduced. It would also counteract the effect of higher wages levels on the cost of manufactured goods. In other words, it amounts to less capital investment per individual unit of output. The production of new and better goods of more standardised quality becomes possible. It welds together production steps. There is an increase in the quantity and accuracy of information and the speed with which it is obtained. No excessive down time or maintenance work may be necessary. In a few cases high operating speeds may waste materials but even here the loss is usually justified by saving other resources including even time which is a valuable component of production. Mistakes which could be very expensive in customer relations can be eliminated. It would pay for itself in a relative short period. Automated machinery and equipment often cost more, therefore, increased depreciation charges may nullify savings otherwise obtainable, but still it would be advantageous because of savings in materials from combining several operations in one machine and indirectly because of reductions in floor space, lighting and heating requirements.

Automation has supplanted heavy, dangerous and unpleasant work with easier, more pleasant and more interesting work. Monotonous repetitive jobs will be done by untiring, unfeeling machines. There will be fewer people using their strength and many more behind the scenes. It will cause gradual shift of employment, from menial labour to higher skilled, better paid and safe jobs and from direct production works to various service trades. Works which will require the most manpower will be semi-skilled and highly-skilled maintenance. repair and operation. Such works are fully within the ability of most people provided they are properly trained and motivated. What is needed is a genuine interest in the work. It also increases the need for personnel trained in the design, construction, supervision and maintenance of automatic equipments. On the whole, it will create greater stability of jobs. Man will be the master of machine, rather than servant.

With high investment in machinery, industry has one more incentive to keep those machines running as steadily as possible. This provides a great stimulus for better planning, more professional marketing and all the other techniques for maintaining steady demand and employment.

The plant could be located closer to its markets and its sources of raw materials and fuel. Because it requires less direct labour it need not be placed in concentrated labour markets. It has actually met labour shortage.

From the point of view of good labour management relation too, there should not be more than a few hundred people in one plant since one man cannot know individually more than several hundred people. Automation, because of minor emphasis on labour, helps in this respect by enabling erection of small plants in small towns. It may also be cheaper to build a new automatic plant in a new area than to automate an old plant.

It permits tasks to be performed which could never be done by human labour alone. The greatest industries including atomic research simply could not exist without mechanisation and automation. We cannot make chemicals, gasoline and electricity by hand.

(C) It will Raise the Standard of Living

It holds forth the promise of great advances in living conditions and leisure. It will give increased leisure opportunity permitting the worker to develop his inherent human capacities. The worker of the future will require better basic education and better training than he gets now.

In spite of these advantages it can create dislocations in society.

"What should be done to help the worker who will be displaced from his job, or the worker who will find that his highly specialised skill has been taken over by a machine? What about the businessman who lacks sufficient capital to automate his plant, yet has to face the competition of firms, whose resources enable them to build new automatic factories? Will automation mean the creation of new communities in new areas while others are turned into ghost towns?" If automation destroys unskilled jobs what about training large numbers so displaced?

Questions of such nature are to be gone through and if we feel that automation will really bring prosperity and raise the standard of living, we should see that these dislocations and displacements are taken care of from the very beginning to avoid another slump of 1930. In the course of reaching a higher standard of living we will not take one step backward in order to take two steps forward.

It is on the employment of labour that automation has its greatest impact. Local displacements tend to be masked by the net growth in employment. For a fixed amount of work there may be a net reduction of total personnel required. It affects skills, job security, earnings and working conditions of the employees who are dislocated because either some skills are rendered obsolete diluted by further specialisation or jobs are totally abolished. Also the new

skills require executive training and education workers may not be able to move easily into the new jobs. When they cannot they are often downgraded in work which is a displacement in disguise. There is a chance of wage cut. His status and seniority might be affected.

The training cannot be done automatically. Besides, there are those who cannot learn new skills because of physical or mental limitations. What would happen to old workers, not old enough for normal retirement but too old to learn new skills or adjust to the demands of the new technology? The factors such as age, temperament, etc., of the worker are also to be considered.

Human resources depreciate with time rather than use and they depreciate in an accelerated rate when they are unemployed because of the decline of knowledge, skills and morale. Social cost of unemployment far exceeds the economic cost since unemployment also contributes in large measure to crime, disease, family disintegration, race and religious prejudice, suicide and war.

The working class suspects that there are some who view the automation as a means of disciplining labour.

Industrial location is affected due to shifting to non-industrial areas. It causes great hardships and dislocation to communities who are affected. Women workers, who play the role of worker, household manager and mother, suffer most when solution is attempted by making transfers of displaced workers.

The population growth would increase labour force. How to find employments for them? Of course, a certain percentage would be absorbed due to deaths, retirement, carolment in colleges for advanced study courses, etc. There are no built in electronic devices that will automatically produce economic and social adjustments.

It may be argued that because of limited scope of expansion of automation and limitations it will not progress as fast as the proponents of a completely automatic society have predicted and hence the picture would not be as dark as above. Still it will be a little comfort for any person currently unemployed to be said that 15 or 20 years hence things are going to be just wonderful.

Automation cannot be engineered into every job indiscriminately since it is not always feasible or profitable. It will also be limited where human interaction is of primary importance as in distribution, service business and in professional fields. The following are other limitations, though temporary but significant:

(*i*) High initial cost. It cannot be installed if capital needed is not obtained.

(*ii*) The time that is taken to effect automation is a long one. The problems are to be analysed, these are to be equated, computers to be programmed and the answers to be translated into useful data. It takes many many years of work to develop equipment in determining proper machine characteristics and following up with design. Then there is the time for construction.

(*iii*) Shortage of highly trained operators and analysers.

(*iv*) Depreciation allowances allowed by tax authorities.

(*v*) Decrease in the flexibility of a given industrial production which would increase cost of a change-over. Hence, automation is best applicable when a given product or a given design is going to be made in large quantities and for a very considerable period. Management must work out some way to assume the wider and steadier market which will justify the investment in new machinery and methods.

(*vi*) There is a risk that a competitor will obsolete the product or process or both long before the investment has been amortised. The faster we automate, the relatively more secure become the promising opportunities for further automation due to cost.

Automation is best suited to those industries in which production can be reduced to a continuous flow process, *e.g.*, oil refining, flour milling, chemical production.

A second class includes industries in which some automation is possible but full or nearly complete automation is not likely. In this category would be found industries which require substantial information handling and accounting functions but, in which the method of production or the nature of the product is not adaptable to continuous flow techniques., Such industries would include transportation, large-scale retailing and the manufacture of certain non-standardised consumer product like furniture.

The third group is the one in which no significant application of automation seems likely because of the highly individualistic nature of the product, the need for personal services, the advantages of small-scale units or vast space requirements, *e.g.*, agriculture, professional fields and most construction works and retailing.

Advantages of automation can only be ensured if there is a continued expansion. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, rightly remarks that

> "We have not had one witness to appear before this Committee who resisted automation or genuine progress. Everyone has been in favour of it. They just want to make sure that the dislocations and displacements are taken care of in such a way that the workers will be provided for on the theory that

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

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, Vol. I: *Publisahed by the Society, Madras. 1956. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 6.*

Prefaced with an Introduction by its present President (Justice A. S. P. Ayyar) and with a Foreword by one of its former Presidents (Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar), this first issue of the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (started as far back as in 1935) makes its *debut* in the scholarly world with eight papers, all of great interest and one or two of outstanding importance. The place of honour is given to the paper *Temple and Pyramid and Obelisk* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, in which the learned author discusses acutely the problem of the ancient builders in raising huge blocks of stone to great elevations and fixing them up in position (as in the case of the Egyptian Pyramids and the Tanjore temple of Rajaraja I) and in setting upright the long and slim obelisks (as in the case of "Cleopatra's Needle"). In a second paper Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra gives a popular and all too brief account of the part played by Indian epigraphy in revealing India's past and in containing lessons for her future. A third paper that of Sri S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari, contains a brief descriptive sketch (illustrated with tables and plates) of the types of South Indian coins from the earliest times to those of the Pandyas. In a fourth paper Dr. T. V. Mahalingam traces, with adequate notices of the types and functions of these bodies, the history of the South Indian village assemblies down to their decline and complete disappearance in the fifteenth and following centuries. The fifth paper, that of Dr. Klaus Fischer, contains a good description (with technical details and excellent bibliographical notices) of some important but almost unknown archaeological monuments visited by him in the course of his recent study-tour throughout the country. The list includes mediaeval temples from remote villages of Orissa, the Deccan and South India, "post-mediaeval" (really, post-16th century) Bengal temples from villages in Santhal Parganas and Hoozhly districts, and some Jaina antiquities near the site of Ancient Vijayanagar. The author, after noting four temple features of the Bengal temples in general, observes that in contrast with the rest of the country Bengal, instead of confining themselves to the copy of past models created new forms which developed from the original square and one-storeyed shrine to the highly laminated type with 25 towers. In the sixth paper, Dr. V. Raghavan describes with a few adequate illustrations a number of Indian antiquities (stone sculptures, bronze figures and paintings) deposited in various European museums visited by him in the course of a recent tour. Summing up his observations he points out that the museum authorities, though forced for lack of space to keep much of their collections in the magazines, periodically arrange for exhibitions of a particular school or area amid their natural setting, how the collections have been enriched by means of special expeditions organised by the States and the learned Societies, and how the arrangements of the exhibits, the lighting, facilities for visit and study in those Museums are incomparably superior to those prevailing in India. An exhaustive and well-documented description of the antiquities of Tulu-nad (North and South Kanara districts) forms the subject of the seventh paper by Sri P. R. Srinivasan. The most stimulating paper in the whole volume which should be of value to advanced students of Ancient Indian religion and iconography, is the last one entitled *Origin and Growth of Religion: Indian Evidence* by Sri T. G. Aravamuthan. Here the author taking as his text, a few unique finds of Sri Srinivasan, explains some early developments of Vaishnavism and Saivaism as well as the mutual reactions of the biomorphous forms of the Rigvedic poets, the zoomorphous forms of the Harappan seal engravers, modellers and sculptors, and the figures of the primitive cult of disembodied spirits (*bhutas*).

The future issues of this promising journal will be awaited with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN EASTERN INDIA (The First Phase): *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. World Press, Calcutta. 1956. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 7-8.*

In this age of cheap and mass production of historical research, it seldom falls to the lot of a reviewer to come across a genuine piece of research mainly based on Contemporary Records as embodied in this small book by Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. The author has already been known to fame for his weighty research papers on various phases of the social history of Bengal in learned monthlies, English and Bengali.

This book consists of eight short chapters, eight *Appendices* exclusive of "Bibliographical Notes." It is not a book to be hurriedly read and readily judged. To the reading public this book may have as little appeal as the groundwork beneath the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University in the eyes of a tourist looking for a specimen of the imitation Doric style of architecture in Bengal. But it is surely an indication of the strength of the foundation of an enduring edifice of research evidently contemplated by the ambitious author in the coming phases of this work. The Appendices are no less interesting than the chapters of the text. Any future worker on this topic will be saved the trouble of exploring again the dim beginnings if he carefully reads and appraises the value of the extensive extracts from original documents.

A perusal of this book takes us from the over-enlightened age of our grandchildren, *Nelly, Poli* and *Babi* back to the dim pious antiquity of our grannies, *Hara-siddha, Katyayani, etc.*, names as formidable as their dark prejudices against the Western education of girls. Women's education in Bengal was started with the foundation of a Baptist Mission institution, "The Female Juvenile Society" at Gouri Bere, Calcutta in 1819. Three years after their school had 32 pupils, one as old as thirty, and only a few of five! Of these, 2 were Brahmans, 4 Kayeths, 7 Boshnavs (possibly casteless Bostoms), 4 Baghdis and 4 Chandals. What a change within one hundred years when hardly 4 per cent of untouchables were found in any school of female education, primary or secondary!

The aim of the Christian missionaries was an assult upon the inner citadel of the Hindu idolatry and superstition, so essential for the spread of Christianity in this country. This aim was not directly fulfilled, because recruits to Christianity became fewer with the growth of female education. Nevertheless out of this seeming evil came permanent good to our society, and for this we ought to be grateful to the Christian Societies forgetting all rancour. We admire the courage and enthusiasm of our much-maligned *Pundits*, like Pandit Gaurmohan Vidyalankar in the cause of female education in Bengal (pp. 12-13). It is interesting to note how in 1828 A.D. Bengali language was as helpless as Modern Hindi in 1956 A.D. seems to be in groping for appropriate equivalents for English words. "Plan" is translated (p 34) as *pandulipi* (manuscript); as in modern Hindi a "restaurant" becomes *jalpan-griha* where anything but *jal* (water) is drunk; "Additional Judge" is found to be *Faltu Jaz* (superflous judge); Chairman of a Municipality—no matter if even a male—turns his gender and comes out as *Nagar-palika*; and most recently, "protective food" appears as *alaukik khadya* (miraculous food). However, there is no reason to despair of the future of Hindi or Bengali for these lapses.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his learned Foreword to this book rightly sums up its worth as "a piece of sound historical work and a source indispensable to every student of our social and cultural history." But what about the future of such un-minted gold? We think it is high time that our Universities should devise some means of recognising research in the private sector as that of Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, Sj. Brojendranath Banerjee of lamented memory and others.

K. R. QANUNGO

NEW DEPTHS IN PHILOSOPHY: *By Swami Madhavtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, P.O. Valad Ahmedabad. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2.*

Swami Madhavtirtha is a learned monk of Gujarat and the popular author of as many as one hundred religious books out of which 85 are in Gujarati and 15 in English. He was the President of the first All Religions Conference held in Ahmedabad in April, 1947.

Though the book under review deals with *maya*, ignorance and other aspects of Vedanta philosophy, yet it boldly tackles the puzzling problems of our country. Rightly he explains Vedanta in the light of modern science which has metaphysical implications. He denounces the craze for over-activity and pleads for a secluded life of religious study and meditation. He cites the bright examples of two great sages of modern India—Sri Aurobindo and Sri Ramana Maharshi. "In his early life," observes the author, "Sri Aurobindo was a great politician and social worker, but he saw the mistake of over-activity and retired to Pondicherry and passed forty years in solitude at one place. Sri Ramana Maharshi, too, remained in one place for a long period of fifty-four years and conquered time and death."

The author suggests that the modern life in India should be modelled on the basis of ancient ideal of four stages: first, period of secular and religious education, second, of marriage and service, third, of semi-retirement, and fourth, of complete withdrawal from the world. The last stage is meant for giving whole-time attention to God with a view to conquer death of which everybody is afraid. If these four stages are introduced in the life of a modern Indian and the last stage is deeply imprinted on the mind in the first, worst evils of modern age can be successfully overcome; for this purpose, the author thinks that a new State-approved religion is necessary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PUBLICITY—ART AND LITERATURE: *By K. Lahiri. M.A. Published by Calcutta Book Club Ltd., 89, Harrison Road, Calcutta-7. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a book on Theory and Practice of Publicity written not by a man of the publicity profession but by a University lecturer who has a good grasp of the subject he is discussing. The author claims no specialized knowledge and in his own words these "chapters are the results of amateur study and observation."

The subject is treated in fifteen chapters, *viz.*, Press Commission on Publicity, Publicity in Progress, Defence of Publicity, Making Publicity Pay, Principle of Publicity, Publicity Campaign, Press as Medium of Publicity, Publicity Signs, Visual and Auditory Appeals, Language of Publicity Literature, Style, Fundamentals of Layout, Public Relations, Personnel Management, etc.

While presenting this subject the author has borne in mind the background of socio-economic conditions of the country and as such the book has become a pleasant study. There is a dearth of Indian publications, so it is a welcome addition to the literature. The Bibliography provided at the end of the book and the Index will be helpful to students and others interested in the subject. Dr. Saroj Kumar Basu, Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, University of Calcutta, has written an introduction to this book.

A. B. DUTTA

120 SONGS, SAD AND SWEET: *By Kaikhusru M. Cooper. K. & J. Cooper, Educational Publishers, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.*

"Only a lyric cry
From depths of a bursting soul"

that is what the poet wanted to utter and has uttered herein. Delicate and spontaneous, sad and sweet, these little poems resemble, perhaps, the evening dew-drops falling in a faint music under deepening shadows.

society is being benefited generally by automation and progress and the society, therefore, should make the impact less severe." (p. 270 of the *Report*).

Society means industry and the Government. If business is going to benefit, it should assume some share of social costs—in retraining workers. Government must be prepared to fulfil its responsibilities in the field of human welfare by providing vocational training facilities, improved education, industrial laws, etc. The Union should assume its share by not impeding the progress. A great opposition will, however, come if automation is introduced blindly and irresponsibly with the only aim of achievement of largest possible quick profit for the industrialists. To remove job dislocations, labour and industry should join together to form a recruitment board to deal with problems of unemployment.

Automation will grow and if the problems are tackled by a dynamic and aggressive management, there may be unparalleled advance in our industry and society as a whole. As automation advances, national economy becomes like a rocket which must continue to accelerate or else fall from the sky bringing disaster.*

* Condensed from "Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Economic Stabilisation of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, 84th Congress." Hearings held on October 14, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25; 26; 27 and 28; 1955.

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CLASSICAL SAMKHYA PHILOSOPHY: ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
Patna University

The Samkhya, one of the oldest philosophical enquiries of India, has been shaped and re-shaped in different ages. Materials available for the study of Samkhya are scattered in various works like the Mahabharat, the Gita, the Puranas, etc. A study of the history of philosophy of a country reveals the truth that no system of philosophical thought can claim to be the work of one generation only. This is all the more true in regard to Indian philosophy. Most of the systems here had early beginnings. Then through continuous development in different ages, they have been moulded repeatedly into different shapes and have become more and more determinate and coherent. The Samkhya system falls under this category.

Purusa and Prakriti

The nature of Purusa and Prakriti and their relationship forms the central doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy. The most important point in the Upanisadic philosophy is the doctrine that the inmost self is of the nature of pure consciousness and that it is the ground of all our experiences. The Atman is identical with the Brahman. The diverse power of nature has no reality, independent of it. But in the Upanisads, an attempt to show how from the one reality, the empirical world has sprung up is no more visible. We are simply told that this universe has originated from Brahman and that ultimately, it will return to it. The Samkhya doctrine explains how this world of multiplicity has gradually come into existence through the process of evolution from Prakriti. In this glorious act of creation, Nature is supposed to be moved to action through the influence of spirit. True knowledge implies seeing one in many and many in one and unless diversity is understood as well as unity, no philosophic outlook can be truly formed. Multiplicity proceeds directly from nature and not from the spiritual principle. The spiritual reality is self or Purusa which is of the nature of pure consciousness. The realisation of the pure nature of the self and also of its destruction from Prakriti is the goal of this ceaseless cycle of births and re-births.

The peculiarity of all philosophical systems of India lies in the fact that they do not seek to satisfy merely the intellectual curiosity of man: rather they aim at enlightenment of life and thus hope to help man in his attempt to get rid of the sufferings of the worldly existence. Hence, in India, a philosophical system is also called *Moksha-Shastra* or the science of liberation. The worldly life is a life of misery and pain, desires and frustrations and despite best efforts that a man can put forth, he is unable to secure permanent happiness. A man is therefore required to rise above the shifting scenes of this world to attain liberation. The lust for worldly pleasures and profits can be destroyed only by divine knowledge which consists of *Tattva Jnana*. Knowledge of reality destroys the effect of Karma and thus puts an end to the cycle of births and deaths.

The Samkhya says that this *Tattva Jnana*, a man can attain only when he succeeds in realising the distinction between self and not self or Purusa or Prakriti. Manas, Buddhi and Ahamkara which constitute the psychological selves and which, therefore, really undergo experiences of pleasures and pains are not eternal. They disappear with the advancement of knowledge. What remains behind them is called in the Samkhya Prakriti (the mother of this universe of sufferings and pains). There is no real contact between Prakriti and Purusa: Purusa is prefect and independent and completely aloof from everything else.

Liberation

Our life on earth constantly swings like a pendulum between pleasures and pains, happiness and misery. Even if it is possible for a man to shun all other pains and pleasures, it is impossible for him to resist decay and death. Of course all men earnestly strive to remove all kinds of pain and misery, but so long as we remain on the empirical level only we cannot enjoy unmixed and pure pleasure or happiness. This is the most important truth regarding our life on earth. So if a man is to rise above the level of this sorrowful existence, he must, first of all realise that all worldly pleasures lead to sorrow and that no worldly means can remove for ever the sufferings of this empirical life. The Samkhya system has started with an analysis of three kinds of misery that generally destroy the pleasures of life. These are the Adhyatmika pain, Adhibhautika pain and Adhidaivika pain. The first is caused by the disorders of the mind-body system, such as fever, anger, greed, fear, etc. The second is produced by external agents like other men, beasts and natural forces. The third kind is produced by supernatural causes, *e.g.*, the pains inflicted by ghosts and demons, etc.

All these evils of life cannot be removed either by science or by religious practices and other known means. The performances of sacrifices, according to Vedic rites, may remove pain for a short period: but as these actions involve the sacrifice of animals, they must ultimately produce pain and not pleasure. Again, physical disease can be cured by medicines and mental pain by indulgence in pleasures. But this sort of relief, too, is short-lived, as there will be recurrence of such mental and physical ailments. The knowledge of science and performance of religious sacrifices cannot, therefore, lead to the final annihilation of sufferings and pains: though these ordinary means have a limited value in making life at least tolerably happy on this earth. Hence the question arises: how are we to attain absolute freedom from all pains and sufferings? The Samkhya says that all our misery is really due to ignorance. Buddhi and Purusa are distinct and different, but through ignorance a seeming unity between the two is wrongly established by us, as a result of which sorrows and sufferings, pain and misery which really belong to buddhi seem to follow us from birth to birth. It is necessary, therefore, that through discriminatory knowledge, we should form in Buddhi the true conception of the nature of Purusa and then with the help of this saving knowledge, we shall be able to attain liberation from the sorrows and sufferings of this world.

It would therefore be obvious that the Samkhya teaching of the classical school leads us to the discrimination of spirit from nature—the two ultimate principles of radically distinct character. Prakriti is accepted as the fundamental matrix of the world which evolves the universe out of itself and also re-absorbs it at the time of dissolution. This Prakriti is active and ever-changing but blind and unconscious. In the unevolved state, Nature is an equilibrium of the three *gunas*—*Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas*. When these three *Gunas* are thrown out of balance by the transcendental influence of the Purusa, evolution of the *Mahat* and other categories proceeds. What then is the Purusa? According to Samkhya, Purusa is the permanent, changeless and pure consciousness and that its two purposes "enjoyment and liberation" are served by the evolutionary function of Nature. But this function is not performed by Prakriti knowingly and intelligently. Hence, there are not merely changes and transformations in the world. There is also the permanent principle of consciousness which manifests all these changing events of life and experience. The spirit does not control the process of creation directly by any real contact.

It may be stated that Samkhya thoughts and ideas have influenced various forms of Hindu religion and philosophy. Indian art and literature too are not immune from the influence of dual concepts of Purusa and Prakriti. Kalidas's *Kumar Sambhava* contains an account of the theistic Samkhya. Even in Sahajiya Buddhism, Prajna and Upaya are conceived as female and male counterparts of the ultimate reality. In Saivism, these two aspects of reality have been conceived as Siva and Sakti and in the Vaishnava school, these two counterparts have appeared as Vishnu and Lakshmi or Krishna and Radha. Later, Vedanta also displays some influence of the Samkhya-thoughts as the three *gunas* of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are often mentioned in this philosophy.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Industrialization and Happiness

The Aryan Path writes editorially :

"The only statement that has to be examined, is whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress."—*Gandhiji.*

The Government of India has made industrial enterprise its first concern. Large-scale industries are receiving primary attention. The motive is noble: the democratic Welfare State is being built for the masses; whatever is undertaken is for the betterment of the citizen. But in what does betterment consist? It seems to be taken for granted that industrialization spells prosperity. But what is prosperity? These two questions should receive primary attention and pertinent answers. What is the philosophy underlying industrialization?

In trying to make of India an economically "forward" nation like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., is the Government of India guarding against some of the giant ills which industrialization has created in the U.K., the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere? India may achieve complete success and become financially as rich a nation as any other, but should she try to do so at the price of mental confusion and moral degradation?

In spite of sanitation and hygiene the U.S.A. is not enjoying real physical health; in spite of splendid progress in education she is suffering alarmingly from mental ailments, venereal diseases, juvenile delinquency and the like; in spite of great luxury there is widespread moral obtuseness. The U.S.A. is conquering the whole world, but to some she seems to be losing her own soul. The people of the North American continent, however, are a young and growing race; so they can and will conquer their weaknesses and vices very quickly. Moreover, G. D. H. Cole showed insight when he wrote: "We shall need leaders who are masters of themselves, as Gandhi is, but masters after the Western fashion, which is not his, or India's." Young and vigorous North America is likely to beget such true leaders.

But Gandhiji is for India—his philosophy and technique will prove most suitable for us. Is industrialization as planned suited to India? Is it according to the Gandhian teachings? Will India's best interest be served by running in the race of industrial planning? What steps are being taken to infuse into the people the power of right morality when granting industrialization on an aged civilization in which millions of fatigued and famished villagers are toiling on an impoverished and exhausted soil?

These thoughts come to us as we read a report of the Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities, inspired and presided over by the Duke of Edinburgh. The Conference was held at Oxford for three weeks in July, when some 230 citizens from all parts of the British Commonwealth gathered to study a few problems at first hand, to listen to lecturers, to ask questions and get answers. These were employers and technicians, workers and trade unionists, and others engaged in different activities; they represented a cross section of tomorrow's industrial leadership in the Commonwealth. We quote from the Report of the Conference prepared for *The Aryan Path* by our good friend, Mr. J. C. Hunt:

"It is rare to find modern society question the axiom that industrialization is necessarily good and therefore should be encouraged. The solution to many of the most glaring discontents of our time is supposed to lie through the advance of technology. Even the ideological struggle between Communism and Capitalism, and the problem of race relations are often reduced to these terms. Upholders of one side or the other claim that their methods are the most suitable for bringing about the greatest possible enjoyment of the fruits of technology and industry. Blemishes in a given society are put down either to an unfortunate legacy of the past, when men were less wise and more selfish, or to the unavoidable consequences of the attempt to hasten the process of industrialization.

"How refreshing it is therefore to find the Duke of Edinburgh saying, 'I see no advantage in a prosperous, powerful State if it is to be achieved at the expense of human freedom and happiness.' The Duke made the point at the opening of his Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities within the Commonwealth. He made it clear that during his travels he had seen sufficient through the facade of splendour specially prepared for such occasions to impel him to use his unique authority to convene such a conference as this devoid of political overtones.

"The Conference was not conclusive, nor was it meant to be. It dealt generally with industrial relations, the atmosphere in factories, the happiness of ordinary people and how to help them lead fuller lives. Much has been written on these matters, but the attempt is seldom made to deal with them on a personal level.

"The Duke established two premises for the examination of these matters. First, he stressed that industry was not an end in itself, adding "It may not be very easy to decide what we are aiming at in this modern world of ours, but whatever the target we must take into account that all people are primarily citizens and not just workers with a bit of private life.' Secondly, he argued that environment was by no means the determining factor in the hapiness of workers. Delegates to the Conference learnt this for themselves when, apparently to their surprise, they found the London sewermen to be amongst the most contented workers that they met.

"The spiritual and moral needs of modern society were thus the guiding principle of the Conference. Twenty-five background papers developed this theme in specific terms. A paper on the Rhodesian copperbelt discussed the consequences of the break-up of tribal structure; another considered the priority required, where resources are limited, as in India or West Africa,

for the training of an industrial *elite* at the expense of general education; three papers dealt with model communities, such as the Tata steel town of Jamshedpur, and showed how they tended to become isolated; and several papers showed how little had been achieved in the way of adapting religious ideas and popular morality to the results of advanced technology. These are on the whole negative points; they concern the lack of roots in modern society and the way traditional roots snap in primitive communities which are now learning new methods of producing things. Nevertheless, it is good we have achieved so much as this. The Conference, it may be hoped, will contribute to a more mature approach to a key problem of our time. This effect will be of value no matter whether the methods adopted are expressed in religious, political, industrial, institutional, managerial or personal terms."

The Conference is a sign of the times. But a further step needs to be taken. G. D. H. Cole, whom we have quoted above, wrote in 1938 about the idea and teachings of Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj*:

"Gandhiji's case against the West looks, then, infinitely stronger than it looked, to us Westerners, thirty years ago. For it does seem as if all our material advances in machine mastery were unloosing upon us, not the plenty for which we hoped, but an overmastering capacity for destruction. Nor is it merely that we have grown more efficient in dealing out death and mutilation. We have also grown more cruel—or some of us have; and those of us who untouched by the recrudescence of cruelty know not how to prevent its spread without dire risk of falling ourselves under its spell."

And our esteemed friend Hugh I' A. Fausset, commenting upon the same book in 1938, said:

"This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. *For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West."*

Gandhiji's message has value for the entire Occident. Should not our leaders in India at least take heed from such a warning?

If the Duke of Edinburgh were to use his royal influence to convene another conference of Commonwealth thinkers to consider the applicability of the principles of Gandhiji to modern industrial conditions great benefit would accrue to every country in the world.

India is copying the West; the Gandhian philosophy on a machinemade civilization remains to be adequately examined, not only elsewhere, but in the land which proclaims Gandhiji "the Father of the Nation." Will India take the lead?

After the above was in type came to hand the following interesting piece of news. The New York Correspondent of the *Hindu* sent the following message on the 30th of August. To us it looks like a strange coincidence! Are the first fruits of industrialization in India to be psychosomatic patients? "Anxiety Neuroses" are already reported. Is there no message in this for industrial plan-makers and social welfare organizations?

"Anxieties similar to those which have caused the high incidence of psychosomatic illnesses among Americans may soon be a penalty which Indians may have to pay for industrialization, according to Dr. Otati, a research scientist of Lederle Laboratories. He said research reports from India indicated that 'anxiety neuroses' were developing among urban populations and this trend might intensify as the country advanced towards full industrialisation. 'Competition between individuals will tend to rise leading to sharpening of anxieties in susceptible individuals or in those classes bearing the brunt of the change,' declared Dr. Otati.

"In the opinion of the scientists the cause for this increase in anxiety neuroses might lie in the difficulty experienced in adjusting traditional living patterns to the radically new framework of developing an industrial society. 'This is a particularly difficult adjustment for Indians who were brought up to live at a much slower pace,' he said."

The Three Inter-Oceanic Canals

Prof. K. R. R. Sastry writes in *The Indian Review* :

In the sound generated by the Suez Canal Crisis, it is natural that *echoes* are heard near the Panama Canal. Though Suez and Panama have important agreements, there is a *vagueness* regarding the rights and duties of the territorial sovereigns and users of the Canals during war. The Kiel Canal stands as a case *sui generis.*

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ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চা ও কোষ্ঠীবিচারের সূত্রাবলী
শ্রীনরেন্দ্রনাথ বাগল জ্যোতিঃশাস্ত্রী
(বিশুদ্ধ সিদ্ধান্ত পঞ্জিকার জ্যোতিষী)
ভারতে জ্যোতিষচর্চ্চার গবেষণামূলক ইতিহাস ও কোষ্ঠী বিচারের গুরুমুখী জ্ঞানের বহুসূত্রাবলী সহ গবেষণার ভিত্তিতে ২১ অধ্যায় ৫০০ পৃষ্ঠায় (ডিমাই) সমাপ্ত। মডার্ণ রিভিয়ু, অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকা, প্রবাসী, যুগান্তরের সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্য, আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা দৈনিক বসুমতী প্রভৃতি পত্রিকায় গ্রন্থখানি উচ্চাঙ্গের সমালোচনা ও প্রশংসনীয় সমাদর লাভ করিয়াছে।
মূল্য বাধান ১০৲—রেক্সিন ১২৲ টাকা।
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং (প্রাইভেট) কোং লিঃ
৯৩নং হ্যারিসন রোড, কলিকাতা-৭

The law relating to these inter-oceanic canals is *conventional* in origin but it has been modified by the growth of internal *practice* and hence of custom as evidence of a general practice. Sooner the position of these waterways is brought under an uniform pattern guaranteeing freedom of navigation under United Nations, the better.

Under the most important article (Art. 1) of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, "The Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce or war without distinction of flag." Subsequent articles provide for securing the *neutrality* of the Canal in time of war. Practice during the two world wars warns us that the territorial *sovereign could close* it to the vessels of the enemy.

The Panama Canal, 47 miles long, connects the Atlantic and the Pacific. On November 18, 1901, Great Britain and U.S.A. concluded a treaty called the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. While there are various stipulations relating to the neutralization of the Canal substantially as embodied in the Suez Canal Convention, *there is no clause* guaranteeing the free passage of the canal in time of peace without distinction of flag and without reference to the possible belligerency of U.S.A. Nor is there any clause forbidding U.S.A. to erect fortifications commanding the Canal. The phrase "in time of war as in time of peace" which appears in the Constantinopole Convention, was not repeated in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.

On November 18, 1901, the Hay-Varilla Treaty was concluded. Under it, the Republic of Panama granted to the United States, "in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a Zone of territory for purposes of the canal together with the use, occupation, and control in perpetuity of any lands and waters outside of the Zone which might be necessary and convenient for the same purposes." It further granted to U.S.A. in such Zone and in the auxiliary lands and waters, "all the rights, power and authority which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the Sovereign of the territory." The Treaty further conceded to the United States "the right to police the specified lands and waters with its land and naval forces and to establish fortifications for such purposes."

Practice of U.S.A. during the two World Wars was just like Britain's closing the Suez Canal to enemy shipping.

Connecting the Baltic with the North Sea, the Kiel Canal was constructed by Germany mainly for strategic purposes. It was finished in 1895, 61½ miles of waterway.

Under Article 380 of the Treaty of Versailles the Kiel Canal was to be kept free and open to all vessels of nations at peace with Germany.

On November 1st, 1936, Germany *unilaterally* denounced these articles (380-386) of the Treaty of Versailles.

A judgment was delivered by the Permanent Court of International Justice in reference to the passage of a British Ship, the *S.S. Wimbledon*, carrying arms to Danzig through the Kiel Canal. The Court emphasized that even the passage of a belligerent warship through Kiel Canal would not compromise the neutrality of the state in whose jurisdiction the waters lie.

Under conventional and customary International Law, the territorial Sovereign can always take all legitimate measures for the protection of his waterway and his own neutrality. They may involve some inconvenience on ships using the waterway. Thus Egypt, the territorial sovereign of Suez Canal, can place restrictions as exercise of the rights of visiting and searching ships bound to and from Israel which has a relationship of belligerency with Egypt.

While she was projecting military adventure in 1937, Germany closed the Kiel Canal to warships of foreign states. It has to be concluded that under conditions of modern warfare, the territorial sovereign can put *restrictions* on *freedom of passage* through inter-oceanic Canals as Suez, Panama and Kiel.

Dangers of Radiation

Roger Pearson observes in *Careers and Courses* :

It was not until 1895 that the discovery of X-rays was made. Although scientists had for some time been aware that radiation existed in the form of heat and light, the identification of rays which had the ability to penetrate normally opaque substances uncovered entirely new vistas for research.

In the course of a few years it was further revealed that certain heavy elements in the earth's crust such as uranium and radium also produced forms of radiation and, following this discovery it was only a matter of time before science was able to harness this new knowledge in the development of the X-ray for hospital use, in the use of radiotherapy for the treatment of the sick, and in the invention of television for entertainment in the home.

Little did the people who came to accept these benefits as everyday utilities realise that radiation was capable of effecting serious biological damage to living organisms—in particular to man and the higher animals.

Radiation leaves in its track a number of electrically charged particles called "ions" and the processes associated with the formation of these ions are injurious to living tissues. The highly delicate molecular structure of living organisms can be substantially disturbed by exposure to radiation, and the extent of the injury increases with the amount of radiation to which the organisms is exposed over the entire life-period.

In short, the effect of radiation is cumulative, and even if the dose is insufficient to harm the individual as an organism, it may, over a period of time, create disorders of the skin, of the flesh or even of the bone.

In human beings certain diseases such as cancer and leukaemia can also be induced although the effects will not necessarily be immediate, and the case of Japanese war-time victims were actually found to appear as long as nine years after the date of exposure.

Not all living tissues, however, are affected by radiation at the same rate. Amongst mammals, for instance, the dose of radiation to the entire body which would be required to kill fifty per cent of an animal population varies between 200 and 1,000 roentgen (a unit of measurement of radiation) according to the species, and within this wide bracket it has been calculated that the dose which would be fatal to man is approximately 450 roentgen.

The reason why radiotherapy has been found useful in the eradication of malignant tumours is that the dose of radiation prescribed under the treatment is too small to result in damage to human tissues, but is sufficient to destroy the cells of the tumour.

Most susceptible of all living tissues would appear to be the delicate mechanism of the reproductive system. Even where radiation is inadequate to destroy normal living tissues it requires only a relatively small dose to produce sterility or to bring about malformations which will cause eventual sterility. Failing this, radiation can, and does, bring about mutations—changes in the genetic characteristics of the individual which once induced, become permanent and are passed on to all future generations.

The death of the individual or simply of a single germ cell within that individual has no significance for the species as such, for with the death of the individual the race will not be effected. But the inducement of abnormal modifications in the genetic endowment of otherwise healthy individuals can have far-reaching and permanent effects, for these changes will be passed on the offspring, and by intermarriage will tend to spread throughout the entire species. Because of this and the extreme susceptibility of the reproductive organs to the influence of radioactive deposits, the study of radiation in its effects on human tissues assumes a new and pressing significance.

Theoretical knowledge would suggest that since the human species has always been exposed to a certain degree of cosmic radiaeion, protected though it is by the blanket of the earth's atmosphere, there are no grounds for supposing that new types of mutation will occur if it is now exposed to increased radiation from man-made sources. This opinion finds corroborative evidence in the case histories of the Japanese war victims, whose offspring reveal no new types of mutation, but do show a markedly higher percentage of mutations than those born of normal parents.

The frequency of defects and diseases amongst persons exposed to high doses of radiation may, in fact, be supposed to vary in direct ratio with the duration and intensity of exposure to radiation over the entire life-span of the parents prior to the conception of the child. Of these induced diseases, mental illnesses already account for nearly half the hospital and nursing home beds in Great Britain—a fact which is not widely appreciated—and if the dose of radiation to which parents were exposed during their lifetime were doubled, then hereditary mental diseases might also be expected to increase.

To make matters worse, the harmful genus thus created by radiation might in many cases be "recessive," and would not appear in every generation, so that their presence in the individual might pass unnoticed until after marriage, when the children will be found to suffer from complaints from which the parent appeared to be free.

In hospitals in the U.K. diagnostic radiology (e.g. X-ray examinations) has been calculated to add as much as 22 per cent to the natural dose of cosmic radiation—so serious an addition that the Medical Council has advised the restriction of the use of the X-ray as far as possible.

Radiotherapy, although not so frequently used as diagnostic radiology, adds a heavier dosage to the individual undergoing treatment, but since those who undergo this type of treatment are mostly above the age of reproduction it does not constitute an important threat to the genetic endowment of the nation.

Besides the medical uses of radiation, the fitting of shoes by X-ray has been calculated to add one per cent per annum, spread over the entire population, while television may be assumed to deposit a somewhat similar amount.

Luminous Watch

Even wearing a luminous wrist-watch probably adds something like .01 per cent of electrically charged ions per year to the reproductive organs of the individual concerned, and so, in its minute way, increases the chance of producing mentally or physically abnormal offspring.

Briefly, then, atomic war aside, the danger of radiation is not to the individual alone so much as to the future well-being of the race and to the health and fitness of the unborn generations who have yet to come.

Long exposure to radiation of low intensity will produce the same effect on the genetic mechanism as would shorter periods of exposure to radiation of a higher intensity, and to protect the health of future generations we must ensure that no individual is permitted to become exposed to dangerous levels of radiation either in the course of his work or in his private life—and, more important, that the dose of radioactive ions received by the heredity equipment of the nation as a whole does not rise above the danger level, at least in the case of that portion of the population which is still within childbearing limits.

Nurses in hospitals and workers in the luminising industries, to quote two examples only, are clearly exposed to greater risks than are office or farm workers. Valuable experience is being gained by observation amongst workers in the atomic research stations, and the International Committee on Radiological Protection is pressing research forward as rapidly as possible.

Patriotism and Civic Virtue

In the International Seminar organized by the World Universities Service, B. G. Kher Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, spoke on 'Patriotism and Civic Virtue' on July 3, 1956. The speech as published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi* is reproduced below :

Derived from the Greek word 'Patrioes,' patriotism is the sentiment with reference to one's fatherland. As you know, historically the concept of the fatherland has assumed different forms at different times. We do not, cannot, live in isolation. Man is a gregarious

animal. Throughout his life he lives in some form of relationship with the members of his family, with the members of the profession to which he belongs, with the members of the club where he joins with others in social recreation, with the fellow citizens with whom he is joined with reference to the municipal organization of the town in which he lives, and so on with the whole human race, in one way or another, directly or indirectly. One such, and the most significant group to which an individual belongs, is the national community presided over by the governmental authority of the national sovereign State of which he is the citizen. In view of the fact that the sovereign State exercises plenary authority over all groups and individuals within the frontiers of its jurisdiction, an individual citizen naturally owes loyalty to his own State, overriding all others. Patriotism in the sense of recognition of such loyalty has obviously an important place in a proper scheme of values to an individual citizen in modern society.

Here it is, generally speaking, enough to say that citizenship consists in the right ordering of our several loyalties, *viz.* to the family, group, trade union, nation, humanity, etc. to which reference has been made. At the same time, we must remind ourselves of the dictum of Spinoza that the true aim of Government is liberty.

The main feature of democracy lies not in the fact that consent is more willing on the part of the persons governed, but in the fact that to provide that it shall be willing, that consent is to a considerable though limited extent repeatedly challenged and requested by the Government. In no human effort is perfection attainable. Even the wisest of individuals charged with the duty of government are subject to the inherent weaknesses or failings of humanity; a democratic constitution provides that they shall be checked and controlled even by persons less wise than themselves, but alive to their own rights and interests. Hence every three, four, or five years we hold elections and choose our Government.

I will proceed to consider in what circumstances one may find it necessary to obey a higher law than the man-made laws of one's sovereign State. In that sense, patriotism represents a loyalty which may have ultimately to be subordinated to the highest of the loyalties to which man is subject, namely, the loyalty to his own conscience, or in other words, obedience of the moral law. Before, however, proceeding to say a few words about this, I want once again to repeat that this advocacy of a superior loyalty above that of patriotism is necessarily limited to very rare cases where on an important issue of wide public significance the conscience of an individual is genuinely involved. It is a right to be invoked only under the strongest moral compulsion and only by persons qualified to do so. The exercise of this contigent right to disobey cannot be regarded as an everyday occurrence or as a general licence for the common man for the flouting of the law of the land on flimsy pretexts. It is also subject to certain conditions and limitations. No one has written and spoken more about the ethics, method, justification and limitations of the duty or right to disobey the laws of a State, in modern times, than Mahatma Gandhi. Such disobedience can either be individual or by the mass. In either case, the first condition the Mahatma insisted upon was the purity of both end and means.

I wonder what the Father of the Nation and the inventor of Satyagraha will think when he knows how it is now a weapon freely used by dismissed employees, failed candidates, all and sundry, for redressing their grievances and obeying their conscience. The dangers of the abuse of this weapon are familiar to all by now. They are particularly grave in this country with its political freedom only 8 years old, its religious, communal, linguistic and other divisions threatening the life of the nation itself.

The civil laws derive their ultimate sanction from authority and coercive powers. The moral laws have no such coercive armoury at their command; the sanction for the moral law lies directly in the conscience of the individual concerned. Religious creeds and systems of ethics and worship are intended to reveal to an individual the God that resides within himself. In the final analysis, therefore, there can be no question but that the loyalty of the man is to the moral law in cases where it conflicts with the civil laws.

Patriotism, which is a very complex feeling built out of primitive instincts and intellectual conviction with a religious element mixed up in them, can never take the place of the supreme moral law or of religion. It lacks universality. The good at which it aims is a good for one's own nation only, not for all mankind. So it is said: "A world full of patriots may be a world full of strifes." Do we not find this to be so now?

In reality the individual is the centre to ever-widening circles in the form of the family, the city, the nation and mankind, which are not intersecting but concentric, and there should be no conflict—no difficulty in reconciling the loyalties owing to all. What is needed is an enhancement in individual worth. Forms of government or of international relationship are only the mechanics through which the peace and goodwill which dwell in the breast of men all over the world could be canalized.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Soviet Union is for Peaceful Settlement of Suez Issue

By N. Nesterov

Since the very outset of the Suez problem, *i.e.*, since the moment of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by the Egyptian Government, two approaches to the settlement of this problem have clearly taken shape.

The Western Powers, Britain and France in the first place, as well as the United States, their backers, are attempting to settle the problem from "the position of strength." They do not want a fair settlement, which would take into account the legitimate interests of Egypt as the sole owner of the canal. They are artificially creating an aggravated situation in the canal's region and are doing everything they can to prevent a peaceful settlement. By means of blackmailing and military threats these powers intend to take the canal away from the Egyptians and to place it under foreign control. It goes without saying that by this foreign control they mean British-French-American domination over the Suez Canal. The drive for this end is a dangerous game fraught with serious consequences.

The Soviet Union, which from the very beginning of the problem has shown itself to be a consistent champion of a peaceful settlement, approaches this problem from quite a different angle. The Soviet Government's statement of August 9, this year, points out that the British-French threats and military preparations connected with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt are incompatible with the UNO principles. The same statement laid down the Soviet point of view on the legal nature of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt.

The Soviet Union accepted the British invitation to take part in the London Conference, although neither by its composition nor by its character was it possible to regard it as an international representative conference authorised to adopt any decisions with respect to the Suez Canal.

In accepting to take part in this conference the Soviet Union proceeded from the premise that, given the good-will on the part of the states concerned, even that kind of a conference could be conducive in searching an approach to the settlement of questions pertaining to the Suez Canal, which would promote a peaceful settlement of this question. Guided by these principles, the Soviet delegation to the London Conference was consistently upholding the idea of a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. The position taken by the Soviet delegation was in full agreement with the UNO Charter principles and with the indisputable sovereign rights of Egypt as the sole owner and comptroller of the canal. This idea was supported by the representatives of a number of countries taking part in the London Conference. Many political leaders of European and Asian countries which did not take part in the conference also expressed their desire for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue.

On September 16, this year, the Soviet Government made another Statement on the necessity for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. This highly important document condemns the military preparations carried out by Britain and France, with the support of the United States, for the purpose of exerting pressure on Egypt in the Suez problem. The statement indicates that these measures run counter to UNO principles.

It is to be remembered that UNO had been set up for the purpose of ensuring a peaceful existence of the populations. Its task covers the examination of conflicts and frictions among states, which may lead to violation of peace.

The UNO Charter prohibits downright the use of force against one or another state, with the exception of cases of self-defence against an armed attack or threat of force and makes it obligatory to seek for peaceful means in settling arguments. As to an eventual recourse to force, provided by the Charter, it refers only to emergency cases when it is necessary to repulse an aggressor and to ensure the maintenance and the restoration of peace. This case, stipulated by the Charter, has nothing to do with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt, without mentioning the fact that the question of using force must be decided not at the discretion of this or that country, or group of countries, guided by their narrow calculations, but in accordance with a decision of the Security Council. Hence the British and French Governments have no grounds whatsoever for resorting to the use or threat of force with respect to Egypt who has exercised her rights of a sovereign state with respect to the Suez Canal Company. The Soviet Government appraises the military preparations of Britain and France against Egypt as an act of aggression against Egypt. The Statement also points out that the Soviet Government is of the opinion that freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal must be guaranteed to all countries and that this purpose can and must be achieved through peaceful means only with due regard both to the inalienable sovereign rights of Egypt and the interests of the states using the canal.

The Soviet Government is profoundly convinced that the Suez issue can and must be settled through peaceful means, moreover since, Egypt expresses full readiness to take part in such a settlement. The Soviet Government has received with satisfaction the note of the Egyptian Government of Sepetember 10, this year, and expressed readiness to take part in an international conference, proposed by the Egyptian Government, which would revise the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and discuss the question of the conclusion of an agreement confirming and guaranteeing freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal.

Speaking on the question of who must be invited to the conference, the Soviet Government expressed itself for inviting all the countries who signed the cosvention of 1888, including their legal successors, the Arab countries which are situated in the immediate proximity of the canal and which are vitally interested

a peaceful se'tlement of this issue, and other untries using the canal.

The Soviet Union has already adopted a number measures promoting a just set lement of the Suez sue through negotiations.

The Soviet Government has also pointed out that ie USSR, as a great power, cannot keep aloof from ie Suez issue and help displaying concern with respect o the situation obtaining now. In this connection, the oviet Government has declared that, in its opinion, JNO cannot but react to the obtaining situation—to he threats of use of force against Egypt, to which certain member-states of UNO are resorting. These threats are in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the UNO Charter.

The attention of the world Press is likewise focussed on the recent answers of Nikolai Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the questions put by Kingsbury Smith, Director of the American Telegraphic Agency. In order to facilitate the peaceful solution of the Suez problem the Soviet Government is ready to take part in a conference of heads of governments of six countries—Egypt, India, France, Britain, the United States and the USSR.

The provocative and adventurous policy of the Western Powers which are trying to seize the Suez Canal by force is doomed to failure. The Suez issue can and must be settled by peaceful means. The Suez problem can be settled only by peaceful means, in full conformity with the legitimate interests of the Egyptian people and with the interests of peace and international co-operation. The Soviet Union is in favour of such a decision.— *News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

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The River Nile

There is no river in the world except the Nile that provides a country fortune and life.

The Nile is the most important factor for the prosperity of Egypt. The study of it is still the most important subject for the progress of the country.

From the river Kgera (in East Africa) to the Mediterranian Sea the Nile is 4150 miles long. This indicates that the Nile is the second largest river in the world if we accept Mississipi's Missouri river as the first being 4240 miles long.

The first records of gauges showing the water level are dated thousands of years back. Some gauges were found out on the rocks of the cataracts in Upper Egypt. Written records were found 620 years ago. But useful and continuous observations which are obtainable are being published for the benefit of public since many centuries.

The flow of the river Nile differs from season to season and from month to month. During the flood the water of the river is much more than the demands of irrigation and navigation, while during the summer it is much less than the demands. Therefore controlling the water of the river to get the maximum utilization, and to meet the irrigation demands all over the year, has always been a problem for the Egyptians to solve. Egypt in the very old days was just a continuation of adjacent deserts. The prosperity and charm in the country is all due to the right usage of the Nile waters since the times of the Pharaos.

The Pharaos (the ancient Egyptians) in trying to solve the irrigation problem were storing the flood water of the Nile in Lake Morris (East of Delta) by a diverting canal with high embankments and regulators. They had constructed a seventy-mile-long canal for this purpose. It is also learnt from our old history that the ancient Egyptians were well aware of the science of irrigation engineering.

The river Nile starts from Lake Plateau near the Equator. On its way towards north the Nile passes through Kenya, Tangaryika, Uganda, Congo Belgue, Abyssynia, Sudan and Egypt.

Egypt is the only country that took the pain of discovering the source of the Nile. It was Egypt only that arranged and collected the Hydrological dates for the Nile and its tributaries since the last century while the attempts to discover the source of the Nile were made centuries ago. At present here are departments in Sudan and Uganda that are called the Hydrological Department and they are co-operating with the Egyptian department for the same purpose.

The main branches of the Nile are:

(a) White Nile: It starts from take Plateau in East Africa and supplies the river with 83 per cent of the yearly flow and 68 per cent of the flood flow.

(b) Blue Nile: It starts from Lake Tana in Abyssynia and supplies the river with 17 per cent of the yearly flow and 10 per cent of the flood flow.

(c) Atbara: Its resources are also in Abyssynia. It supplies the river with 22 per cent of its flow during floods.

The maximum discharge of the river occurs usually in May and starts increasing in June and July during which the natural flow is approximately sufficient for irrigation demands. The floods start towards the end of July and reach at the top in August and September.

The yearly flow of river Nile ranges between cultivated area in Egypt and Sudan regularly needs about 55000 million cubic meters yearly.

To meet the irrigation demands at the time of necessity the river water was controlled. It was based on two main aspects.

(a) Yearly Storage: The flood water which is stored in the Nile basin is released only at the time of necessity, when the natural flow is less than the demands. Aswan Dam, Gabel Aulia Dam and Senneor Dam were built for this pupose.

(b) Over Year Storage or Century Storage: In the yearly storage system flood waters cannot be stored completely because of silt problem. If in any year the natural flow of the river fails to fill the yearly storage dam the water can be supplied through over year storage. So it is essential to ensure certain amount of discharge every year regardless of the natural flow of the river which may be more or less than the demands. It is essential to ward off high flood dangers. The flood water which was wasted and run into Mediterranian Sea every year can be saved through this system now. Series of projects have been suggested; main amongst them are the following.:

(a) Lake Victoria Dam: This was constructed in the year 1954 with the co-operation of the governments of Uganda and Egypt. The capacity of this dam is 67000 million cubic meters.

(b) Lake Albert Dam: It is still under discussion with the concerned authorities in Cosgo Belgue, Uganda and and Egypt. The capacity of this dam will be 5300 million cubic meters.

(c) The Aswan High Dam: This will be constructed six miles south of the existing Aswan Dam with a height of 160 meters above the bed level. The storage level of this dam will be 60 meters above the present level of Aswan Dam. The capacity of this reservoir will be 130,000 million cubic meters.

The Aswan High Dam is the most important and biggest multipurpose project under construction nowa-days in the whole world. The generated power will be 8300 million kilowat yearly in the last stage, and the cultivated area due to this tremendous project will be increased 30 per cent more than the existing area.

The idea of this project started in the year 1952 immediately after the revolution and one may wonder that investigations, planning and designing of such a gigantic project did not take more than three years. The construction of this dam will start shortly.—*Culture of Egypt.*

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Tibet—Land of Rich Resources

Tibet is a vast land of immense resources situated on the southwest border of China. Being the highest and biggest plateau on earth, averaging over four thousand metres above sea level, Tibet is known as the "roof of the world." Inhabitating this part of China are more than one million industrious and intelligent people of Tibetan, Han, Hui and Mongolian nationalities.

The ice and snow-covered Himalayas stretch throughout southwestern Tibet. And the prominent mountais ranges of the Kailas, Tangla and Karakoram run through northern and central Tibet.

Tibet is also the source of a number of big Asian rivers. The well-known Tsangpo, Nukiang and Lantsang Kiang Rivers originate on the grassplains of northern Tibet. Flowing in a south-easterly direction, they run through snow-covered mountains combined with the torrential rivers and the wide grass-plains give this plateau of China a magnificent scene.

Northern Tibet covers an area of about 250,000 square kilometres. It is the chief live-stock breeding area, where over ten million cattle and sheep are raised. Meat, butter, hides and skins which Tibetans need are mainly produced in this region. Millions of kilogrammes of wool are sent elsewhere from the grass-plains each year. Yaks which can each carry a twenty kilogramme load over thousands of kilometres are the chief means of transport peculiar to Tibet. Formerly, animal epidemics prevalent in the live-stock breeding areas brought great distress to the cattle-breeders. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, veterinarian hospitals and stations and animal epidemic prevention agencies have been set up in the principal cities and towns near the live-stock breeding areas. In addition, mobile animal epidemic prevention teams often make visits to the live-stock breeding areas. In the Chamdo area, epidemic stations have been established along a stretch of five or six hundred kilometres to prevent and treat animal disease for the herdsmen.

On both banks of the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo, Lantsang Kiang and Nukiang Rivers are wide valleys where the climate is comparatively warm. According to Tibetan classics, Tibetans began their farming life along the middle reaches of the Tsangpo River before the Tang dynasty. Over a long period, they fought against river floods and droughts in the winter and spring seasons. They build scores of kilometres of ditches to direct the water melted from the snows on the high mountains to irrigate the farmland. Cold and drought resistant barley, wheat, peas and vegetable oil seeds are produced here. In areas where the climate is warmer, rice and maize are grown. These agricultural areas transport tens of thousands of animal loads of grain to the major cities and towns in various parts of Tibet. Herdsmen on the Tibetan grass-plains come to these areas to trade their animal products for grain.

In the past, Tibetan peasants lived a miserable life. Some of the peasants had to leave their land uncultivated because they had no seeds. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, they have received loans of seed from the state without interest every year. Peasants in the Chamdo area were given iron farm implements free of charge. Some of them discarded their wooden ploughs and used iron implements to till their land or reclaim wasteland. And crops begin to appear on a vast expense of land which had been barren in the pre-liberation days. The reclaiming of uncultivated land by civilian and People's Liberation Army personnel from outside Tibet has set an example for the Tibetans.

Tibet is a wide area sparsely populated. There are large plots of cultivable land along the river banks which await reclamation. There are approximately 70,000 hectares of arable land in areas around Chushul and the banks of the Lake Yamdrok Tso alone. Many varieties of new crops have been successfully planned on the plateau by agronomists who have come to Tibet to help the people with farming. There have been experiments in planting of drought-resistant spring wheat and high-yield Soviet winter wheat in wide areas this year. Cabbage, sweet potatoes and more than ten other kinds of vegetables which had been unknown to Tibet have begun to grow in the vegetable gardens of the Tibetans.

Tibet is also a virgin land of rich mineral resources. According to the findings of preliminary prospecting and surveying, there are over thirty mineral products of great economic value. In the Tangla Mountain areas bordering Chinghai, there are iron ore and coal. In addition, Tibet has vast deposits of graphite, asbestos, soapstone and other fire-proof materials, as well as granite, black shale, gypsum and other building materials. No one ever discovered these resources in Tibet in the many past centuries.

Prospecting and surveying teams sent by the Ministry of Geology are now working in the Tangla Mountain areas.

Tibet rivers have rich potential hydraulic power. They have distinctly advantageous features. The water sources have great velocity with little variation, sharp gradients and good topographical conditions. They can be fully utilised for useful purposes. According to an estimate made by the surveying teams working in Tibet, if the potential hydraulic power of just the Tsangpo River is fully utilised in the future, southern Tibet can have electrification. The middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River alone can generate more than 62 million kilowatts of electricity.

Large extent of virgin forests cover the Himalaya areas and the middle and lower reaches of the Tsangpo River basins. The highly prized fir and pine of the Himalayas and Himalaya cypress and birch grow there. In the Tsangpo River basin, the area covered with virgin forests is equal to one-third of the forest area of the Great Khingan Mountains in north-east China. Peaches, apricots, bananas, pears and other fruit trees grow in the warm river valleys of Tibet. Many of the precious medical herbs which China has been using for centuries come from the snow-covered mountains, grass-lands and forests on the plateau. According to the results of some analyses, the medicinal substances contained in the herbs produced in Tibet are more than those contained in the herbs produced elsewhere in China.

Wild horses, wild oxen, goats, bears, tigers, leopards, mynahs, deer and other animals can be found in the mountains, dense forests and wide grass-lands, These produce large quantities of valuable skins, bear's gall, deer's antler, tiger bones and musk. On the Himalayas, which are covered with snow all the year round, there is a special product called snow fish, which, according to preliminary appraisal, is a valuable kidney tonic.

Formerly, lack of communications was the cause of great difficulties to the Tibetans. Travellers have hitherto regarded the road between Sikang and Tibet as a dangerous road. Now the main lines of Sikang-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet Highways are linked up with Peking. The Lhasa-Shigatse, Shigatse-Gyantse, Gyantse-Yatung Highways which were completed last year and this spring respectively have made traffic throughout central Tibet possible. Yaks and mules are no longer the chief means of trassport from Tibet to other parts of China. Large numbers of motor trucks are now transporting supplies from other parts of the motherland to Tibet to support the construction there.—*News Bulletin of the People's Republic of China*, May 31, 1956.

All About Writers

By S. J. Harry

The *Oxford Companion to American Literature*—in a newly revised edition—reveals perhaps more than any other recent book on American literature much of the scope and variety of American writing. At the same time, it gives pertinent information on authors, books, magazines and literary trends through the hundreds of its entries.

James Hart, chairman of the department of English at the University of California, who compiled this book, has accomplished his scholarly task with taste and imagination. For he not only assembled in 900 pages an excellent guide to almost everything of literary importance that has been written in the United States, but he also managed to place that writing in its social frame-work.

"The printed word," writes Professor Hart in his preface, "does not exist in a vaccum . . . the understanding of works of literature depends upon an informed knowledge of the entire social atmosphere of their place and time."

Suppose the reader turns to the listing of Walt Whitman—America's poet of the independent spirit. Whitman's most famous collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, was first published in 1855. And although comparatively unappreciated at the time, Whitman expressed the social feeling of his era. Whitman, as Professor Hart tells the reader, wanted "to show how man might achieve for himself the greatest possible freedom within the limits of natural law—for the mind and body through democracy, for the heart through love, and for the soul through religion."

Whitman went to the people for his sources, Professor Hart points out, "becoming intimate with drivers of omnibuses and ferryboat pilots, joining the crowds at the bathing beaches." And this concern with the story of ordinary people was to become a strong American literary tradition.

Whitman was extremely lyrical. But his method of going to the people for his material was adopted by writers of a different style. Stephen Crane, who obtained his knowledge of war by reading Tolstoy, published *The Red Badge of Courage* in 1895. This was the story of one young soldier in the American Civil War, told from his viewpoint. The style, however, was unlike Whitman's. It was a realistic style which Crane later used in writing about life in New York.

A few years later, just after the turn of the century, Frank Norris emerged as a major American novelist with the publication of *McTeague*. The book was a realistic—or, some would say, naturalistic—picture of lower and middle-class life in San Francisco. Norris was best known for *The Octopus*—a novel first printed in 1901—which was a stark tale of wheat raising in California and of the struggle of the ranchers against the encroaching rail-roads. Norris was truly a reflection of his times. And he felt, as he put it, that the best type of novel "proves something, draws conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, devotes itself not to a study of men but of man."

A contemporary of Norris was Theodore Dreiser who also painted what was considered an accurate picture—outwardly, at least—of American life at the time. Dreiser was not a polished writer or stylist by any means, but he has been acclaimed, as Professor Hart notes, for his "sincere and profound consciousness of the tragedy of life as he saw it in America."

Whitman, Crane, Norris, Dreiser, and other writers of the true-to-life or naturalist school left an inviting legacy to other American authors. One can see echoes of their work in the present-day writing of Carl Sandburg, the poet, and novelists like John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck, James T. Farrell. These authors, too, were mirrors of their time, reflecting the new importance of the workingman in American life.

All of his information is included in the highly readable *Oxford Companion to American Literature* (published by Oxford University Press). Professor Hart, in a miracle of condensation, has covered practically every important literary movement in America. In addition to paragraphs, and sometimes entire pages, about specific writers and their works, about the times in which they wrote, he has also paid special attention to literary and political journals, important organizations, and to foreign authors who, in some way, have influenced American writers.

It would seem that Professor Hart has managed to prove that an encyclopaedic work such as his can be perused not only for research and study, but for a great deal of pleasure as well.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

$1,000,000 Supply to Flood, Cyclone Victims

New Delhi.—To meet the emergency caused by flood, drought, cyclone and earthquake in parts of India in recent months, 3,000 tons of dried skim milk is being distributed in all catastrophe areas as a gift of the United States.

Including the transportation charges the gift mounts to over $1,000,000, and was made at the request of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, Government of India.

The agreement presenting the 3,000 tons of milk was made effective on September 27 at the Ministry of Health. Participating in the exchange of letters making the agreement effective were the Indian Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Frederic P. Bartlett, *Charge d'Affaires* for the United States, A. C. Bose, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare Adviser for the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission, Shri V. K. B. Pillai, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Lt-Col. C. K. Lakshmanan, Director General of Health Services.

Distribution is following swiftly in the wake of the Bihar and U.P. floods. The milk is being taken from stocks of United States private agencies and UNICEF, and will be replaced with shipments from the U.S. in coming weeks.

This is the biggest emergency gift of dried milk to be tendered to the Indian Government, and will supplement the normal programme of the U.S. voluntary agencies and the UNICEF. Last year the private groups from America distributed nearly 15,000 tons of dried

milk, along with other food commodities totalling over $15,00,000. This is separate and distinct from the recently signed agricultural commodities agreement between the two countries which will bring over a third of a billion dollars worth of reserve grain to India.—*American Reporter*, October 10, 1956.

The Bengali Film, "Pather Panchali"

There was some surprise a year ago when M. A. M. Julien, founder and organizer of the Paris "International Festival of Dramatic Ar," included films in the series of events to which he invited the theatrical world for the second time. In so doing, the organizers of the Festival intended to bring the theatre and the cinema together, and they did not hide the fact. To this film people replied by saying that they did not see what the films could gain by such a procedure. The cinema has no victories to win over the theatre, or vice versa. Despite endeavours to draw comparisons between them, the actual forms of expression of the two arts differ as greatly as those of painting and sculpture. But there could be no doubt after seeing a film like *Pather Panchali* that the Paris International Festival of Dramatic Art was right in giving the film a chance to contact a public which is not its usual public, and with films which are not likely to reach it by ordinary channels.

Pather Panchali is a Bengali film which was entered for the recent Cannes Festival and received an award not included in the original prize-list, for its value as a human document. This suffices to convey something of the impression it made at Cannes, an impression all the greater since no one there had any idea that there was such a thing as an Indian, or more precisely Bengali, film art.

Yet the enormous populations of India are the keenest filmgoers and for some time they have not been content to see just what is sent them by American or European studios. They demand films that reflect their lives, customs, traditions, and legends. Thus came into being a film industry which is the largest after Hollywood, and with its 400 films per year comes ahead of Japan. But we cannot deal with this industry as a whole, but simply with *Pather Panchali*, which it has been possible to see in Paris thanks to Charles Ford, organizer of the film section of the Festival of Dramatic Art, and Denis Marion, his assistant.

Pather Panchali presents the life of a Bengali family—a series of pictures with a genuineness that has only been equalled by Georges Rouquier's *Farrebique*. Satyajit Roy who made it is not a film man by profession. He is a painter and went to the place where we are taken in *Pather Panchali* to find subjects for illustrating the book of a writer friend. Fascinated by the beauty of the scenery, the picturesque life in which he suddenly found himself and by all the unknown humanity in that primitive life, the painter felt that he could not express himself as adequately and sensitively as the subject demanded with brush and paints and that only the camera could do it. A painter who places his confidence in film rather than in painting is hard to come by. But Satyajit Roy had been assistant to Jean Renoir who had left Hollywood in 1950 to pay a long visit to India, during which he produced his film *The River*. The busy, inspiring weeks he has spent with the man who had made *La Grande Illusion*, left a lasting impression on Satyajit Roy. He could not forget that the camera has a far more sensitive eye than human eye and that it reproduces what it records on the screen with a fidelity which, although automatic, nonetheless creates poetry in the hands of a Jean Renoir, the Jean Renoir of *One partie de campagne*. It is precisely with this union of realism and poetry a union so close that they should be combined in a single term and called poetic realism—that *Pather Panchali* impresses from the first pictures that are some of the loveliest ever composed in films anywhere in the world, the pictures of a painter, similar to those in *La Regle du Jeu* for instance, where Jean Renoir, the son of a painter, was inspired by the Sologne country. This does not imply of course that the Bengali producer has copied or imitated the French producer's style. Indeed not. But at the same time one cannot help feeling that without Jean Renoir, Satyajit Roy would never have been attracted to the camera and there would never have been a *Pather Panchali*.

For a quarter of a century there has been delight in proclaiming that the art of the film is an international art and that it knows no frontiers. This is only a generality, for while there is no international and artistic barrier between the peoples, there are economic ones and ideological ones too, and as a result of trade agreements and the workings of censorship, nothing is actually less easy to bring over frontiers than productions for the screen. But it is true that the mind knows no barriers and that influences are carried over from one country to another, from one school to another, if one can speak of schools in connection with present-day cinema, from one man to another and that it suffices to sow a seed in the mind, for a film to be brought into bring at the other end of the world, making a new step forward in the development of film art. Especially, if the seed be of high quality like the one deriving from Jean Renoir. And there is indeed something moving in that sort of filiation crossing oceans and civilizations, between a man and a work.—*News from France*.

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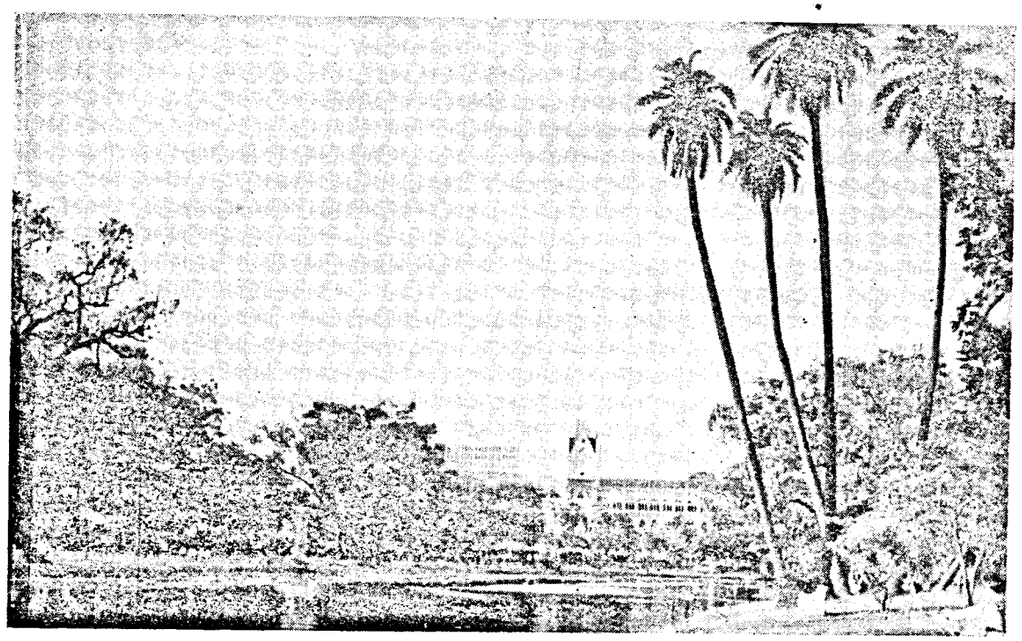

Eden Gardens, Calcutta — Photo : Jharna Ganguly

The River Jamuna in spate. People rescued by the Army from marooned villages

VASAVADATTA AND THE BUDDHIST MONK UPAGUPTA
By Jayasree Bandopadhyaya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Year's End

The storm clouds, that had overcast the skies of the West, are still there, as the year draws to a close. Perhaps, they are a little less threatening now, since the voice of the U.N. has made itself felt. Pandit Nehru is meeting President Eisenhower this month, and the results of that meeting may influence those whose powers for good or evil count for a lot in World Politics.

We have today in this country the representative of one of the greatest of nations of the world, a nation with whom we are bound by bonds of brotherly amity for nearly two thousand years. This friend, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, we have had with us before, and his visit at this crucial moment of World affairs is an augury for good.

The world is having a breathing space, although it is an uneasy interlude.

Nearer home our neighbours of Pakistan, or rather those who hold the reins of State at present in Pakistan, are trying the same old game of baiting India by poisonous outbursts of hatred and malice. It will do no good, either to them or to us, but then this seems to be an incurable disease where that particular Pakistani group is concerned. What is more serious is that some influential papers in the U.S. have joined in this game of building up a case against India, through the marshalling of distorted facts and pieces of absolute figments of fiction. Elsewhere in these notes we have commented on that. It seems that India's refusal to toe the line at the bidding of the West, still rankles in the mind of some people in the U.S. However, we have to face the world as it is.

We have to make up our mind regarding the group in Pakistan, whose hostility towards us is now more manifest than ever. We have to be prepared for all eventualities from that source, and we cannot depend on outside aid in this matter, unless we are fully prepared to face the storm. We have friends, no doubt, all over the world, but then the world is divided into camps, and no one can venture to aid a friend in distress, therefore, without due deliberation as to *pros* and *cons*.

Our own strength depends on many factors, and it would be disastrous to rely solely on our moral force, whatever that intangible might be. Indeed, there are so many forces of disruption at work in the country—the greatest being discontent and want, aggravated by illiteracy and ignorance—that it would not be safe to count on unity in the nation as a whole, at a time of crisis.

But the most disquietening factor, in this matter of national strength and solidarity, has been the deterioration of our human resources, which constitute a nation's fundamental power. The attention of all our public men, and of all our Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, seem to be devoted either to the question of material advancement or to the World Status—in the terms of international politics—of India. In this way we are losing sight of the problems that are bringing about a rapid degeneration, of our peoples, mentally, morally and physically.

The Railway disasters, and the lamentable failure of our youth in games and athletic contests are pointers in letters of fire.

The Egyptian Impasse

The situation in Egypt dangerously resembled past United Nations' achievements and threatened to continue the *status quo*—the invading Anglo-French troops entrenching themselves on Egyptian soil.

The attempts of the Security Council to act in the emergency having proved abortive as a result of the Anglo-French veto the General Assembly of the United Nations met in an emergency session and adopted a resolution on November 2 calling upon an immediate cease-fire in Egypt. The resolution, which was moved by the USA, was accepted, 64 votes to 5 with seven abstentions. The opponents were the three invading countries, Britain, France and Israel, and two Oceanian countries, Australia and New Zealand. The resolution also called upon the belligerent forces to withdraw behind Arab-Israeli Armistice line demarcated in 1949 and urged all member-nations to "refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution."

Here was the unmistakable voice of the world demanding unequivocally the cessation of hostilities. What was the reaction of the upholders of democracy and international rights? How did they respond? The Governments of Britain and France in a joint statement on November 3 rejected the Assembly's resolution. The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, instead laid his terms for the stoppage of war. He said that if the U.N. was ready to instal an international force in Egypt to ensure peace between Egypt and Israel and if Egypt and Israel would unconditionally agree to a cease-fire then only could the Government of Great Britain agree to a cease-fire. In the front the British offensive redoubled and British forces made their first landing in Egypt on November 4—two days after the world body's call for a cease-fire. The British occupied Port Said on November 5.

The United Nations General Assembly met again on November 4 and passed a Canadian resolution asking the UN Secretary-General to submit within 48 hours a plan for an emergency United Nations force to "secure and supervise an end of hostilities in Egypt." The vote was 57 to nil with 19 abstentions. Egypt signified her acceptance of the resolution on November 5, while the resolution of the Assembly met the points raised by the British Prime Minister it was not until after a Soviet threat of massive intervention in the Middle Eastern war delivered on November 5 in an identical note to the Governments of Britain and France that the British Government thought it necessary or expedient to abide by the resolution of the UN Assembly. The Soviet warning to Britain and France was delivered on November 5. On November 6, Sir Anthony Eden announced in the British House of Commons that he had ordered for a cease-fire with effect from the midnight of November 6-7.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld, submitted his final report on the organisation of a UN emergency force to the General Assembly on November 6. The Assembly adopted two resolutions the following day. In one of the resolutions, the Assembly called upon Britain, France and Israel to withdraw their troops from Egypt. The vote was 65 to 1 (Israel) with ten abstentions including Britain and France. In the other resolution, adopted 64 votes to nil with twelve abstentions including Egypt, Israel and the Soviet bloc, the Assembly decided upon the setting up of an emergency international police force.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on November 7, the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, said that he could not give an assurance that British troops would be pulled out of Egypt if British and [illegible] troops were not included in the international force (as a matter of fact, British and French troops were eventually barred from participation in the international force). The following day the British Defence Minister declared that no date could be given for British withdrawal.

On November 19, the Egyptian Government in an *aide memoire* to the UN Secretary-General accused Britain, France and Israel of defiance of the UN resolutions. Mr. Hamerskjoeld was evidently in agreement with the Egyptian point of view. On November 20, Mr. Hammerskjoeld asked Britain, France and Israel to explain their failure to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory in accordance with the resolutions of the UN. After such strong representation from the Secretary-General the British Government offered to withdraw one battalion "as a token of good faith," as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd put it. Mr. Butler, who was deputising for the Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, who in the meanwhile had gone to Jamaica to recover from "overstrain," told in reply to a question in the House of Commons on November 22 that Britain would not withdraw "until we consider that this (UN force) is competent to discharge the tasks which the (UN) Assembly has given it to do."

On November 24, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted one more resolution, sponsored by India, Egypt, Pakistan and eighteen other members of the Anglo-Asian group, calling upon the three invading powers to quit Egypt forthwith. The voting was 63 to 5 (Britain, France, Israel, Australia and New Zealand) with ten abstentions, Nicaragua was absent. In another resolution the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to go ahead with plans for clearing the Canal under United Nations auspices.

Speaking on the British Foreign Minister's remarks before the Assembly that the British could not withdraw forthwith, Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, leader of Indian Delegation, declared: "India refuses to acknowledge the right of the aggressor to dictate terms."

Even after such unmistakable and persistent demands of the world body the aggressors did not withdraw from Egypt up to the time of writing. Instead there was a reported [illegible] of French armoured divisions in Port Said. Mr. Krishna Menon demanded on November 27 an immediate United Nations investigation about the truth of those reports.

The continued occupation of Egyptian territory by the troops of the Western powers posed a great threat to the security of the world in general and of Middle East and Asia in particular. The daily press was full of reports of strategic manoeuvres and counter-manoeuvres in the various countries of the Middle East. There was a further real danger of the extension of that threat of war farther East. The Government of India and the conference of the four Colombo Powers (Pakistan choosing to be absent) unmistakably pointed to that.

The present crisis further brought into sharper relief the utter inadequacy of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security. Up till now it had no solution of any important political question to its credit with the dubious exception of the case of Israel. Every major conflict in the post-war world failed to be resolved by the world body: Take for instance, the question of Pakistani aggression in Kashmir; Korea; the question of racialism in South Africa; the independence of Cyprus; and the latest Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. In no case the UN could take suitable action envisaged in its Charter.

The time was, therefore, ripe for a reconsideration of the organisational pattern of the world body—the basic aims could hardly be questioned—so that no single Power could cover up its evasion of responsibility under any legal pretext. The UN at the time of its inception was a predominantly Western body. Significant political changes had occurred since then—most important of them being the emergence of a number of independent States in Asia and Africa. The reconstituted world body should reflect these important changes in world scene. Only in that case the world body could have any chance to act more effectively.

Indian Contingent in Egypt

The United Nations General Assembly in an emergency session adopted on November 4, a resolution, sponsored by Canada, Norway and Colombia, to create an international force, under the command of the United Nations, with the duty of supervising the cease-fire between Egyptian and the invading forces of Great Britain, France and Israel. The vote was 57 to nil with 18 abstentions. Among the countries that did not vote were Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Egypt and the Union of South Africa. The resolution was adopted in record time on a report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld. The nucleus of the U.N. force would be formed by the members of the U.N. Truce Supervisory Commission in Palestine and would be under the overall command of Major-General E. L. M. Burns of Canada, Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Commission. The Secretary-General was instructed to adopt all administrative measures "for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in this resolution" and report to the Assembly within forty-eight

hours. The permanent members of the Security Council—the USA, UK, USSR, France and China (Formosa)—were expressly excluded from contributing any contingent to the U.N. force.

In a second resolution on the matter the General Assembly decided on November 7 that the U.N. command would be a temporary police force to patrol the area of fighting from the Suez Canal to the old Egyptian-Israeli truce line established in 1949. The proposal was adopted—64 votes to nil—12 countries (including the Soviet bloc, Egypt, Israel and the Union of South Africa) abstaining.

India has offered a battalion to the U.N. command force which made its first landing on Egypt on November 13. The *Hindu*, referring to the problems of the U.N. force in Middle East, writes editorially on November 18 that on the face of Anglo-French obstinacy the U.N. force faced a difficult task there. It would require a rare combination of great tact and firmness to tackle the job. It could be safely predicted that the Indian battalion would be a source of great help to the U.N. command in achieving this task, it says. Recalling the splendid work done by the Indian troops in Korea and Indo-China as ambassadors of Peace and friendship, the *Hindu* writes that the whole country shared the confidence expressed by General Shrinagesh in the ability of our men to acquit themselves creditably in Egypt.

Up to November 26, 23 countries had offered to participate in the U.N. force. About 2,400 men in all had been moved into Egypt by the night of November 27. By the middle of December the strength of the U.N. force in Egypt would total about 4,100. Up to November 26, the countries, whose men were already part of the U.N. force, were Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Colombia, India, Canada and Yugoslavia. Other countries which had pledged specific contributions or had promised general participation were Pakistan, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, New Zealand, Burma, Brazil, Iran, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Ecuador, the Philippines, Peru, Afghanistan and Chile.

The United States of America, Canada and Italy were providing airlifts for the international force while other countries, such as, Yugoslavia were supplying some of their own air transport.

In a statement on November 28, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Dag Hammerskjoeld said that by the second week of December the U.N. force would be "an organized military force, with a headquarters and staff . . . two armoured car companies and necessary supporting units." These units would include "medical, engineer, transport, signal, supply workshop, provost and post-units and other army service elements." He added that the U.N. force had been well received by the people of Egypt.

The Egyptian attitude to the international force was made clear by Mr. Aly Sabri, Chief Political Adviser to President Nasser, in a conference with the newspaper editors in Cairo on November 28. Mr. Sabri said that the international force had been to Egypt with the latter's approval and the continued presence of those troops were bound by agreement. "We have the right to ask the force to withdraw if they fail in their mission," he said.

Asked to comment on India's role in the Egyptian crisis, Mr. Sabri said that India had consistently upheld Egypt's legitimate interests. "India's stand is very clear from her full support to the Egyptian case," Mr. Sabri said.

Intellectuals and the Communist Press

One of the favourite Communist slogan is freedom of speech and truthful information. How do the Communists themselves practise it? The present crisis in Eastern Europe has currently focussed some light on the technique of Communist propaganda. The Communists everywhere suppressed the true reports—even if sent by their own representatives. Thus Mr. Peter Frier, Communist *Daily Worker's* ace foreign correspondent, resigned his position in the London paper (though not from the Communist Party of Great Britain of which he was a member) as a protest against the editor's suppression or material distortion of the dispatches he had been sending from Budapest. The Communist daily instead had printed dispatches from its correspondent stationed in Moscow to describe the happenings in Hungary.

Throughout the world the Communist press, while not fully able to suppress the facts from the people, endeavoured to present the events in Hungary in a thoroughly distorted manner. The followers of the Communist press were given an impression that the events in Hungary were wholly a Western machination against the people of Hungary. Another familiar strain was the blind support of the Soviet intervention there.

While the majority of the non-Soviet Communist world, in spite of some uneasiness, have remained relatively quiet, a handful of intellectuals have come out with a demand for fuller truths about Hungary. More than one hundred and fifty Communist intellectuals in Italy have condemned the Soviet interference in Hungary—though the Italian Communist newspaper *Unita* refused to publish that statement. A group of ten French intellectuals headed by the world-renowned artist, Pablo Piccasso has condemned the French Communist Party for lack of news on Poland and Hungary and has demanded the convocation of a special national party congress to discuss "truthfully and realistically the innumerable problems facing the Communists."

The statement of the ten French intellectuals, not officially published but as quoted in Paris *Le Monde* said:

"The weeks that have just gone by have posed for Communists' burning questions of conscience that neither the Central Committee of the French Communist Party nor *L'Humanite* (the Party's Central daily newspaper) have helped them to solve. An unbelievable poverty of news, a veil of silence, ambiguities produced more or less on purpose, have disconcerted the people's minds, leaving them either disarmed or ready to yield to all the temptations held out by our adversaries."

The French party leaders, M. Maurice Thorex and M. Roger Garandy have dismissed the appeal of the intellectuals stating that they had fallen prey to bourgeois propaganda.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, which alone among the non-Soviet parties, had shown some real integrity during the controversy on Khruschev's disclosures on Stalin, has, however, openly declared that it was not in a position to give any judgment on the happenings in Hungary (this was an indirect way of disagreement from the official world Communist line preached by Moscow and Peking and relayed by Togliatti, Thorez. Ajoy Ghosh, *et al*).

It is really a matter of great pity that in India few of the Communist intellectuals found it necessary to criticize Soviet barbarities in Hungary. Significantly enough, Prof. Hirendranath Mookerji, who is Deputy Leader of the Communist group in the Parliament and is generally regarded as the representative of the intellectual wing of the party, found no better argument for the justification of Soviet aggression against the Hungarian people than an assertion that the Soviet troops had been called in by the Hungarian Government under the terms of the Warsaw Treaty—conveniently ignoring the fact that the Warsaw Pact envisaged such deployment of Soviet force only in the event of external aggression. (Moreover, Prof. Mukherji apparently contradicted even his own party line—Prof. Mukherji's speech was made on the floor of Parliament on November 20 whereas the Party's Central weekly organ, the *New Age*, editorially came out on November 18 against all military pacts including the Warsaw Pact). It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a greater mental serfdom.

The Communist Press in India also has followed a twisted line. Instinctively reacting against the initial Soviet intervention the Party's General-Secretary wrote in an article in the weekly *New Age* virtually condemning the use of Soviet troops. That was done before any pronouncements had been made either from Moscow or Peking. However, no sooner had Moscow and Peking proclaimed that, the Hungarian workers were "fascist gangs" attempting counter-revolution the Indian Communists ate their earlier criticism and came out in full support of all the Soviet brutalities in Hungary. In his speech before Parliament on November 20 Prof. Hiren Mukherji said: "I do not see what other steps could have been adopted provided we remember that the Soviet thought that a very serious situation hostile to the very existence of Socialism had arisen." An effort is also visible to buttress the stand taken by the Indian Communists by quoting Chinese Communist comments—conveniently disregarding the Yugoslov comments—another authoritative Communist source.

However, in suppressing truth and distorting facts the Soviet press organs, notably *Pravda*, have made performances which it would be difficult to equal. The non-Soviet Communist press, in many places, had no reliable

national reaction there must be no open discussion, no constructive criticism."

The Yugoslav newspaper further accused that "*Pravda's* polemics with Tito's speech have retained much of the old Stalinist method. The article is full of incorrect things, arbitrary interpretations of attitudes and distortions of certain statements . . . *Pravda* avails itself to the same forgery which *Tass* used already in its comment on Tito's speech."

"Why, in arguing against the Yugoslav attitude, do they not argue over the thesis that the roots of the personality cult lie in the bureaucratic apparatus, in bureaucratic management—namely, in a disregard for the role and aspiration of the working masses, in leaders who became divorced from the working masses and who, despite the discontent of the masses, kept their positions of leadership and pursued the same policy?" *Borba* asked.

Israel and the Middle East

For the last eight years there has been almost a complete deadlock in the Middle East. This rather started in 1936 with the Arab rebellion in 1936. The situation has been progressively worsening with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. Standing near the border of Soviet Russia and possessing enormous mineral wealth, the Middle East has become the hot-bed of international politics. Israel is regarded by the Arab world as a beach-head for western expansion into their region. The Arabs and the Jewish people approach the problems of Israel from completely different angles and their conclusions are therefore different. Israelis and Zionists regard the establishment of the State of Israel as a great act of historic justice. The Arabs, however, regard the Western act in setting up the State of Israel as a great disaster whereby nearly 750 lakhs of Arabs have been uprooted from their hearths and homes. The Arabs demand the return of all Arab refugees to their homes in Israel and the withdrawal of Israel from all areas not granted to it by the original partition plan of 1947.

The Israelis, however, point out that it was the Arabs who were responsible for the rejection of the 1947 plan and they attempted to prevent its implementation by force. The Arab States fought with the Jews of Israel and they lost the fight. The Israelis now claim that the Arabs now accept the partition plan peacefully. The Arabs, however, retort that the whole development for the Jewish national home since 1917 was an invasion of their rights. The Arab world do not regard the Jews of Palestine as fellow-Semites returning to their motherland. They regard the establishment of the State of Israel as European invasion backed by British and American imperialism. Both sides go back to the earliest days of settlement in Palestine and they claim and counterclaim.

In days of bygone memory the Jewish people might have been the original inhabitants of Palestine, but later on they were either exterminated with the rise of Arab powers or had to migrate to European countries. It is, therefore, no use going back to history as historical reference does not always solve present problems. The Arab world is agitated over three important factors: firstly, there is the problem of the Arab refugees; Secondly, the Arab feelings remain wounded since the defeat of the Arabs in the war of 1948. The Arabs lost the Palestine war because they lacked political unity and military experience to make victory possible. After all, the Jewish people were backed by Anglo-American military experience and supported by their war materials. Thirdly, the Arabs regard Israel as the beach-head for western expansion into Arab world and they contemplate that it should be wiped out before it makes further inroads into their territory. The Arabs think, and they think it correctly, that Israel shall not remain content with its present boundary. There have been continued Jewish immigrants into Israel. There have already been 750 lakhs of new immigrants and their numbers are progressively increasing. The present Israel Government is busily engaged in the expansion of area and the Herut party openly demands Israel's expansion across the Jordan.

In the recent Suez Canal dispute Israel was used by the British and the Franch as their spear-head of attack on Egypt. Israel is backed by monetary resources of the world Jewry. The American Export-Import Bank gives loans to Israel and the United States Congress makes it an annual grant. These events lead to the union among the Arab people against Israel and they intensify their blockade to Israel. Last December's Lake Tiberias incident was an act of aggression by Israel against Syria. The Arab countries realised that the Israeli attack had been instigated by the Imperialist powers. The idea was to bring pressure to bear upon Syria to force her into the Baghdad Pact. In the recent Suez Canal incident, Israel was used to force Egypt to reconsider her decision of nationalisation of the Canal. As regards the Lake Tiberias incident, Major-General Burns, Chief of Staff of the U.N. Palestine Commission, stated in his report that the Israeli raid on Syrian territory was carried out on an 11-kilometre front by several landing parties and two infantry battalions with the support of armoured cars, artillery and machine gun fire from patrol ships on the lake. The landing operation was preceded by an artillery and mortar barrage and the shelling of the nearby Dukan settlement by Israeli ships. Israel is a stooge of the Colonial Powers who want to preserve the colonial possessions in the Middle East. The Middle East is a rich and strategically important area and here the power politics among big nations will continue.

Whither Indian Economy ?

Rising prices and falling exports are the two formidable problems that face the Government of India. The price situation during the year 1956 was characterised by an almost continuous uptrend, in contrast to the sharp decline in 1955. The general index of wholesale prices, with year ended as August 1939 as base, rose by 16.7 per cent from 345 at the end of June 1955 to 419.8 at the end of September 1956. In 1954-55 there had been a net decline of 10 per cent in the price level. The rise in price has been reflected in the living costs, the All-India working class consumer price index, with 1949 as the best year, having recorded an increase from 93 in June 1955 to 107 at the end of July 1956. The price rise is not, however, general or uniform; it is mostly confined to agricultural commodities and semi-manufactures, the prices of industrial products remaining relatively steady. The rise in food articles is the largest being 35 per cent. and the prices of almost all the commodities in the group have showed an increase. In 1955, the prices of food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures experienced sharp declines in prices. The present rise in prices is, therefore, partly a corrective movement to the previous fall. In fact, the various governmental measures that were taken in the latter half of 1954-55 to stabilise prices at reasonable levels themselves may have contributed to some extent to the subsequent rise.

However, the persistent rise in price levels during the year 1956 has gone much beyond the corrective level. The rise is mainly due to the decline in agricultural output, larger exports of certain industrial raw materials and an increase in demand resulting from the large increase in investment expenditure and rise in incomes. The rise is also considerably responsible for the budgetary policies of the Government of India. The disaster was started by Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, the former Finance Minister, with the imposition of taxes on essential consumar goods including food materials. The position was further aggravated by another act of blunder by the present Finance Minister immediately on assumption of his post. The imposition of excise duties on cotton textiles just on the eve of the last Pujas created havoes in the price structure generating speculative deals. At that time we sharply criticised the Government policy as that would make the price level shoot up. Actually our apprehensions have now come to be true.

Governmental measures to curb the rise in price level have included the banning of exports of foodgrains, and arranging for imports and release to the market of substantial quanties of rice and wheat. But once the rise in price level has started, it is very difficult to call a halt to the upward tendency. In the absence of an effective machinery in this country for price control, all the banes of underdeveloped , economy are having free play, the most important being speculations by the wholesalers and hoarders. In May and September of 1956, the Reserve Bank of India issued directions to member banks controlling their advances against foodgrains and textiles. But meanwhile the Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, raised the plea of shortage of funds in the money market and as a result the Reserve Bank had to withdraw its restrictions formerly imposed on the banks as stated above. Immediately following the withdrawals of restrictions, the price level recorded an increase by several points. The withdrawal of restrictions was an ill-advised measure.

At the Export Advisory Council meeting held in November 1956, the worsening position of India's exports was revealed. In 1953-54, India had an adverse balance of trade to the extent of Rs. 50.05 crores ; in 1954-55, the advance trade balance rose to Rs. 62.72 crores and in 1955-56 it shot up to Rs. 81.54 crores. According to

the figures published by the Reserve Bank, India's balance of payments became adverse to the extent of Rs. 506 crores during the first Five-Year Plan. The trade balance was adverse as follows: 1950-51, it was Rs. 3.5 crores; in 1951-52, it was Rs. 232.8 crores; in 1952-53, Rs. 31.1 crores; in 1953-54, Rs. 52.1 crores; in 1954-55, Rs. 85 crores and in 1955-56, Rs. 105 crores. In the first six months of 1956, the adverse balance of trade was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores. Mr. D. P. Karmakar, the Central Minister for Commerce, stated that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compares unfavourably with earnings for the same period in 1955, amounting to Rs. 457 crores.

The reason for this falling exports lies partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This is brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 109 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports has declined from 94 to 91. This raises the problem of maintaining prices at home. The Minister expressed apprehension that if the domestic price level rises, India's export promotion drive would be hampered.

The Government of India are also much concerned over the dwindling foreign exchange reserves of the country. Since the end of March 1956, the foreign exchange reserves held by the Reserve Bank have declined from Rs. 746 crores to Rs. 543 crores—a fall of over Rs. 200 crores. Although this decline has taken place as a result of the large imports required for the second Five-Year Plan, it is obvious that this rate of drawal cannot be sustained for any length of time. The Finance Minister declared on November 30: "We are now fairly close to the minimum level of reserves we ought to maintain and I must tell the House and the public that a most determined effort to conserve and augment our foreign exchange resources is now called for. This consideration must, in my judgement, be given higher priority than the consideration regarding internal prices, although the latter is important. The requirements of foreign exchange for the Second Plan are proving even larger than we estimated, and it would be necessary not only to economise on imports and to increase our exports, but also to secure the necessary quantum of supplemental resources from abroad."

But the Finance Minister seems to be labouring under some misconceptions. Firstly, the rise in domestic price level cannot be ignored in the least. Domestic price rise will influence the cost of living and in turn the cost of production resulting in the higher prices of exports. Secondly, exports cannot be increased without corresponding increase in imports. The foreign trade moves on the basis of reciprocity, you cannot expect to sell without buying. Formerly India's exports and imports exceeded nearly Rs. 700 crores. But with the drive towards import control and reduction, exports have also fallen considerably. It must now be admitted that devaluation has further worsened India's balance of payments position. After devaluation, India's export incomes have fallen and income payments have increased. Devaluation has been a hurdle in increasing India's export earnings and reducing her import costs. Devaluation was a blunder on India's part. It has not stepped up India's exports nor has cut down import costs. On the contrary, it has reduced our export earnings and increased our import payments.

The year 1956 witnessed a substantial monetary and credit expansion. Money supply with the public (excluding State Governments' deposits with the Reserve Bank) increased by Rs. 214 crores during 1955-56, or by 10.8 per cent to a total of Rs. 2,191 crores. The net rise over the entire First Five-Year Plan (April 1951 to March 1956) was also of about the same order, at Rs. 206 crores. This resulted from an initial phase of contraction to the extent of Rs. 214 crores in the first two years, followed by a progressive increase in the next three years by an aggregate of Rs. 420 crores. Of the increase in money supply during 1955-56, expansion in currency accounted for about four-fifths. The main expansionary factors were deficit financing by Government and the rise in bank credit, the balance of payments impact being slightly contractionist. To a certain extent, therefore, deficit financing is also responsible for the rise in prices. The rise in money supply has to be viewed in relation to the expansionary trends in production, industrial and agricultural, and the general level of economic activity. Besides, in an economy like India's where, under the impact of a major developmental effort, a steady extension of the boundaries of the money economy is under way, the level of money supply may be expected to show some rise relatively to national income, if price levels are to remain fairly steady. However, recently the rise in money supply has tended to outpace the rise in production levels and economic activity.

The expansion in bank credit is following on the heels of rise in money supply. That is, the banks have taken the advantage of deficit financing in enlarging their advances. Bank credit during the year recorded a sharp rise and contributed to a large expansion of money supply. Scheduled bank credit increased by Rs. 149 crores over the year 1956 to Rs. 759 crores as compared to a rise of Rs. 60 crores in 1954-55. On the other hand, net deposit liabilities of scheduled banks increased much less than bank credit during 1956 by Rs. 93 crores. The higher level of banking activity during 1956 reflects largely the impact of growing economic activity under the Plan. The inadequacy of the rise in bank's resources was acutely felt in the busy season of 1955 when scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 180 crores, whereas the net deposit liabilities increased by only Rs. 38 crores. Even during the slack season of 1956, the banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank under the Bill Market scheme a large sum to the extent of Rs. 330 crores and this indicates an unprecedented expansion of bank credit, particularly in the field of agricultural products. It is high time that the Reserve Bank should raise its Bank Rate to not less than 4 per cent. In the face of deficit financing, a return to dearer money is all the more imperative. A higher Bank rate will not in any way affect the long-term investment programme in the private sector. The influence of the Bank rate on long-term prospective yields is marginal, or almost nothing. The Bank rate will, however, influence the speculations in the short period and it is therefore desirable that the Bank rate should be raised. The inflationary spiral in India should be nipped in the bud by a higher Bank rate, by larger imports of consumer goods and by taxation of personal incomes. Increased supply of consumer goods, both by increased domestic production as well as by increased imports, will neutralise the larger demands for such goods and help stabilising the price level. Inflation is a costly affair. It brings with it grave social injustices and instability. It destroys not only the value of savings but also confidence, and security and social values. Inflation results in the destruction of the value of money. It is the cruelest form of social theft—a theft with the greatest harm to those that are least able to protect themselves. It is a theft to the people with rigid income levels. Deficit financing therefore calls for strict price control which is not possible in a free economy like that of ours.

Eisenhower's Second term

Through his victory in the elections held on the 6th November, 1956, Dwight David Eisenhower, at the age of sixty-six, became the second Republican in this century to win two successive presidential elections in the U.S.A. (President William Mackinley, elected for a second term in 1900, was the other Republican to do so). In what has been described as the "most spectacular election victory since Franklin D. Roosevelt submerged Alfred M. Landon in 1936," President Eisenhower defeated his Democratic rival, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson by over nine million votes. President Eisenhower rolled up the biggest popular vote in history (over 34.7 million according to incomplete figures) breaking his own 1952 record (33,927,441). The President carried forty-one States—two more than in 1952—and Mr. Stevenson seven. Mr. Stevenson's popular vote in 1956 was 25,427,361 against 27,314,992 in 1952.

President Eisenhower won 457 electoral votes against Stevenson's 74 (two hundred and sixty-six electoral votes were required for election). This marked an increase over his electoral votes in 1952 which were 442 to 89 for Stevenson but in electoral votes President Eisenhower still remained runner-up to the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt's totals in both the 1932 and 1936 elections. In the 1936 elections, Roosevelt had polled the largest ever electoral votes when he defeated the Republican candidate Alfred M. Landon by 523 electoral votes to 8.

The elections were a personal victory for President Eisenhower inasmuch as while he polled record popular votes, his party—the Republican Party—failed to gain a majority in any of the two Houses of the Congress. The position of the two parties in the Congress was:

Senate: 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans,
House of Representatives: 235 Democrats and 200 Republicans.

This was the fifth time in U.S. history—and first since 1848—that a President-elect failed to carry both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The forty-three-year old Richard Milhous Nixon was re-elected Vice-President to Eisenhower

In his speech just after the announcement of his re-election President Eisenhower said that the results showed that "modern Republicanism has now proved itself and America has approved of modern Republicanism."

Modern Republicanism, President Eisenhower added, "will point the way to peace among nations and to prosperity, advancing standards here at home . . ."

"With whatever talents the good God has given me, with whatever strength there is within me, I will continue, and so will my associates, to do just one thing: To work for 168,000,000 Americans here at home and for peace in the world," the President concluded.

In a telegram to the re-elected President, the loser, Mr. Adlai Stevenson said: "You have won not only the election but also an expression of the great confidence of the American people. I send you my warm congratulations. Tonight we are not Republicans and Democrats, but Americans." He wished all success for the new President.

Dwelling on the results of the elections the *New York Times* International Edition, writes on November 7 editorially that the course of the campaign had clearly shown the elements of strength and weakness in the Republican Party at the end of the first Eisenhower Administration. "The chief element of strength, amply demonstrated in yesterday's voting, is the great personal popularity of the President and the wide measure of public confidence which he commands. Inevitably too, the Republican party has profited from the boom which many industries are currently enjoying and the present high level of earnings and employment. On the debit side of the ledger . . . is the lackluster record of the Republicans in Congress, the clearly revealed division within the party itself between liberals and reactionaries, and the continued presence in responsible congressional positions of Republican die-hards who are opposed to just about everything, either at home or abroad, for which the President himself stands," the newspaper writes.

The eighty-fifth Congress of the United States would meet on January 3, 1957. Efforts were already afoot to restore the bipartisan basis of the U.S. foreign policy which was jolted during the election campaigns. President Eisenhower had already discussed the matter in a conference of twenty-three congressional leaders of both parties at the White House. As things stood there was no chance of any major shift in the foreign policy of the United States Government in near future.

U.S.A. and Kashmir and Pakistan

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution on November 19 for Jammu and Kashmir registering Kashmir's irrevocable accession to India. This was perfectly in keeping with democratic traditions; even a former British Prime Minister—Earl Attlee—admitted that the affairs of Kashmir were being democratically administered; nothing could be objectionable in such a procedure. But there were some for whom it was not very convenient to look at facts. Truth was not at all palatable to them—so that they lived in an imaginary world where everything could be viewed in a distorted manner. In this category might be placed a section of the Pakistani politicians and the American press. It would be an idle effort to put the utterances of these Pakistani politicians under scrutiny (since they would bear no scrutiny at all)—the denunciation of India and Indians had for them become the staple weapon in the struggle for capturing power in Pakistan. It would, for example, indeed, be difficult to find a responsible political leader in any other country of the world denouncing a friendly neighbouring country in such malicious terms as were used towards India by Sardar Abdur Rab Nistar, President of the Pakistan Muslim League. Speaking before a League Youth Convention in Lahore on November 26, the Sardar reportedly said that India was Pakistan's only and the greatest enemy and the Leaguers would be ready to conclude any agreement with any country that would help Pakistan fight India. The basis of Mr. Nistar's charges against India was not reported by the news agency. But it was unthinkable that any major point made by him would have gone unreported. Obviously enough Pakistan could not seriously bring any charges against India—there was no ground for that. The only conclusion to which one was thus driven was that for some reason or other a section of Pakistani politicians found it profitable to indulge in occasional diatribes against India. There was, however, no lack of evidence that such was not by any means the general attitude of the Pakistani leaders—many of whom would not approve of such hostility towards India. As a matter of fact, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani gave a rebuff to the redoubtable Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, who, the other day, had declared India to be Pakistan's greatest enemy. Maulana Bhasani said that whatever differences might there be between India and Pakistan, the people of Pakistan could not regard Indians as their enemies.

Every sane man would agree with Maulana Bhasani. But truth was not palatable to some. However, while one might understand the fulminations of the discredited leaders of the Muslim League in Pakistan, it was difficult to appreciate the stand taken by responsible sections of public opinion in the U.S.A. with regard to India and Kashmir. For example, the *New York Times*, International Edition, devoted an editorial article on November 3 to denounce the new Kashmir Constitution and the Government of India. Materially distorting facts the *New York Times* wrote: "Some idea of the extent to which the popular will was either suppressed or denied may be had from the fact that just before these actions (adoption of the Constitution, etc.) were taken several important members of this Kashmir (Constituent) Assembly were put under arrest, or rearrested after previous release, because they had formed a group that urged a plebiscite in Kashmir rather than this unilateral action (*i.e.*, the adoption of the Constitution and accession to India). Under such conditions it is impossible to accept the Indian thesis that the will of the Kashmiris has been expressed. It has not had the chance to make itself vocal."

The newspaper strongly urged for a "popular plebiscite" in which Kashmiris could freely express their will either to join India or Pakistan. The *Times* added: "The unilateral action on the part of India does not, in our judgment, relieve the United Nations of its responsibility in this case. The Kashmir issue is still before the United Nations and the international body has committed itself not merely to a cease-fire in the hostilities that have taken place but the larger framework of a free, popular ballot under external supervision. Pakistan has accepted this mode of solution. India has blocked it and has now attempted to circumvent it."

The hint to Pakistan was not lost upon its Government who were out to create distrust and hatred between the peoples of Pakistan and India. The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, in a statement on November 17, threatened a "deterioration" and "further aggravation" in the situation in Kashmir. Simultaneously a letter was sent to the UN Security Council over this matter.

Leaving aside Pakistan's attitude we might say a few words on the points raised by the *New York Times*. The newspaper referred to the "commitment" of the UN over Kashmir but conveniently forgot to mention the failure of the international body to name the aggressor in spite of clear and abundant evidence so that even after about nine years the Kashmir "question"—if it was ever really a question—could not be solved by the world body. Even the *New York Times* would not say that India was responsible for that failure. India's reasons for giving up the idea of plebiscite were well known—not less important in this connection were the machinations of certain world powers to convert Kashmir into another focus of the world conflict. Pakistan's entry into military pacts made the situation more complex so that in the interest of world peace and tranquillity and the well-being of the people of Kashmir. India was left with no other alternative than to declare her renunciation of the earlier offer of a plebiscite (which India was under no legal obligation to institute but had agreed to as a measure of goodwill and grace). As for the newspaper's charges of Indian domination and its questions about the competence of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to voice the people's opinions the *Times* would do well to turn to the article on Kashmir in the London *Evening Star* of the 25th November, 1956, which was written by Earl Attlee, former Prime

Minister of Great Britain. In that article Lord Attlee stated that Kashmir had unequivocally indicated her desire to be united with India and that at every level of administration in Kashmir there was democracy and local self-government. Lord Attlee also referred to the tremendous progress made by Kashmir in the field of education under the present Government. Lord Attlee, by the way, could not be called a blind supporter of India when it was recalled that largely through the double-faced policy of the British Government that the Kashmir questions had assumed many of its present complications. Yet, the objective reality was so compelling that even Attlee could not miss the truth and, it must be told to his credit, he did tell it.

As for the Kashmir Government's capacity and willingness to face its own people, the Government announced on November 29 that it would institute countrywide elections on the basis of adult franchise early next year after the promulgation of the Constitution.

Train Accidents in South India

A second major railway disaster in the South within the little span of three months has at last brought it home to the Government of India that, it has a duty to acknowledge its responsibility to the people in whose name it rules. The Minister for Railways, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted. The acceptance in practice of the principle of ministerial responsibility, though belated and rather halting, one must say, is nevertheless welcome, many Congress members of Parliament reportedly opposed Shri Shastri's resignation presumably on the ground that Shri Shastri's personal responsibility in the accident was nil. This is true but it was and is certainly the responsibility of the Government, and the Railway Ministry in particular, to ensure complete safety to the travelling public. Whatever the reasons, there can be no doubt about the Ministry's failure to perform its duties. The accident, which occurred on November 23 near Ariyalur about 179 miles from Madras, cost 155 lives so far and resulted in the injury of a hundred more. The engine and the first seven bogies, with a total seating capacity of 300, it is reported, capsized on the embankment of the bridge over the Marudayar river and telescoped into a 15-feet deep and 70-feet wide ditch.

Giving the details of the accident, the Railway Minister told the Lok Sabha on November 26:

"The 603 Down Tuticorin Express, which was involved in this accident left Madras (Egmore) at 21-50 hours on November 22 and arrived at Ariyalur station 84 minutes late, mainly due to cautious running on the section. After halting at Ariyalur for three minutes, it left at 5-21 hours. Having crossed Bridge No. 252 safely, at 5-30 hours, the engine and seven coaches behind it capsized and fell into a breach caused by the erosion of the right approach bank behind the abutment. The eighth bogey was derailed and four remained on the rails.

"It is most painful to report that as a result of this accident, the death-roll amounts to 144 passengers. This includes two who subsequently died out of the 117 injured who were taken to Tiruchirapalli and admitted in the civil and railway hospitals there.

"Medical relief was rushed both from Tiruchirapalli and Villuparam, by special medical relief trains which arrived at the site at 9-45 and 10-05 hours. Meanwhile, six or seven local doctors from Ariyalur had also arrived at the scene and had already started rendering first aid to the injured. The medical relief train carrying the injured persons left the site for Tiruchirapalli at 10-30 hours but, unfortunately, this train had to be held up at Pullambadi station as the track further ahead was under water and was not considered safe for the passage of trains.

"Instructions have been issued by the Southern Railway to all station masters to afford full facilities to the relations of the dead and injured for travelling to the scene of accident and the hospitals. Arrangements have also been made for the free conveyance of these relations from Tiruchirapalli by bus due to the interruption in rail communications.

"Clearance of the debris at the site is in progress. Two or three dead bodies are still to be extricated.

"Bridge No. 252, which was constructed in 1928, is a plate-girder bridge consisting of eight spans of 62 ft. × 3 ins. The foundations are on twin-screw cylinder piles. Previous to this accident, the highest flood lever ever recorded was 9 ft. × 0 in. below the rail level. There is no record during the 28 years of its existence of any important repairs having been needed on this bridge or its approaches. Stone-pitching had been provided around the abutments and the approach bank had also been pitched. The information gathered so far leads to the conclusion that a breach was formed adjacent to the Tiruchi side abutment into which the engine and the seven bogies plunged after the bridge had been safely crossed. This breach must have taken place within a very short time as four trains passed over this bridge after midnight, the last being the 605 Up passenger train at 3-09 hours without the engine crew noticing or reporting anything unusual.

"The entire bridge structure remains intact and safe, except for a portion at the Tiruchi end of the abutment, which was damaged due to the accident."

The Minister said that the bridge was being regularly inspected; he also gave details of the inspections carried out immediately before the accident occurred.

Turning to the measures for the prevention of such accidents in future, the Railway Minister, Shri Shastri, said:

"As regards the steps to be taken to stop such happenings, the Railway Board is initiating a survey of the bridges on the Indian railways, and of their catchment areas and an examination of the history of floods that have passed through such bridges. It is also arranging for the examination of the adequacy of the procedure for the patrolling of tracks during monsoons and floods.

"As the House is aware, a committee of three engineers has been set up to examine the bridges on the former Nizam State Railways. It has been asked to examine the design of bridges and the calculation of the waterway, with special reference to the terrain or any changes that have taken place in recent years necessitating the provision of increased waterway. It has also been asked to examine the adequacy of protection of approach banks and irrigation works affecting the safety of the line and examine the rules and regulations governing inspection of bridges and patrolling of track during monsoons and floods. Its conclusions will assist the Railway Board in the overall investigations which it is initiating. The accepted recommendations will have to be carried out as early as possible and the funds required will have to be arranged."

The Ariyalur accident was the 13th major railway disaster since February, 1952. Many of the accidents showed striking similarities. It was no wonder then that the railway administration would be subjected to severe criticism in Parliament. Several Communist, Praja Socialist and even one Congress member strongly criticized the functioning and attitude of the Railway Board. Mr. Frank Anthony, however, laid the blame mostly to the lower-grade servants, indiscipline among whom, he said, was a major factor in railways inefficiency.

The Railway Minister, Shri Shastri, vigorously defended the railway administration and staff. He said that the present Board was "the best Board he could have had." While admitting indiscipline on the part of some railway workers Shri Shastri asked the members to remember the heavy responsibilities borne by them.

It would be hard to agree with Mr. Shastri's way of support of the Railway Board. It is indeed a pity that he could not conceive of a better Board. Ultimately the responsibility for indiscipline among the lower ranks, while undoubtedly partly ascribable to the irresponsibility of the trade union leaders, also lay with the Board. If nobody was to blame in the whole railway administration for such frequent disasters then who should be held responsible? The *Statesman* makes some very pertinent points.

Writing editorially the *Statesman*, November 27, said: "It may be argued that a Minister's is a token responsibility. It is not a legal responsibility of the same sort as, for example, that of an editor, who is held liable for every word that appears in the paper he edits, advertisement columns and all. But if responsibility is of a quasi-symbolic character it requires that the symbolism should be carried to its logical conclusion. (Has the Health Ministry really understood this?) And there is more to it than that. After last September's disaster, if not after that of September 1954, the most urgent possible steps should have been taken to prevent further accidents of that kind. It was the Minister's duty to ensure

that these steps were taken. After the Mahbubnagar disaster the railway authorities were quick to assure an anxious public that existing rules and regulations for the inspection of bridges and keeping watch on them were adequate and that all concerned would be conjured anew to be on their guard. Mr. Shastri announced that a committee of experts would be appointed to examine bridges on the former Nizam's State Railway and further to revise the procedure for inspecting bridges elsewhere. A judicial scrutiny was ordered into the Mahbubnagar crash.

"What happened? Two months are not very long, it is true. But it was more than two months before the experts were even named and the results of the judicial scrutiny have yet to be published. Mr. Alagesan has lately spoken of posting a permanent watch on bridges during the monsoon as if this were a new precaution, whereas it is provided for in the revised Way and Work Manual. Why was such a watch not kept on the bridges in question? It may be that in spite of the Minister's most urgent reminders, the department procrastinated. But it was then his duty to insist that those responsible for delay should be removed and punished. If he failed in spite of that, then the conclusion was irresistible that, to bring about the necessary shake-up in the department, there must be a change at the top. Whether or not Mr. Shastri's mind worked in precisely this way does not matter. This is how the chain of responsibility works. And how it should work."

Lastly, one cannot but question the propriety of a Minister, who has been compelled to resign so to say, defending his administration in the manner in which Shri Shastri did it on November 27. His resignation had already been accepted. After admitting responsibility for the failure of his Ministry to do the right thing, how could Shri Shastri get the moral right to defend his administration?

We extend our heartfelt sympathy to families of the dead and wish a speedy recovery of the injured.

Ministerial Responsibility

The resignation of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Railway Minister, over the Ariyalur railway accident has created a new precedent in ministerial responsibility in India. The ministerial responsibility implies three things: responsibility to the Head of the State, responsibility to one another and responsibility to the Parliament. The responsibility to the Head of the State is merely nominal, as a minister cannot be dismissed by the Head of the State so long as he enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Lower Chamber. The minister is responsible to the Parliament for his own decision which has not been approved by the Cabinet. The ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament for their collective decision. In the case of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, there was no decision involved. He resigned on the issue of a departmental failure or laches. In this respect it is a new precedent in that a minister should resign for no decision of his own but on account of the failure of his department.

A minister is responsible for his own decision. Where no decision is involved, practically he has no responsibility. It may be recalled that during the jaundice epidemic in Delhi last year, the Central Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did not admit that it was any fault of her own. She maintained that it was a case of negligence or lack of efficiency on the part of her department, namely, the Central Health Ministry. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's resignation has established definitely the primacy of the Prime Minister of India over his Cabinet colleagues. In England it took more than a century to establish the primacy of the Prime Minister; originally he was regarded as a mere *primus inter pares*. In India, although a minister is appointed legally by the President, *de facto* he holds office during the pleasure of the Prime Minister. The letter of resignation of Mr. Shastri was addressed not to the President, but to the Prime Minister and before it was accepted officially by the President, the Prime Minister affirmed that the resignation would be accepted. In fact then it follows that the ultimate control of the Cabinet rests on the Prime Minister. It depends on the Prime Minister to decide in which case an individual minister should resign.

However, the ministerial responsibility should not be directed towards evasion of public opinion on the gross negligence of department. The Ariyalur railway accident would have certainly evoked a strong criticism in the Indian Parliament, but the resignation of Mr. Shastri has put a damper on Legislative consternation on the railway department. But the basic fact remains the regional railway officers were grossly negligent of their duties and they were inefficient too. Public officers in this country should be made to realise that it is not merely a privilege to hold public offices, it entails a great obligation too. The officers responsible on account of their negligence should be punished, not departmentally, but through judicial process. The Government should give up the attitude to defend their officers even in the case of proved incapacity. Mr. Shastri's resignation should not put a gloss on the inefficiency of the department concerned.

Hydro-Power Resources in India

In 1953 the Central Water and Power Commission undertook a countrywide survey on a regional basis of India's available hydro-electric power resources. The Commission has estimated that India's utilisable hydro-power resources amount to nearly 35 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor. The survey takes into account only resources that are capable of development on technical and economic considerations in the context of prevailing cost, current construction techniques and other factors affecting development of river resources, including requirement of irrigation. The survey is essentially a preliminary one and a more accurate assessment would require topographical, hydrological and other data which can be obtained only by a systematic long-term programme of field investigations.

India has been broadly divided into six regions, namely: (1) the east flowing rivers of Southern India, (2) the west flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, (3) the rivers of Central India, (4) the Ganga basin, (5) the Brahmaputra basin and (6) the Indus basin. The advantage of regional classification is that demarcation according to regional characteristics has been possible. The common problems involved in the development of Western Ghats are "high-head" schemes, unaffected by conflicting requirements of irrigation, etc. The problems of developing east flowing rivers are different in that over-riding requirements of irrigation will have first priority and power development is generally of the "medium-head" class. In respect of West flowing rivers of the Western Ghats, there are twenty-six schemes aggregating to 3.7 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor; in respect of east flowing rivers of Southern India, there are forty-three schemes aggregating 6.8 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor and in respect of rivers of Central India, there are 36 schemes aggregating 3.9 million k.w. at 60 per cent load. The report on the Ganga basin indicates a total potential of 12.93 million k.w. at 60 per cent load factor of which 7.47 million k.w. lies entirely in Nepal. The survey for the remaining river basins are under preparation. The perliminary survey will be completed in 1958 and thereafter a long-term systematic programme of field investigation would be taken up.

At present only 2 per cent of the expected hydro-power resources of the country are being utilised. Under the second Five-Year Plan, hydro-power development accounts for over two-thirds of the expansion aimed at raising the total installed capacity of the country to 7 million k.w. The Planning Commission estimates that the power production would increase by 20 per cent per annum, as the demand would double itself every four years.

The Adverse Balance of Trade

The following report is taken from the *Statesman* of November 19:

New Delhi, November 18.—The growing adverse balance of trade formed the background to the discussions of the Export Advisory Council meeting today.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Morarji Desai stressed the vital importance of exports for the successful execution of the second Plan.

The worsening position is revealed by the following figures:

	Rupees (in crores)
1953-54 ..	.. 50.05
1954-55 ..	.. 62.72
1955-56 ..	.. 81.52

In the first six months of 1956-57, the adverse balance was nearly Rs. 121.86 crores.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Minister for Commerce, quoted figures showing that export trade in the first nine months of the current year had not been altogether reassuring. During this period, India had earned in all only Rs. 439 crores. This compared unfavourably with the earnings for the same period last year, amounting to Rs. 457 crores, he said.

The reason for this lay partly in the fall in the external price level of some of the commodities figuring in export trade. This was brought out by the fact that while the volume index for the first half of the current year was 109 against 108 for the same period last year, the value index of exports had declined from 94 to 91.

This raised the problem of maintaining prices at home. If they rose, India's export promotion drive would be hampered, Mr. Karmarkar added.

Mr. Singhania, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, sought deliberate change in the pattern of export by laying greater emphasis on finished and partly-finished goods in preference to raw materials.

In support of this suggestion, he cited a number of items which could be processed before export, for example, instead of exporting large quantities of cotton, silk and jute waste, converted abroad into high priced carpets, tapestry, blankets, etc., he saw no reason why India should not utilize these items to make machine-made carpets, among other items.

He was also in favour of processing grey unbleached cotton textiles which Britain imported for re-export. Some jute products also could be further processed. Earnings from tea could be increased by converting Calcutta and Cochin into international marketing centres.

Other items mentioned by Mr. Singhania were vanaspati and oil instead of raw ground-nut oil, leather instead of hides and skin, and finished products instead of crude metals.

He pleaded for simplification of the procedure for rebates of import and excise duties.

Mr. Singhania welcomed the recent communique of the Colombo Powers recognizing the desirability of taking joint and co-operative action to meet the threatened dislocation in the economic spnere. This was a good opportunity to develop South-East and Middle-Eastern markets for Indian products.

Mr. O. T. Jenkins, representing the Associated Chambers of Commerce, laid stress on the quality of goods exported. While it was difficult to compete with Japan on prices, India could make her reputation by offering goods of serviceable quality.

One of the discouragements suffered by the export trade, Mr. Jenkins said, was the transport position, which made it difficult for exporters to get their goods away.

Chinese Premier at Delhi

On the 30th of November, a civic reception was given to Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, at Delhi. The following report of his speech on the occasion, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"During his 12-minute speech, the Chinese Prime Minister was cheered by the crowd when he said that the relations between India and China were today much more friendly than ever before. He said solidarity between the two countries, with a total population of 1,000 million, would become a gigantic moral and material force in stabilizing the situation in Asia and Africa.

"He devoted a part of his speech to praising Indian efforts for peace and India's role in formulating the Panch Shila, on the basis of which the friendship between India and China had further strengthened. The Bandung spirit, he added, had strongly given expression to the common desire for peace and this spirit could not be suppressed.

"He affirmed his firm conviction that only through the solidarity of China and India and other nations could they eliminate the menace of war that threatened all.

"The Chinese Premier thanked the people of Delhi for the warm and affectionate welcome extended to him and said he would always remember it.

"Mr. Nehru said that India was entering into a 'new relationship' with China and this relationship was of 'historic significance.' The population of India and China, he added, comprises 40 per cent of the world's total and the friendship between the two countries could have 'great effect.'

"Mr. Nehru said that although he found public speeches and newspaper reports indicated the anger of Pakistanis towards India, he wanted to tell the people there that Pakistan being India's neighbour, India harboured no illwill against it and wished to be its friend. Mr. Chou En-lai, he added, was going to Pakistan and he requested him to take his message of friendship.

"Those who followed Panch Shila, Mr. Nehru added, had no cause for quarrel or right. He had every hope that more and more countries would subscribe to these five principles."

Nehru at U.N.E.S.C.O.

The following report of Pandit Nehru's inaugural address on November 5, at the U.N.E.S.C.O. session at Delhi, is taken from the *Statesman*:

"Mr. Nehru, in his inaugural address, said it was found today that the high principles of Panch Shila were mere words to some countries, who claimed the right to decide problems by superior might.

"He said: 'We have bitter memories of the past when Asian and African nations were prevented from progressing and we can never permit a return to that past age. Yet we find an attempt made to reverse current history and human developments.

"'At present it would appear that the great countries think that the only reality is force and violence and that fine phrases are merely apparatus of diplomacy. This is a matter which concerns all of us.

"'I beg of you to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for, unless we do so, all our fine ideals and the good work we have done will be shattered into nothingness.

"'Countries of Europe and America are fortunate in some ways for they have attained a measure of well-being. We in Asia and Africa still lack the primary necessities of life. To attain these becomes, therefore, our first task and we cannot do with war and violence.'"

The Colombo Powers

Four of the Colombo Powers met at New Delhi to consider the international situation. The political correspondent of the *Statesman* gave the following report:

"New Delhi, November 11.—At a meeting lasting two hours this afternoon the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon —four of the five Colombo Powers—began a discussion of the international situation which will be continued tomorrow morning.

"As a brief communique, issued at the end of today's meeting, states, their attention was devoted specially to the recent development in West Asia and Hungary, though it is clear that these two items are regarded as the symptoms of a malaise spread over a larger area.

"This is the first time the Colombo Powers are meeting since the Bandung Conference 18 months ago, and also the first time they are meeting in less than their full strength—Pakistan being the absent member.

"Of the three previous meetings—at Colombo, Bogor and Bandung—only the first, at Colombo, was called during an emergency, namely the war in Indo-China, as the latest has been called to discuss a revival of the war temper.

"An additional element deserving notice this time is the sense of injury in Asia over the humiliation of military invasion inflicted by two Western Powers on a member of the Asian family and the resulting shock to regional self-respect and the peace consciousness of a large part of the world.

"Although a discussion on Hungary was decided upon only at a much later stage, the inclusion of this item in an informal agenda is in keeping with the aims of the Colombo Powers as an organization, which covers a broader field than purely regional interests.

"Starting with Mr. Nehru, the four Prime Ministers this afternoon made brief statements on Egypt and Hungary after which a discussion took place for nearly 40 minutes Today's meeting, however, revealed no new approach from the more or less identical stand already taken by these four Powers.

"There will be a meeting of the official advisers tomorrow morning before the Prime Ministers resume their discussions. The advisers will get together to complete their agreed record of today's proceedings.

"The main conference may not end tomorrow.

"Pakistan's absence from the present meeting was regretted when the four Prime Ministers assembled today. The general unexpressed view was that Mr. Suhrawardy is pursuing certain other interests at the moment which may have been found to conflict with the pattern of thinking by the other Colombo Powers.

"He has informed Mr. Nehru that as he is again going abroad and as his Foreign Minister is in New York, he cannot spare another senior colleague to attend the Delhi conference. This is taken to mean that, for the time being any-

how, he is not an active member of the Colombo powers family.

"India's delegation at today's meeting was the largest. It consisted of Mr. Nehru and two other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Central Cabinet—Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant. There were two other Ministers, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Mr. Anil Chanda.

"The Ceylon delegation comprised the Ceylon High Commissioner in India, Sri Edwin Wijayaratne; the Permanent Secretary for Defence and External Affairs, Mr. G. deSoysa; the Food Secretary, Mr. Kalva Pillai; and the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. D. de Alwis."

Kolar Gold Fields

The Government of Mysore took over the management of the Kolar gold fields on November 29 and thus became the world's first government to nationalize gold. But of a total compensation of 164 lakhs of rupees Rs. 123 lakhs had already been paid.

Three mines were in operation in the Gold Fields. In the period of seventy years up to 1953 these three mines yielded 22,466,944 ozs. of gold valued at about Rs. 185 crores.

Indians Residing in the Americas

An official statement before the Lok Sabha on November 27 put the number of Indians resident overseas as follows: U.S.A. 500; Canada 4,000; Argentina 126; Brazil 60; British Guiana—persons of Indian descent were 200,000 in 1954; Columbia 2; Dutch Guiana 70,000, forming one-third of the population; Ecuador 1; Panama 300; Peru 3; and Venezuela 7.

Mahendranath Dutt

Mahendranath Dutt, a saint and philosopher, and a younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, passed away at the age of eighty-nine at his ancestral house in Simla, Calcutta, on October 15. Born in 1869, Mahendranath went to England in 1896 to qualify himself for the bar, but on reaching there he had to give up the idea. He utilised to the fullest extent his stay in London by studying subjects like arts and architecture, religion and philosophy, in the British Museum. For the next five years he turned a traveller, toured extensively through Europe, Asia and Africa, visited some less-frequented countries of the Middle East, and returned to India in 1902. We get a glimpse of this phase of his life in his treatise on *National Wealth*. A fuller account of his travels he never published. On apprehension of frequent house-searches by the police during the Swadeshi days because of his association with his youngest brother Dr. Bhupendranath Dutt, he had to consign to flames almost all his manuscripts. Among his published works in English and Bengali may be mentioned—*Status of Toilers, Lectures on Education, National Wealth, New Asia, Nation, Natural Religion, Homocentric Civilization, Principles of Architecture, Dissertation on Painting, Appreciation of Michael Madhusudan and Dinabandhu Mitra, Swami Vivekananda in London*, etc. A life-long bachelor like his other two brothers, Mahendranath Dutt was a Sanyasi without the yellow garb. He was closely associated with the Ramakrishna Mission. His wisdom, scholarship, vast erudition and genial personality attracted many a great artist and thinker who used to meet at his house. His conversation which bore the stamp of profound knowledge and deep thought was a source of inspiration to them.

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

PRICE TRENDS AND POLICIES IN FREE INDIA

BY PROF. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY

PRICE-MECHANISM in a free and capitalistic economy is a potent weapon which determines the tempo and pattern of economic development. Prices regulate the channels of production and govern consumption. Their role in the democratic set-up of planned economy, as we have in India, is of a far-reaching importance. We have public enterprise, private enterprise and public-*cum*-private enterprise. While the first sector admits of complete and absolute control in the matter of production, pricing and distribution, the second may thwart such economic controls as may be imposed by the State and the third sector may adopt them only partially. The disequilibrium in production and consumption or maldistribution inherent in such economic structures may cause price fluctuations which, in turn, would have an impact on the general economic growth and development. India has been found in the grip of inflation as she embarked upon the Second Five-Year Plan in April, 1956. Serious apprehensions have been entertained by some Indian as well as foreign experts that the deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores envisaged in the Plan will retard the pace of its progress. In fact, Mr. Eugene R. Black, Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has warned the Indian Government that action should be taken "promptly to curb any inflationary rise in aggregate demand, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, could easily jeopardise the success of the whole development programme." Mr. Black is reported to have said that "the Bank will withhold support from governments which fail to deal effectively with inflation or the threat of inflation."[1] This observation has awakened the Indian financial and monetary authorities from their state of complacency to which they had been lulled by the "depressive tendencies" of a couple of years preceding the Second Plan. The formulation of a price policy in conformity with the objectives of the planned programmes and the basic ideal of "socialist pattern of society" is agitating the minds of the Union Government. A study of our past price trends and policies can serve as the sign-post and searchlight for the future lest we, too, like the foreign rulers, are accused of the charge:

"In India, forethought had no place in the policies of the British Government and haphazard measures, improvisation, conflict of policies, etc., fell to the lot of the bewildered and unorganised people."[2]

Confining our discussion of price trends and policies to Free India, we may divide our study into three main periods:

I. *Pre-First Plan Period.*
   1. From August, 1947 to November, 1947.—Steadily rising prices.
   2. From December, 1947 to July, 1948—Rising prices.
   3. From August, 1948 to March, 1949—Slowly falling prices.
   4. From April, 1949 to June, 1950—Steady but continuously rising prices.
   5. From July, 1950 to March, 1951—Steeply rising prices.

II. *First Five-Year Plan Period.*
   6. From April, 1951 to May, 1952—Steady and then steep decline in prices.
   7. From June, 1952 to August, 1953—Recovery and rise in prices.
   8. From September, 1953 to May, 1955—Steadiness followed by precipice fall in prices.
   9. From June, 1955 to March, 1956—Recession is followed by rise in prices.

III. *Post-First Plan Period.*
   10. From April, 1956 to September, 1956—Steep uptrend in prices.

I. PRE-FIRST PLAN PERIOD

This period of a little over three and a half years may be split up into five phases:

1. *American Reporter*, dated October 10, 1956, page 5, column 2.

2. S. K. Muranjan: *Shadows of Hyper-inflation*, p. 11.

(a) *From August, 1947 to November, 1947*: After the exit of the Britishers from India we had still to suffer the pangs of War and Post-war boom. High prices, high costs and low production marked the opening year of India's emancipation from the foreign bondage. In August, 1947, the wholesale price Index Number (General Series) compiled by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India stood at 301.4 as against 244.1 in August, 1945, when the boomerang of guns had ceased. The indices in the subsequent three months showed, generally, an upward trend as per table below:

TABLE I

Showing Index Number of wholesale prices in India. (Base: Year ended August, 1939—100).

	Period			
	August 1947	Sept. 1947	October 1947	Nov. 1947
Food articles (Weightage 31)	297.8	296.2	295.3	294.8
Industrial raw material (Weightage 18)	366.5	371.6	376.6	377.9
Semi-manufactured articles (Weightage 17)	258.3	258.1	256.8	252.5
Manufactured articles (Weightage 30)	280.2	282.6	283.5	283.2
Miscellaneous (Weightage 4)	456.6	457.8	468.2	460.8
General Index (Weightage 100)	301.4	302.2	303.2	302.0

(b) *December 1947 to July 1948*: The general rise of prices gathered further momentum and within a year of our Independence, the rise was about 26 per cent over that of August 1947. This upswing was assisted by

(1) short fall in foodgrains from the average production of 43 million tons during 1942-46* to 40 million tons in 1947;

(2) the production of major industries, *e.g.*, jute manufacture, cotton textiles, cement, paper, matches and chemicals had declined as compared with the previous year.

* The annual production was as follows:

Year	Production in million tons	Year	Production in million tons
1942	40.6	1945	46.1
1943	44.2	1946	40.8
1944	45.4	1947	42.1

TABLE II

Industry	Unit	1946	1947	1948
Jute manufacturers	Mn. tons	1.08	1.05	1.09
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	4025	3762	4319
Cement	Mn. tons	2.03	1.45	1.55
Paper and Paper board	Mn. cwt.	1.93	1.86	1.96
Matches	Mn. gross	22.8	23.3	26.7

The fall in the year 1947 was essentially accounted for by the inadequacy of raw material, capital equipment, transport bottleneck and political disturbances. Industrial unrest was yet another cause of the mounting inflationary pressure. There were 1,811 industrial disputes in 1947 as against 1,593 in the previous year. This resulted in a loss of 16.6 and 12.7 million man-days respectively.

(3) The money supply spurted up sharply during the second half of the year 1947. In August, 1947, the total money supply stood at Rs. 2,448 crores and in March, 1948, it climbed up to Rs. 2,557 crores resulting in a rise of Rs. 109 crores. Also the cash balances with the public showed an increase of Rs. 108 crores to Rs. 2,213 crores at the end of March, 1948.

(4) Restrictions on imports to offset the adverse balance of payment was also responsible for the upward trend in the price-level.

(5) The economic and physical controls, which had been introduced during the War years, continued to perpetuate scarcities in controlled commodities. This situation had accentuated with the switching on of the war-time economy to the peace-time pattern. The unleashing of the pent-up demands partly due to the increased purchasing power and partly due to the rehabilitation expenditure also led to scarcities.

(c) *August 1948 to March 1949*: The period of continuous rise following the "Partition," which disrupted the very fabric of the country's economy, was followed by deflationary tendencies as indicated by the General Index Number of the wholesale prices given below:

TABLE III

Period	General Index Number of wholesale prices. Base: Year ended August 1939—100)
August 1948	382.9
September 1948	382.3
October 1948	381.7
November 1948	382.2
December 1948	383.6

January 1949	376.2
February 1949	370.0
March 1949	370.2

The reversal of the uptrend is attributable to the policy of decontrol of foodgrains announced on December 10, 1947, by the Union Government. The hoarded stocks of foodgrains were released and production of industrial raw material and of manufactures soared up. The cumulative effect of these was the lowering of the price-levels. The food articles registered a fall from 397.7 to 376.5; the manufactured articles from 352.8 to 329.4; the semi-manufactures from 330.7 to 322.4 (in this case there was a rise during September to November, 1948, followed by a decline) and the industrial raw material group manifested a rise of 24.7 points in the index number which stood at 462.8.

(d) *April 1949 to June 1950*: The price-trend took a new direction again with the onset of the financial year 1949-50. A steady but continuous rise began to manifest itself before India launched upon the policy of devaluation of her rupee in line with the sterling devaluation on September 19, 1949. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices, given below, make this clear:

(See Table IV)

Price trends detailed in Table IV may be divided into three phases:

(*i*) Rising trend from April to October, 1949;

(*ii*) The downswing from November to December, 1949; and

(*iii*) The uptrend from January, 1950 to June, 1950.

(*i*) The General Index Number which touched the mark of 370.2 in March 1949 climbed to 389.8 in September 1949 approaching closely the pre-decontrol peak level of 382.9 (in July, 1948). It further rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, implying thereby a rise of 6.2 per cent over the price-index at the close of the financial year 1948-49. In this rise all the group and sub-group indices moved almost in the same direction. Food articles rose by 8 per cent; industrial raw material by 3.3 per cent; semi-manufactures by 3.0 per cent; manufactured articles by 7.0 per cent and the miscellaneous group by 14.3 per cent.

(*ii*) The downswing during November and December, 1949, was mainly contributed by an 8 per cent fall in the "Food Group"; the price trends in industrial raw material were slightly upward and in the case of other groups they remained more or less unaltered. The improvement in the food prices is traceable to the intensive state drive directed to achieve self-sufficiency through increased production of 4.4 million tons by the end of 1951, better procurement policies and also by stepping up imports from 2.8 million tons in 1948 to 3.7 million tons in 1949.

(*iii*) With the dawn of the new year 1950 the short-lived fall in food prices was converted into a price-rise. While foodgrains and industrial raw material experienced a spurt in prices, the semi-manufactures and the manufactured articles were steady. The general index of wholesale prices in June, 1950, stood at 395.6 as against 378.3 a year ago and 370.2 in March, 1949. The price-line could not have been held in check but for the eight-point[3] policy adopted by the Union Government with a view to off-setting the onslaught of devaluation on prices. The Reserve Bank of India observed in this connection:

3. *Reserve Bank of India Report on Currency and Finance, 1949-50*, pp. 46-47 may be seen for details.

TABLE IV

Period	Food articles (31)	Industrial raw materials (18)	Semi-manufactures (17)	Manufactured articles (30)	Miscellaneous (4)	General index number (100)
(Weightage)						
March 1949	376.5	462.8	322.4	329.4	515.2	370.2
April 1949	373.8	462.8	325.2	347.0	528.5	376.1
September 1949	403.1	468.5	335.0	351.4	547.1	389.8
October 1949	406.8	477.9	332.3	352.6	588.8	393.3
November 1949	405.1	472.4	333.9	344.2	612.0	390.2
December 1949	374.1	477.6	334.1	343.8	609.8	381.3
January 1950	379.1	486.2	335.5	344.6	614.9	384.7
June 1950	402.8	490.7	335.5	347.6	692.0	395.6

"It is noteworthy that devaluation was not followed by a general upsurge in prices. Though the general index rose to 393.3 in October, 1949, it is difficult to say how much of this rise represented progress of the upward trend in prices, which had begun in April, 1949, and how much was due to the first impact of devaluation."[4]

(e) *July 1950 to March 1951* : The price-level attained new high-ups during this span of nine months as is revealed by Table V appended below :

(See Table V)

This period witnessed unprecedented spiralling up of prices primarily due to the outbreak of the Korean War. The speculative and hoarding activities dominated the economy of our country as also of those in the West. The index number rose to 438.6 in March, 1951, as against 397.1 on June 24, 1950. This works out to a rise of 10.9 per cent which is far less than that in many other foreign countries:

Countries	*Rise in price-indices over the pre-Korean level*
1. U. K.	27.4 per cnet
2. U. S. A.	20.3 per cent
3. Australia	29.3 per cent

The abnormal rise in Indian prices is explained by the fact that import bottlenecks and the enhanced demand for India's export commodities required for the defence needs of the belligerent countries resulted in acute shortages. The prices of imported as well as exported products shot up. The price-indices of export commodities stood as detailed below :

Export commodities	Pre-Korean War price-index	Price index* in March 1951	Maximum price index* during June 1950 & March 1951
Oilseeds	652	716	737 (on 20.1.51)
Black pepper	3030	3342	...
Leather	334	553	587 (on 31.3.51)
Hides & skins	358	701	...
Raw wool	701	931	...

* N.B.—Average of the weekly indices.

TABLE V

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
June 24, 1950	407.1	494.2	335.5	346.9	692.4	397.1
July 1950	422.8	505.9	339.6	348.2	708.9	405.2
March 1951	412.0	608.9	381.4	387.2	753.4	438.6

4. *Ibid*, p. 48.

II. First Five-Year Plan Period

The year 1951 ushered in the era of planning and as such it marked the beginning of our struggle for economic emancipation under the aegis of the Indian National Congress which formed the spearhead of our political struggle against foreign domination. Our National Government declared a war, so to say, on poverty, unemployment, ignorance, death and squalor. And the weapon used for the triumph over these Five Giants was planned development. The entire economic structure had, therefore, to be geared to this new pattern of economic renaissance. The war-torn Indian economy with trails of potential inflation had to be switched on to a peace-time level. On the eve of planning, India had many economic ills, notable among which were food shortages, inadequacy of capital for feeding the existing or new industries, high prices and low production. It was a patent fact that inflationary prices eroded savings and disrupted our balance of payments. For accelerating the tempo of capital formation the Korean War boom had to be held under check. But even more important reason for "disinflationary measures" was that the poor Indian masses whose co-operation was deemed essential to the successful implementation of the first democratic plan, were particularly tired of war-time controls and inflation. To ensure public co-operation it was inevitable that a minimum amount of food consistent with the needs of health and efficiency was guaranteed. The planners therefore rightly held:

"Foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price structure, and if this latter has to be safeguarded, as it must be, the prices of foodgrains must be held stable at levels within the reach of the poor sections of the community."†

The Government, therefore, directed its attention and resources to boost up production of the essentials of life and followed the policy of "progressive decontrol."

† *The Planning Commission Reports of the First Plan*, p. 173.

The price-pattern of the five years of planning (1951-52 to 1955-56) had to be so devised as to bring about an allocation of resources in the country in conformity with the targets defined in the First Plan. The structure of prices during this period, therefore, marked a distinct departure from that of the pre-Plan period. The price trends may be studied under four stages :

(i) *April 1951 to May 1952* : It was a good augury that the First Plan started with steady price-decline culminating in a steep fall in the months of July-August, 1951. This situation perpetuated in the subsequent months until in May, 1952, the Index number stood at 367.1 as against 456.8 a year before and 457.5 at the commencement of the Plan. This is evident from the data given below :

(See Table VI)

The general price-level over the financial year 1951-52 recorded a decline of 15.9 per cent as against a rise of 15 per cent during the previous year. During the months intervening those enumerated in the above Table the prices showed a stabilised behaviour. It will be observed that the maxmium fall has been experienced in the group Industrial raw material while in the food group the fall has been of the order of 17.5 per cent as compared with the over-all fall of 20 per cent over the fourteen months' duration under consideration.

An important feature, which is inherent in the agricultural bias of our economy, is that while the prices in the Korean boom period maintained an upswing tendency in India, as in other countries, the rise in internal price-level was less pronounced than in many other foreign countries, while the decline has been relatively more marked (Table VII) :

TABLE VII

Country	Percentage rise ( ) between June 1950 and April 1951	Percentage rise ( ) Fall (—) between April 1951 and March 1952
India	15.7	—17.6
U. K.	23.9	4.8
Australia	20.6	12.7
U. S. A.	16.8	— 2.7

Causes of Decline

The causes which contributed to the precipitate fall referred to in the preceding paragraph in the general price-level may be enumerated as :

1. *International Factor* : The stockpiling programme initiated by the United States with the outbreak of hostilities in Korea was abandoned or modified in March, 1951.

The growing impact of German-Japanese competition has had a restraining effect on prices.

2. *Commercial Policy* : There was a substantial decline in the quantum of exports of oilseeds, mica, hides and skins and jute manufactures during the latter half of 1951.

3. *Monetary Policy* : In mid-November 1951, the Reserve Bank of India had announced its decision to raise the Bank Rate from 3 to 3½ per cent. This increase in the Bank Rate restricted expansion of credit and the money supply dwindled to the tune of Rs. 172 crores from 1,979 crores. Tighter money policy slumped down the post-Korean boom in prices.

4. *Disinflationary Measures* : The following measures were undertaken by the Union Government with a view to bringing about a downswing in the price-spiral :

TABLE VI

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
April 1951	412.5	683.1	387.8	411.7	751.5	457.5
July 1951	408.3	644.0	379.6	405.6	724.6	447.0
August 1951	408.8	590.6	376.1	399.1	729.7	437.6
February 1952	375.4	515.1	364.2	394.1	709.8	415.8
March 1952	342.7	424.2	343.2	383.8	625.6	377.5
May 1952	341.0	416.4	323.2	371.2	583.0	367.1
Percentage fall of (6) over (1)	17.5	40.0	17.0	10.0	22.5	20.0

5. As the year (1951-52) progressed the tempo of stock-piling was reduced while production showed increases in response to the earlier rise in prices, with the result that the boom petered out and a recession in prices followed.

(*a*) The liberalisation of imports and restrictions on exports of certain commodities required for building up industrial potential;

(*b*) The various controls continued to operate *status quo* but in the latter part of the period under review, there was some relaxation in the production, price and distribution controls[6];

(*c*) The fiscal policy had been modified, *e.g.*, export duties on coarse and medium cloth and on groundnuts had been altered upward from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 25 per cent *ad valorem* and from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150 per ton respectively. Export duties on oils had also been enhanced.

5. The increase in production level (except in foodgrains and oilseeds) also helped the prices to sag as the following Table VIII shows: (See Table VIII)

After the slight set-back noticed during 1949 and 1950, industrial production showed a marked improvement during 1951, the official general index of industrial output (base 1946—100) rising to 117.4 as against 105.2 in 1950 and 106.3 in 1949.

(ii) *June 1952 to August 1953*: The downtrend in prices which had set in since May, 1951, experienced a reversal in June, 1952. The rising tide continued slowly and steadily till August, 1953 when the Index Number of the Economic Adviser to Government of India stood at 410.4. In the two preceding months it was 405.4 and 407.7 respectively. This period was free from the sharp and sudden fluctuations which characterised the period from June, 1950 to May, 1952.

The 14 months' period under review (1952-53) may be sub-divided into five sub-periods as follows:

TABLE IX

Showing price variations in Wholesale Prices.

	General wholesale price index	Percentage variation over the preceding period	Percentage rise of (7) over (2)
June 7, 1952	368.9	....	....
September 6, 1952	395.7	5.9	....
December 13, 1952	371.9	−4.8	....
March 21, 1953	386.6	3.9	....
April 11, 1953	382.2	−1.1	....
August 15, 1953	411.9	7.9	11.7

As is apparent from the above, the behaviour of prices has been of a hectic character. The international pulls which had greatly accentuated price variation in the post-Korean period had a subdued influence on the domestic economy largely owing to the new monetary discipline.

(iii) *September 1953 to May 1955*: The upward movement had steadied in June 1953 but in the latter half of that year visible signs of a recession in prices began to show themselves. In December 1953 the Wholesale Price Index Number slumped down to 389.4 from 410.0 in August of the same year. This tendency persisted till May 1955 when the Index touched the mark of 342.0—almost the same as post-decontrol level in February 1948, but lower than the pre-Korean War level.

TABLE VIII

Commodities	Unit	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	
Agricultural:							
Cereals	Mn. tons	50.0	51.2	58.3	68.7	65.8	
Raw sugar	Mn. tons	5.6	6.1	5.0	4.4	5.5	
Raw cotton	Mn. bales*	2.91	3.13	4.19	3.94	4.2	*1 bale—392 lbs.
Raw jute	Mn. bales**	3.28	4.68	4.59	3.09	2.93	**1 bale—400 lbs.
Oilseeds	Mn. tons	5.07	4.95	4.86	5.29	5.88	
Industrial:							
Cotton textiles	Mn. yards	3718	4134	4770	4906	5050	
Jute manufactures	Mn. tons	0.89	0.93	0.91	0.86	0.97	
Iron & Steel	Mn. tons	2.55	2.82	2.78	2.73	3.01	
Cement	Mn. tons	2.69	3.28	3.51	4.03	4.41	

N.B.—Figures for Agricultural commodities are from the Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance, 1955-56, and for Industrial commodities from *India 1956*, p. 113.

6. It is interesting to quote here an observation made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister, at a meeting of the Pressmen held in Madras on October 6, 1956. It was wrong for the Government to have removed the zonal controls during the period of the Plan before the food production plan was ensured a success.

The following data reveals the price-structure during the interval September, 1953 to May, 1955:

TABLE X

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
September, 1953	399.0	475.3	363.8	364.4	717.4	403.8
October 1953	385.6	447.7	353.4	364.5	721.9	393.6
January 1954	381.5	481.1	361.5	364.3	709.8	398.5
June 1954	343.2	441.0	355.6	378.7	647.3	381.6
December 1954	318.0	436.3	347.4	375.1	579.7	367.8
May 1955	276.1	396.4	329.6	374.6	544.6	342.0

The 'Food' group registered a phenomenal climb-down of 31 per cent, while the manufactured commodities, unlike other groups, showed an increase of 3 per cent. The general decline over the entire period was 15 per cent. This depression in prices is accounted for by the "substantial" rise in agricultural as well as industrial output as shown in Table VIII on page 446. The impact of the increased output had been "partially neutralised by the sharp decline in the volume of imports generally, and in particular, of foodgrains[7] and of some industrial raw materials, like raw cotton. The quantity of exports, on the other hand, recorded a slight rise."

The policy of progressive de-control, as recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee was vigorously pursued. The *raison d'etre* of controls was challenged by the business class, particularly, because of the improvement in the supply position. The Government abolished controls and withdrew completely food rationing schemes, although from the point of view of economic policy of planned development these steps were imprudent.

(iv) *June 1955 to March 1956*: The recession in prices during September 1953 and May 1955 was followed by a phase of recovery. In July 1955 the Index Number of Wholesale prices soared to the level of 355.6 as against 342.0 two months earlier. A year hence it went up still higher to 397.9. The price situation thus underwent a remarkable change upward on the eve of the Second Plan. The rise in prices which had started with the dawn of June 1955 was of the nature of a corrective to the "slump" experienced earlier during September 1953 and May 1955. The food group showed the sharpest rise of 30 per cent in prices of all commodities included in the group.

This change in the trend was promoted by:

(*a*) the lower output of cereals in 1954-55 (See Table VIII):

(*b*) the increased exports of some industrial raw material during 1955-56:

(*c*) the "psychological depression" caused by unfavourable natural forces;

(*d*) the inventory build-up in anticipation of the accelerated industrial development:

(*e*) the expansion in consumption standards due to the increase in purchasing power; and

(*f*) the expansion in money supply necessitated during the year 1955-56 by the developmental schemes provided for in the First Plan.

Price policy: The rising trend of prices shifted the Governmen's policy from anti-deflation to anti-inflation. To achieve that end the Government adopted the under-mentioned measures:

1. Imposed restriction on exports of foodgrains, particularly jowar, maize, pulses, etc.

2. Government stocks of foodgrains were released for sale to the public at fair price shops.

7. Food imports in 1955 amounted to 7 lakh tons as against 47 lakh tons in 1951.

8. Mr. A. C. Guha said in reply to a question in Parliament that the recent rise in prices of food, cloth and other consumers goods may not all be due to deficit financing. The main reasons for the increase are the somewhat smaller production of foodgrains particularly of coarse grains and the increased tempo of developmental expenditure in the country. Speculative trading is also somewhat responsible for the rise in prices of foodstuffs. (Quoted in *Commerce*, dated August 25, 1956, p. 382).

3. Government decided to have imported food as heretofore. Burma agreed to supply 2 million tons of rice over a period of five years commencing from June 1, 1956. India became a member of the New International Wheat Agreement tenable for 3 years from August 1, 1956. The United States of America also agreed to give India foodgrains worth Rs. 175 crores over the Five-Year Plan period, 1956-61.

4. On May 17, 1956, the Reserve Bank of India gave an injunction to all the scheduled banks not to make advances for speculative purposes, especially against commodities, *e.g.*, rice and paddy.

5. The international factors also helped sustain the boomish tendencies in our country. According to the Reserve Bank of India:

"The year 1955-56 was one of the most prosperous the world has enjoyed with all-round expansion in production, particularly industrial production, investment and personal consumption, associated with a worldwide boom of unique pattern and unequalled proportions. Unlike some earlier booms, the present boom is marked by an unusual rate of growth of consumption and investment relatively to resources. It was a year, therefore, of mounting inflationary pressures in many countries of the world, which led to the further and frequent use of monetary weapons."

III. Post-First Plan Period

The Second Five-year Plan, which came into operation about six months ago, had to trudge its way through the travails of the price-spiral even in its early part of the long, and perhaps, arduous, journey. Since April, 1951, the prices have been soaring higher and higher as indicated below:

TABLE XI

Period	Food articles	Industrial raw materials	Semi-manufactures	Manufactured articles	Miscellaneous	General index number
(Weightage)	(31)	(18)	(17)	(30)	(4)	(100)
April 1956	360.9	472.8	377.0	375.6	496.7	351.2
May 1956	350.5	478.0	384.1	376.8	501.8	390.2
June 1956	366.2	479.4	391.8	377.6	518.6	397.9
July 1956	380.3	492.1	395.3	385.7	560.4	409.2
August 1956	397.0	500.5	406.4	387.7	656.3	418.5
September 1956	....	....	....	....	....	419.8

Source: *Weekly Commerce*, 1956 and *Ambala Tribune*, dated 22.9.56, page 7, column 3.

It is demonstrably evident that the prices are mounting[9] up. The rise during the last two months (August and September, 1956) has steadied at a level which is reminiscent of the Korean boom. The steady pace is due to the stern policy adopted by the Government to keep the inflationary potential in check. That the Government is very anxious to control effectively the domestic price-level is amply clear from that fact that the Government is considering the question of re-imposing certain "strategic controls," according to a recent statement made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister.

Controls Needed: The controls have become an imperative necessity of planned development of our economy cannot be gainsaid. It is high time that they are re-introduced as early as possible or desirable. Otherwise, the much-accursed deficit financing during the Second Plan period will impinge upon the prices lowering the already low standard of living. It has been estimated that the contemplated volume of 'created money' during the next five years would double the existing price level and halve the living standards. Poverty will thus accentuate and 'economic anarchy' will take the place of the 'economic order.' Hence, the need for controls.

Prof. C. N. Vakil, one of the leading Indian economists, has expressed the opinion in one of his articles :[10]

"In the case of under-developed economies, fiscal and monetary weapons are relatively powerless by themselves to keep the inflationary potential under check. There will have to be of necessity a resort to direct controls including procurement and rationing."

Prices and Deficit Financing

A word may here be said about deficit financing because it will have a direct and serious repercussion on the pattern and tempo of prices. Some economists like Mr. B. R. Shenoy and Mr. K. C. Neogy, Member, Planning Commission, have assailed deficit financing as a "dangerous measure" to finance the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that 'created money' has the seed of inflation in its womb, but we must remember that "the orthodox methods of finance will not industrialize India within a reasonable period of time. For rapid industrialization we must have unorthodox methods. We may choose one form of created money or another, but from created money itself there is no escape."[11]

If, therefore, deficit financing or "pre-financing of output" is the only way (or let us say a necessary evil) to bring about planning, and through it economic emancipation, we should be out for it, whatever the price. For no price is too great for the liquidation of poverty rampant in India. We now stand committed to planning and planning without tears is impossible.

Again, if we were to compare our "inflationary" prices with that of Germany (where the purchasing power of the German Mark in December, 1923, sank to 1/162,000,000,000 of what it was in 1913) we find that all our fears about inflation are but fantasies. We, therefore, feel convinced that even if the country were 'soaked with paper currency up to the saturation point' our Plan cannot be wrecked, provided effective and timely controls are introduced.

Since physical or strategic controls will not alone help mitigate the crisis the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 has recently been further amended to invest the Bank with monetary and fiscal powers in order to keep the inflationary potential in check. The "armoury of instruments of credit control" has been strengthened by giving the Bank the power to vary the statutory cash reserves kept by the Scheduled Banks with the former. This flexible cash reserve will help check multiple credit expansion by banks. Similarly, the Reserve Bank is empowered to extend financial accommodation for industrial, agricultural and trade purposes and help thereby increased production.

Prices and Monetary Supply

Inflation is commonly conceived as a phenomenon resulting from "too much money following too few goods." In order, therefore, to formulate a price policy immediately applicable to India it is necessary to study the causal relationship, if any, between monetary supply and prices in the country.

We may recall in this connection Prof. Irving Fisher's Quantity Theory of Money, according to which if the quantity of money is doubled, prices will be twice as high as before, other things being equal. Similarly, if the money supply is halved, the prices will be one-half of what they were before, if other things remain unaltered. It would be interesting to study the validity of this doctrine with reference to India.

Money supply, as computed by the Reserve Bank of India, is taken to be the sum-total of the currency plus deposit money with the public.

Table XII gives an idea of the money-price relation:

See Table XII

It will be apparent from the percentage variations in money supply and the Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices that there is no precise and mathematical causal relationship as the Fisherine Quantity Theory would have us believe. In 1951-52, while the "Notes in circulation" and the "Money supply" registered a contraction of 8.9 and 7.2 per cent respectively, the General Index Number showed an upward trend. Similarly, while the "Money supply" increased considerably during 1954-55 and 1955-56 (by 7.1 and 13.7 per cent respectively), the price level declined.

This deviation in the money-price relationship was noticed in the case of certain Commonwealth countries, *e.g.*, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as shown below:

Country	Percentage rise in money supply	Percentage rise in price indices
U. K.	1.5	13.5
South Africa	1.1	19.3
New Zealand	3.9	18.4
Australia	14.4	21.0
France	17.8	25.9
Mexico	13.6	19.4
U. S. A.	5.9	1.9

9. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Delhi School of Economics, discounted the feeling common in certain circles that inflation was already with us and said that it was a mistake to synonymize rising prices with inflationary conditions. (*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 18.10.56, page 5, column 1).

10. "Deficit Financing—II, Future Prospects," *Times of India*, April 17, 1956, p. 11, col. 3.

11. Prof. Brij Narain's *Economic Problems—Pre-War, War and Post-War*, Vol. II, pp. 200-201, 1944 Edition.

TABLE XII

Year	Notes in circulation	Money supply with the public	Index number of wholesale prices (Base: Year ended August 1939—100)	Percentage variations [Rise (+), Fall (−)] of each successive year in Notes	Money supply	Index number
	Rs. crores	Rs. crores				
1947-48	1304.36	2236.73	308.2	....	....	....
1948-49	....	....	376.2	....	....	+22.1
1949-50	1120.35	1865.26	385.4	....	....	+ 2.4
1950-51	1238.60	1979.49	409.7	+10.5	+ 6.1	+ 6.8
1951-52	1128.29	1803.79	434.6	− 8.9	− 7.2	+ 6.1
1952-53	1119.06	1764.71	380.6	− 0.8	− 2.2	−12.4
1953-54	1150.17	1793.97	397.5	+ 2.8	+ 1.7	+ 4.4
1954-55	1236.44	1920.63	377.5	+ 7.5	+ 7.1	− 5.0
1955-56	1424.23	2184.31	360.4	+15.2	+13.7	− 5.1

The above data show that the percentage variation in the price indices is more than the proportionate change in the money supply in the case of the countries listed against items 1 to 6. But in the case of U.S.A. it is just the reverse.

In the case of India the inapplicability of the Fisherine Theory may be explained by the fact that the velocity of circulation of money, which is an important determinant of the effective money supply, is not considered. That is so not because that factor is insignificant but because the information on that point is inadequate. It follows that we cannot calculate the required volume of money to bring about a given price-level. This is an added reason to supplement the monetary and fiscal measures with other "economic and physical controls" for stabilising prices at a given level.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the price trends in our country, since the dawn of Independence, have followed a zig-zag path. Before the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan the price-line has, for the major part, been moving upward, during the Plan period it has been downward and after the Plan again upward. Graphically speaking, the prices have a double 'W'-shape. The ups and downs have made far-reaching influences on the economy of our country. But what is, indeed, tragic is that our Government has been following a slip-shod price policy. The policy of 'control, de-control and re-control' has been the rule. Even now, when the financial demands of the Second Five-Year Plan are pressing seriously against the limited resources, and deficit financing is in the offing, the Government authorities are fighting shy of setting forth a firm price policy in the context of perspective planning. It is needless to emphasize that controls have to play positive functions in our planned economy so as to safeguard the minimum consumption standards of the poorer classes and to prevent excessive or ostentatious consumption by the well-to-do. Prediction about price trends at any stage of development is difficult and therefore our Government will have to be ever vigilant about prices and planning making adjustments in the price policy so as to catch up with the dynamic forces, political, seasonal and international. Only a comprehensive price plan, both long-term and short-term, can help resolve the complex forces governing the price-mechanism.

OUR HISTORIAN : SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

BY PROF. DHARMA BHANU, M.A., PH.D.

WHENEVER I think of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I am automatically reminded of the year 1934. That year Sir Jadunath was very kind to be our guest. He had declined the invitation of the Maharana of Udaipur to be the State guest, as one of his disciples, Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, was then at Udaipur and had requested the Gibbon of India to stay with him during his sojourn in Udaipur. I had heard the name of Sir Jadunath from my father when I was very young, and I still remember that I used to chant the names of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Sri Rakhaldas Banerji little knowing at that time the significance of Sarkar's works or about Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization.

I remember still that we had a big house at Udaipur and the first floor and the central wing of the ground floor of our house was vacated for the stay of our honoured guests. I cannot exactly tell the number of days Sir Jadunath and his party put up with us, but I do not err when I say that an unusually large number of visitors came to see him and have his *darshan*. The special arrangements made for his stay had created a little of dread in us —we very young children—and none of us dared to go alone to the first floor of the house so long as Sir Jadunath, Lady Sarkar and Miss Rama Sarkar were there. Not being even a dozen years old in 1934, my recollections of that occasion are faint indeed. However, this much is certain that in spite of the fear and distance at that young age I could never have realized that our guest was so great a person as he really happened to be, and as I regard him today. At that time I took him for an ordinary grey-haired historian—one like the many guests who normally visited my father from time to time. Since then he visited us many times; that was his first visit. I had the privilege of working in Sir Jadunath's library during May, June and July, 1952.

II

Jadunath Sarkar was born on December 10, 1870, in a rich Kayastha family of East Bengal. His father Sri Raj Kumar Sarkar was an enlightened, though conservative, zamindar of Karachmaria in the interior of the Rajshahi district. The old gentleman was fond of reading and had collected a good number of books in his private library. It was this library which served as the source of inspiration and preparing ground for young Jadunath and his brothers. Our historian received his early education at the headquarters of his district. After matriculation he joined Presidency College, Calcutta, and secured from there a double Honours course Degree in English and History in March 1891. He also obtained a scholarship of Rs. 50 per month. In December, 1892, he took his M.A. Degree in English Literature and stood first in order of merit, obtaining a First Class and breaking all previous records.

As a student, Jadunath Sarkar took regular interest in the extra-curricular activities of his College. He was a good player of Football and also a member of the College team. Interest in games, specially Football, remained with him for a considerably long time, and in 1922 he acted as a Referee in the Football matches at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

Sri Jadunath Sarkar was appointed to the Lecturership in English at Ripon College, Calcutta, in July 1893, and he was a success from his first day when he faced the B.A. Final class consisting of students far senior to him in age. While serving at the Metropolitan Institution (Vidyasagar College), Calcutta, the young professor of English won in 1897 the coveted Premchand Roychand Scholarship of Rs. 10,000. Next year in June he joined the Provincial Educational Service as Professor of English and was posted at Presidency College, Calcutta. After many a change he was finally transferred to Patna College, Patna, in January 1902 (Bengal was divided in 1905), first as the Professor of English and later he was shifted to the Headship of the History Department.

Patna was the venue of his literary activities from January 1902 to August 1917. Patna provided the young scholar the time and facilities

for the preparation of his later work. It was at Patna that he created a position for himself in the academic world. While at this seat of learning he began the monumental work that he has done on the history of the Mughals and the Marathas. His life at Patna was very reserved, and he was derisively called an unsocial person. But the time others spent in gossip and loitering, this youngman was spending as usefully as he could. He tried to make the best use of every minute. He himself writes of these fifteen years at Patna that "no gentleman twice crossed my threshold" except his life-long friend Mathura Babu or Mathura Prasad Sinha, an advocate there.

When the Banaras Hindu University was established, Professor Jadunath Sarkar was offered the Chair of History, which he accepted and joined in August 1917. He was expected to build up the teaching and research Department of History at Banaras. The Professor did the work successfully and nourished the infant Department for two years. His own studies in Mughal and Maratha History continued uninterrupted.

In July 1919 the historian was admitted to the Indian Educational Service and posted as Professor of English and History at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. His only friend at this place was another great man of his day, Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi. The historian, who had earned name and reputation due to his labours all these years, was as reserved at Banaras and Cuttack as he was at Patna.

The election to the Honorary Membership of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain is considered a great honour and a recognition of one's services to the cause of learning and scholarship. This honour was conferred upon Professor Jadunath Sarkar in April 1923. Within a few months of this the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal in July 1923.

The historian was finally transferred to Patna College as Professor of History in October 1923, and he enjoyed his work till his retirement in 1926. He had come back to the place from where he had earned name and fame as a real scholar of History. In 1926 he was made a C.I.E., and retired in August the same year, laden with honours.

The Calcutta University hastened to requisition his valued services immediately and called him as its Vice-Chancellor. This job Professor Sarkar held for two years—1926-28, and during this period of two years he tried to clean the Augean stables of the University which was notorious for some types of corruptions and mal-practices. He was so serious and sincere in his duties that many a time he came into conflict with the people and the party in power. But he did not bend or accept corruption in the administration of the University. Finally the old Professor of History settled at the hill station of Darjeeling, which had been his favourite resort all along.

Honours came to the historian in quick succession one after the other. The greatest honour came in June 1929, when the Knighthood was conferred upon him in recognition and appreciation of his services to the cause of education in general and research and history in particular. The Dacca University felt honoured by conferring upon him an *Honoris Causa* D.Litt. Degree in 1936, and in 1944, the Patna University decided to snatch a similar opportunity and privilege.

III

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen among the historians of our country, has produced the largest number of research publications of great merit. His work is unbeaten both in its scope and volume, as in accuracy and the depth of vision. Born in 1870, Sir Jadunath has given sixty precious years of his life to the reconstructon and re-writing of the Mughal and Maratha history. During this period of work and toil he has written over a dozen and a half volumes of authoritative research of immense value and edited about half a dozen books and historical documents.

The first work of historical research and study published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was *India of Aurangzeb : Topography, Statistics and Roads,* which came out in 1901 when the author was 31 years old. From that time he engrossed himself in his monumental and immortal five-volume work on the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Another early work, published in 1904, was *A Life of Chaitanya,* the greatest of the Bhakti saints of Bengal (1485-1533) who converted practically the whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa

and Assam to his ideology and was popular as far as Vrindavan. The work was a translation of the Bengali book of Kaviraja Krishnadas, and was a flicker of religion the historian has inherited from his father. It is still considered to be one of the best biographies of the saint. The Professor's third love—Economics—obtained her share in his third book *Economics of British India* in 1909. This book remained a popular text-book for about a quarter of a century.

Sir Jadunath wanted to keep abreast of all progress in his three favourite subjects, English, History and Economics. He tried to achieve this for some time. But at last he had to give up Economics and then English also, as it was becoming more and more difficult to retain touch with the latest researches in the three vast branches of knowledge.

While at Patna, the historian published the first two volumes of his five-volume *History of Aurangzib,* in 1912. Volume I opens with the reign of Shah Jahan, and traces the early life of Aurangzeb as a Prince, his education and training and then goes on to describe the two periods of his Viceroyalty in the Mughal Deccan. It closes with the illness of Shah Jahan in 1657 and the preparations for the War of Succession among his four ambitious sons, each the master of a different character. Volume II is a study of the War of Succession and gives an account of the miserable and pathetic end of the three sons of Shah Jahan—Dara, Suja and Murad—and ultimately the enthronment of Aurangzeb, the new Emperor, in 1659.

Along with the two volumes on Aurangzeb was published in 1912 a companion volume *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays.* It is the English translation of the Persian work entitled *Akham-i-Alamgiri* written by Himad-ud-din Khan Nimcha. It contains many anecdotes of the Emperor and some studies.

Aurangzeb loomed on the horizon of the studies of Professor Jadunath Sarkar both at Patna and Banaras, and Volumes III and IV were written at this period. Volume III dealt with the early years of the reign of this puritan, the death of Shah Jahan in the prison in January, 1666, the Hindu reaction to his fanatical policy and the attempt to establish an ideal Islamic State in the Empire. It also gives an account of the Rajput War and the ultimate rebellion of his son, Prince Akbar. Volume IV has details about the rise of the Marathas, the history of the Shia Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkunda and their ultimate conquest by the Emperor, his wars in Maharashtra, the capture and execution of Shambhaji and the accession of Raja Ram.

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy and his activities in the South led the historian to study Maratha History and the result was the still-unsurpassed *Shivaji and His Times.* It is a detailed and impartial study and was based on Persian, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese and English records. Shivaji's services to his people in Maharashtra and to his country were assessed by Sir Jadunath. Shivaji, according to Sarkar, had the courage to challenge many enemies of his at one time and rebel against the Sultan of Bijapur and the Mughal Emperor "and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders of war . . . He founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments . . . He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies . . . He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. . . ."

Volumes III and IV of *Aurangzib* and *Shivaji* were completed by their author before he left Banaras in 1919 and became an I.E.S. The same year was published *Studies in Mughal India*—a collection of 22 essays on various topics related to the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. There are essays on the history of the Taj Mahal, the wealth of India in Mughal times, Art, Education and Revenue system under the later Grand Mughals and finally a chapter on the *firangi* pirates of Chittagong.

A later publication on Maratha History, *The House of Shivaji,* contains some stray studies of Maratha history and documents. The heroes dealt with are Shahji Bhonsle, Shivaji and Shambhaji. The book also contains biographies of four Maratha pioneers of historical research, namely, Kashinath Narayan Sane, Vishwanath Rajwade, Dattatraya Parsnis and Vasudeva Vamanshastri Kane.

During his study of Maratha History, the aim of Sir Jadunath was that truth must override prejudice and false sense of prestige, that

science must demolish myth and romance. He has evaluated the work of Shivaji and his successors from all points of view, not on the basis of what Elphinstone wrote to Grant Duff as "gossipping *bakhars* and gasconading *tawarikhs*," but by the use of the French and Portuguese manuscript sources from Paris and Goa, official Mughal histories like *Alamgir Nama* and the *Akhbarats*, personal *Memoirs* of Bhimsen and the letters of Jai Singh, the skeleton Marathi chronicles like the *Jedhe Sakhavali*, the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, the *91 Qalmi Bakhar*, the account-books of Chhatrapati Shahu in the Peshwa's Daftar, etc., besides the more common works of Khafi Khan and Chitnis used by earlier writers like Grant Duff, Rawlinson and others.

The progress of the *History of Aurangzib* was interrupted at this time, for Sir Jadunath was entrusted with the stupendous task of bringing to completion and editing of the *Later Mughals* which was planned in two volumes and written mostly by Sir William Irvine but which he could not finalize and prepare for the press due to his sudden death. Sarkar was, therefore, compelled to divert his studies to the original sources of Irvine, revise the work and complete it by writing the chapters relating to the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. These volumes were published in 1922 and cover the history of our country from 1707 to 1739. They also include chapters dealing with provincial affairs, specially about the Sikhs, the Jats and the Bundelas.

Volume V of his work on Aurangzeb was published in 1924. It covered the last phase of the life of that puritan Emperor, and gives the account of his futile campaign in the Karnatak, the Konkan and other parts of South India. It also contains a chapter on the settlements of the English traders at Surat down to the embassy of Sir William Norris. The final chapters are devoted to the provincial histories and also the condition of the people during the past fifty years along with a brief survey of the administrative machinery of the empire.

Later, the whole work was abridged under the title of *A Short History of Aurangzib* and published in 1930.

Meanwhile, a number of by-product books were published on the different aspects of Mughal History which supplemented the main work on the *History of Aurangzib* and the *Later Mughals* and provided an insight into the administration of the country, the life and conditions of the people, etc. *Mughal Administration*, published in 1920, was a valuable contribution to the study of the Government and the administrative machinery of the Mughals, the Government at the centre and the various ministers, the Provincial Government, the condition of the peasantry, the economic and industrial development under the Mughals, the causes of their downfall and finally the legacy of the Mughals to the posterity. *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, published in 1924, is a subsidiary collection of eighteen essays on different aspects of the life of that ruler and the country under him. *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* as an independent work was published in 1925 and is a translation of the *Akham-i-Alamgiri*. In it are collected 72 anecdotes of Aurangzeb which reveal many unknown traits of the Emperor's character, his sayings and his principles of Government along with his attitude on life.

From all these works the portrait of the Emperor comes out vivid and clear. "Free from vice, stupidity and sloth," which were the usual weaknesses of all people in medieval times who were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, Aurangzeb was intellectually sharp and keen, had patience and perseverence in abundance, believed in unfailing industry and exertion and devoting full attention to public affairs and administration. He was a great diplomat, was a fine commander, and had zest and ardour for his duties. But the result of his fifty-year rule was a failure, chaos and confusion and the weakening of the Empire of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In fact, as Sarkar has put it, Aurangzeb was struggling against "invisible and inexorable fate." This estimate of the ageing emperor of a decaying empire is really remarkable and a historian of Sir Jadunath's stature alone can reach the imagination it deserves.

In 1928, Sir Jadunath delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University and the book *India Through the Ages* was published in 1929. It comprises six lectures and is a swift and masterly survey of the growth of Indian life and thought from the Vedic Age to the present day.

Between 1930 and 1950, the historian was actively engaged in planning and writing his monumental *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in four volumes. Sarkar decided to take up this work while he was editing Irvine's *Later Mughals*. The sources for this work were drawn from Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit—so voluminous and difficult to digest. Dr. Sarkar knew that the venture could not result in a "spectacle calculated to elevate the human mind or warm the human bosom," but he was sure that when completely worked out, the sad story of the downfall of the Mughals would serve as "the deepest instruction for the present." It was the "story of headlong decay of the age-old Moslem rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas" that he took up for his most mature study.

Volume I picks up the thread of history from the return of Nadir Shah and brings it down to 1754. Volume II gives an account of the Afghan-Maratha contest for supremacy in Northern India, and brings the history of the Mughals up to Shah Alam. It deals also with the rise of the Jats up to 1768 and the fresh developments among the Sikhs. The best of the performances is the account of the Third Battle of Panipat, which can compare with any standard military history. Volume III (1772-1780) is mostly a history of the Maratha domination at Delhi and the activities of Mahadji Sindhia. The fall of the Jats is given its due share. Volume IV brings the curtain of the Mughal rule down with the battle of Assaye (1803) and we find the blind old 'emperor' on the 'throne' of Akbar and Aurangzeb who accepted to become a pensioner of the British without demur.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar also edited during these years Volume II of the *History of Bengal* which was published in three volumes by the University of Dacca. Planning, guiding the workers and editing the work of the contributors and writing over 200 pages himself—this was what he did for this history. The history of Medieval Bengal has rightly been called a one-man's show. Later, he edited Volume II and Volume III of Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* for the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, while the Bombay Government entrusted him with the editing work of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* in collaboration with his life-long friend Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai. For the past few years the veteran has been busy on his latest work on the *Military History of India*. Many chapters of this work have been published in the Sunday Magazine section of the *Hindustan Standard*.

IV

Sir Jadunath Sarkar is an ideal historian. A great scholar and the master of his pen, he is the father of the modern Indian School of Scientific History, documented, accurate and matter-of-fact. He is the model for all real worshippers of the goddess Saraswati, the students of History in particular.

In him we find all the qualities, qualifications and equipments that a historian must possess. Besides having an historical imagination, a penetrating intellect and understanding and a flawless style, he is a linguist and knows Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese, and has tapped sources in all these languages for his researches. Above all, he has burnt the mid-night oil in the actual sense of the term, and has never wasted a moment.

When Sir Jadunath began his historical researches about sixty years ago, he found the ocean of History uncharted, the *apparatus criticus* outmoded and primitive, the ship not strong enough to weather the storm and stand the long journey on the high seas and the sailors and crew untrained and lacking experience. He had to attempt the huge task of reconstructing all this single-handed. His hunt for contemporary manuscript sources could well be compared with that of the Italian giant Niccolai Niccoli during the Renaissance period in Europe or to that of Ranke among the archives of European countries while writing his *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Peoples* (1494-1515). Of course, Dr. Sarkar was helped in his hunt for the contemporary sources by European scholars like Sir William Irvine, H. H. Wilson, Sir Edward Gait, and Sir George Forrest, and by Indian scholars like Rao Bahadur Sardesai, but their aid came only after our historian had already made a name for himself in the scholarly world. In the beginning he had to work alone and exert his resources in bringing to light the hundreds of documents never

used before and buried deep in obscurity and forgotten, lying in private custody of the old important families or in public record rooms. In this search no effort was spared, no expenses grudged and all available resources tapped. He agreed with Ranke when that great historian and favourite of Sarkar warned all students of History that History depends "on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents" and that they should use even contemporary writings with caution "except where they (authors) possessed original knowledge." Sir Jadunath made these his guiding words.

The beginning of material collection was made at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and then the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library at Patna was tapped. Later on manuscript sources in the possession of practically all Indian State Libraries and personal properties of rulers were collected. These sources were not accessible to researchers and writers so far, and the story of their discovery is a long one. Private papers, records and Persian manuscripts in the Rampur ruler's library were procured through the agency of Sir Edward Gait, then in England, who wrote to a British Commissioner in the U.P., the latter received as present from the Nawab, the records beautifully copied out and bound in leather; the transcript of the manuscripts was first sent to Sir Edward who forwarded it to Sir Jadunath! Shia agents were employed for getting access to the manuscripts in the library of Sir Salar Jang at Haiderabad. The news-letters and other records and *Akhbarats* in the Pothikhana and the private library of the rulers of Jaipur were acquired, again, through the agency of British officers and scholars. The old Maratha families do not allow any one to peep into their family records, much less help a scholar in reading and copying them. For this our historian had to go about in the disguise of an orthodox Brahman in *dhoti* and *chadar* and a *tilak* on his forehead, from place to place and copy out relevant portions. These labours produced a great result. No library either in India or abroad is as rich in original historical documents and manuscript papers relating to Mughal India as the library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. No research on the later Mughal history or the early British Indian History is possible without consulting the library of Sir Jadunath.

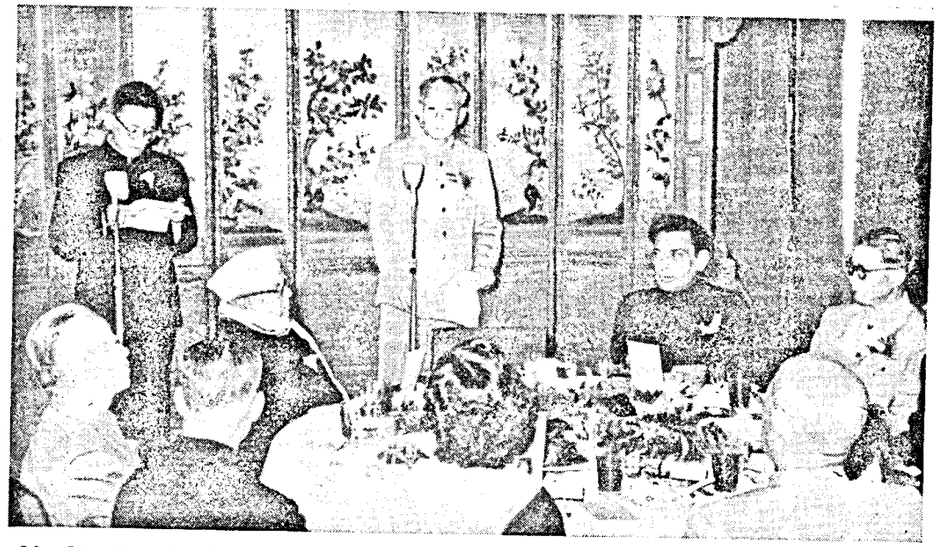
With the great search for materials over, the historian studied the evidence critically, collated, sifted and edited them and ultimately revolutionized the study of history in our country and our approach to the subject. Khafi Khan, Sayyid Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-ul-Matakherin,* Elliot and Dowson, all gave place to the contemporary authorities—*Alamgir Nama, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Adab-i-Alamgiri, Insha-i-Haft Anjuman* and the *Akhbarat* of newsletters. Provincial records were also tapped for the purpose—the Ahom *Buranjis,* the Marathi *Bakhars,* the Rajasthani and Gurmukhi chronicles. The records of the European traders, the British Factory records, the French Factory records, the Jesuit letters, the Dutch and Portuguese accounts—all were given due weight of authority that they deserved.

Besides the above search in India, a hunt was made abroad and material was collected from the British Museum, the India Office Library, the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London; the Bodleian, Oxford; the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; the Royal Library, Berlin; etc.

Sir Jadunath is thorough in all his work and does not leave any aspect of his subject undiscussed. He discussed them from every angle of vision and takes into consideration all the circumstances and the different interests acting and counter-acting. Thus we get from him a comprehensive work, encyclopaedic in nature and volume. It is never half done.

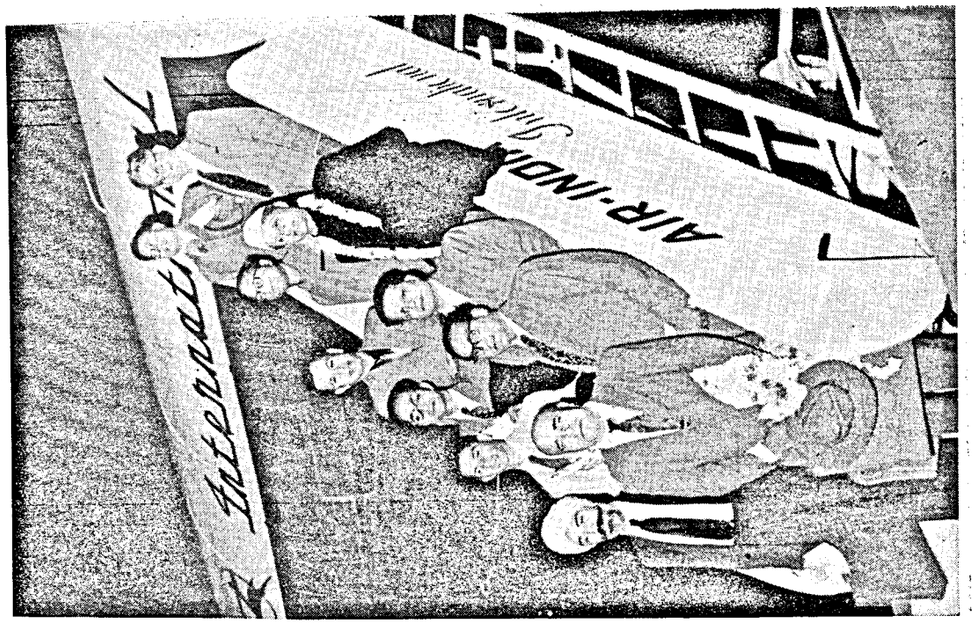
Impartiality is the first necessary qualification of a true historian. A historian has to play the role of a judge and not that of a lawyer or an advocate. Sir Jadunath is superb in this. To him all actors on the historical stage are equal—Hindus and Muslims, Indians and foreigners, Northerners and Southerners. Above all, the master craftsman of History does not allow his sentiments to affect his reasoning and judgment. With him truth alone must triumph, it must over-ride all prejudices. Science must give place to romance and myth. In this mission of his he is not afraid of hurting the sentiments of others.

Sir Jadunath never makes generalizations, for he does not believe in immature outbursts or slogans. Rather, he goes to the very bottom of the problem and discusses it thread-bare. That he is fond of detail, no one can doubt.

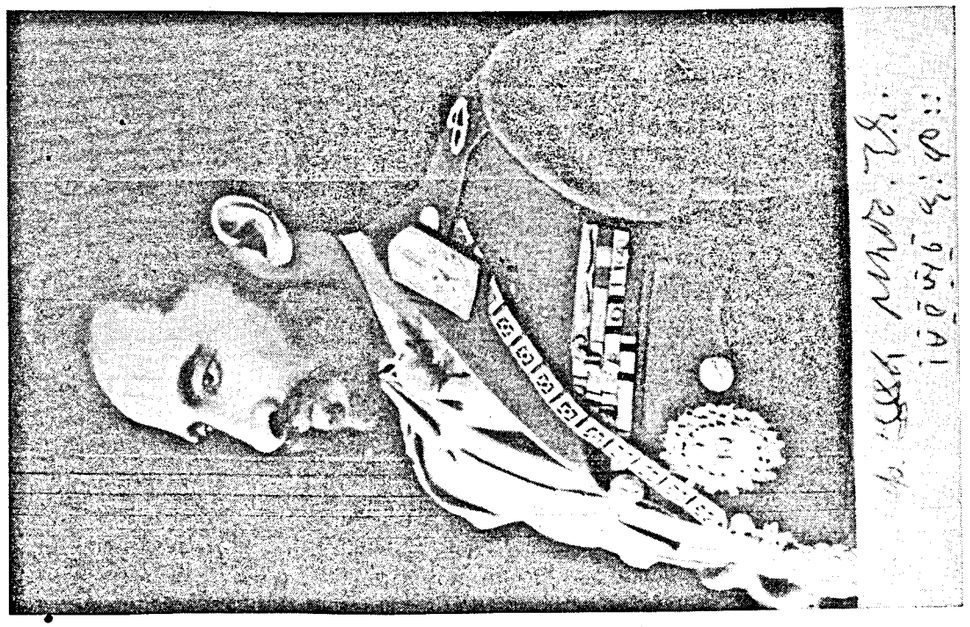


Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China, gave a banquet in honour of the Indian Parliamentary Mission at Peking recently

Dr. Jose Maza, President of the General Assembly of the U.N. (*third from right*), met Sri V. T. Krishnamachari, Dy. Chairman and other members of the Planning Commission in New Delhi



A Delegation of 11 Indian librarians left New Delhi on September 29, on a study tour of the U.S.A.



His Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia

Details are the very soul of all History. In all his works we find a meticulous search for details and facts. Perfection in topography, chronology and facts has been the life-long goal of the historian.

The great historian dislikes ambiguous style and high-sounding, bombastic words. He prefers a clear, direct, simple and yet expressive and effective style. Though he started as a Professor of English, he rose above the temptation of a flowery style, for none knows better than Sir Jadunath that History is not poetry as some little fry labour to make it. History is both a literary piece and a work of scientific enquiry. It has dual masters: Science and Literature, reason and imagination. Sir Jadunath holds a balance between the two. He approaches his subject with the cool calculating head of scientists and the style and expression of literati.

It is to the credit of Dr. Sarkar that though he studied minutely the life and work of great men like Aurangzeb, Shivaji, Mahadji Sindia and other planets of Indian History, never did he lose his balance and praise or condemn a historical personality more than what he really deserved. Authors like Carlyle while writing about Frederick the Great and Macaulay while writing about William III could not hold their feet, but Sarkar achieved the high ideal he had set before him sixty years ago.

One may well say of Sir Jadunath Sarkar what Gooch wrote about Ranke:

"When he began to write, historians of high repute believed 'memoirs' and chronicles to be the best authorities. When he laid down his pen, every scholar with a reputation to make or to lose had learned to content himself with nothing less than the papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and those in immediate contact with the events they describe."

Our history and historical research in our country underwent a revolution under the guidance of Sir Jadunath. He perfected the machinery of research and set the standard for our scholars to follow and emulate. He trained and inspired many workers who are engaged today in discovering and processing from the archives the old records and stray finds of historical material, and producing on their basis readable and impartial, and as far as possible, accurate history of our country. Sir Jadunath has already become a tradition in the field of historical research and study. He is an institution in himself. It is in the fitness of things that we pay our humble homage to the father of modern scientific school of historical research in our country on his birthday, which falls on December 10, and pray for a long life for him, so that the younger generation of research workers in History may derive inspiration from his life and work.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE U.N. CHARTER

By M. N. CHATTERJI, M.A.

When it took its birth at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, the United Nations Organisation was taken to be heralding the birth of a new era—the era of peace and prosperity after the unimaginable ravages and destruction that the Second World War brought upon the world. Naturally the sponsoring powers took great care to see that the organisation is made safe from the weaknesses from which the League of Nations suffered. The setting up of a separate organisation—the Security Council—to look after the maintenance of collective peace and security and the conferring of 'veto' power on the five permanent members were some of the novel methods of the new organisation and in effect went to demonstrate the sincere efforts of sponsoring nations to make the world body stable and lasting.

Ironically enough man's efforts to live in peace and amity had been challenged from time immemorial by his fellow human beings. The League of Nations was born and killed at the hands of men. Talking of recent developments one may perhaps say that the warning to the future of peace was given by the Atom Bomb that blasted Hiroshima which in one way may be said to have brought the end of the calamity that overtook the world. The very possession of the weapon perhaps made a mockery of the efforts of the nations made at San Francisco to build up the world organisation.

The experience of the last ten years during which the U.N.O. had been working demonstrates unmistakably which way the world is heading. Instead of coming closer, the very Powers who crossed their hearts for keeping their friendship everlasting are more and more drifting apart. Conflicting ideologies are clashing against each other to spread spheres of influence. The principles of reason, faith, tolerance and justice on which the UN Charter based itself were repudiated times without number to justify the supremacy of the one or the other Power bloc. The culmination of this maddening spirit of the one to live on the destruction of the other has been the ominous experiments in nuclear weapons. This itself has sounded the death-knell of any hope for mankind, of any effort to live in peace, unless the race is stopped. Against such a background the need of a rethinking about the role of the U.N.O. —its efficacy to face the challenge of the new forces—is obvious. To fulfil that need it is necessary to consider the question of improvement on the U.N. Charter.

II

Any organisation dealing with groups of human beings—as the U.N.O. evidently does —can hardly be expected to be a static one. It has to adjust itself according to the character and behaviour of those human beings. Therefore, it should surprise no one if the U.N.O. needed some change after ten years of working. Possibility of changes was visualised even at the beginning and that was the reason why Article 109 was incorporated in the Charter. Even at the foundation conference at San Francisco some changes were foreseen when the great majority of the smaller States opposed the extraordinary privileges given to the Big Five. However, revision or amendment of the Charter having been itself a subject of 'veto' and at least one of the permanent members being consistently opposed to it, consideration for amendment would only be a matter of academic discourse.

III

Membership

Till the 'package deal' admission of sixteen new members at the tenth session of the General Assembly, the most vociferous demand has been for amendment to Article 4 which determines the question of membership. Although the edge of that argument is now lost, the exclusion of big States like Japan, Germany, Austria and some of the other smaller States does not give the U.N.O. that inclusiveness that it should have to create the psychological atmosphere necessary for the furtherance of world peace. To

achieve the purpose the United States has long been suggesting elimination of 'veto' on the question of membership. Since this can hardly be expected to win the approval of the Soviet Union, a way might be found by spelling out more precisely the qualifications for membership and establishing definite tests by which the qualifications could be judged on a more objective basis. Something in the line was attempted when the General Assembly in a resolution in February 1952 expressed that the determination of the qualification of applicant States should be based on facts such as the maintenance of friendly relations with other States, the fulfilment of international obligations and the record of a State's willingness and present disposition to submit international claims or controversies to pacific means of settlement established by international law.

Representation

Since the emergence of the Communist China, the issue of representation has assumed great significance. In spite of her government being recognised by a number of countries including Great Britain, Communist China's non-representation in the U.N.O. has proved to be a great lapse of the world organisation. The U.N. Charter, however, does not make any provision for determining the representation of any member country. The matter is handled independently in each organ or subsidiary body of the U.N. Nevertheless the question was discussed in 1950 and the General Assembly in a resolution on December 14, 1950 resolved that

> "Whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a Member State in the U.N. . . . the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case."

It is plain that the resolution is as vague as can be possible. The fact, however, remains that the U.N. does not possess any authority to recognise a new State or a new Government of an existing State. This has created an anomalous situation. The importance of China, both for its vastness in area and in population as also influence on world politics, particularly in Asia, can hardly be ignored. Far from being ignored she has already been recognised when in finding out a solution of the Indo-China question a Geneva Conference with her participation had to be organised. This devolves on the part of the U.N. a more positive role in the matter of settling representation when that is under dispute. Recognition of a new State or a new Government of an existing State should come under the purview of the U.N.O. The rule of "collective recognition" by the United Nations as against the unilateral act now in practice should be embodied in the Charter.

Domestic Jurisdiction

A good deal of controversy has also arisen about the competence of the United Nations to intervene in the domestic matters of the member countries. Article 2 (7) of the U.N. Charter debars it from intervening in matters which are "essentially" within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Under cover of this provision, the Union of South Africa has consistently refused to allow the United Nations to discuss the inhuman treatment meted out to the Indian citizens there. In the last session of the General Assembly, France also refused to discuss the question of the self-determination of the people of Algeria and actually staged a walk-out when the question was voted on the agenda. Naturally the provision has been looked upon as a measure to safeguard the interests of the colonialists. Moreover, as we are more and more advancing towards the conception of international community even the smallest individual issue comes under the purview of international organisation. Therefore, the limitation of the United Nations' competence in this regard runs counter to the spirit of the age. As Mr. Kenneth Younger points out :[1]

> "The true difficulty is to say what is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. We have had many instances where unjust treatment of minority has become a matter of international concern and a threat to peace. Must the United Nations keep its hands off all such questions until the threat of an international breach of the peace is immediate ?"

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that such matters only should be deemed as domestic as are declared to be so according to international law. The word "essentially" in Article 2 (7) should be replaced by "according to international law."

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1. "United Nations Charter Review," *India Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2.

Security Council and the Veto

Nothing has raised so much of controversy and emitted so much of heat as the 'veto' power of the permament members of the Security Council. No doubt the provision was inserted because of the inescapable conclusion that international peace and security could be enforced or maintained if only the great Powers assured their sanction behind it. "It was simply the constitutional expression of an inescapable fact of power." Therefore in spite of the great many abuses of the 'veto,' its complete elimination would inevitably lead to the breakdown of the collective security system of the United Nations. But need has been felt for the restriction of its use in some ways. Under the existing rule even the pacific settlement of disputes, that is, the Security Council's power to recommend ways and means to settle disputes peacefully, come under the 'veto' power. Therefore, solution of any dispute before the actual breaking out of hostility—which calls for enforcement action—becomes impossible if the solution does not suit the interest of one or the other permanent member. Hence conciliation or pacific settlement of disputes should be kept out of the 'veto' jurisdiction and the rule of unanimity should be substituted by a simple majority of seven members including not more than three permanent members. At the San Francisco Conference Dr. Evatt aptly described conciliation not as the "power of the Council" but as the "duty" of the Council because he said, "by such means the dispute may be composed and the use of force prevented."

Consideration of the veto power brings in the general question of the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of peace and security. In view of the constant use of the veto power, particularly by the Soviet Union, resort has often been made to regional arrangements like NATO, ANZUS, etc., especially by the United States. This has in effect created less of reliance on the Security Council and more on the General Assembly. The role of the General Assembly has been further strengthened by the 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' in 1950, sponsored by Canada, France, the Phillipines, Turkey, the U.K., Uruguay and the United States. Under that resolution, the General Assembly established machinery by which it could recommend collective measures to maintain international peace and security if the Security Council were blocked by veto.

Since, therefore, some of the force of the veto has been taken away by the above resolution, there should not be much opposition to the permanent members' agreeing to curb its use. They should enter into a convention for the purpose of maintaining the terms on which its use was envisaged at the San Francisco Conference. At that Conference it was declared:

> "It is not to be assumed that the permanent members, any more than the non-permanent members, would use the veto power wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council."

Furthermore, at the San Francisco Conference, the principle behind the measures for peace and security was that peace could not be the monopoly of the Great Powers. Accordingly, provision was made under Article 23(1) for 'equitable geographical distribution' so as to broaden the basis of the Security Council by giving adequate representation to the smaller States. But during the last ten years, all the seats in the Security Council have been distributed among the European and the American States. Africa and Asia have been practically ignored. To set matters right the number of elected members may be increased to enable the Asian and African representations to come in. The addition of at least one more permanent member from the Asian-African bloc is also desirable.

Regionalism and Security

The U. N. Charter permits formation of regional arrangements to strengthen the system of collective security under Articles 52, 53 and 54 under Chapter VIII. The sole responsibility for peace and security, however, remains with the Security Council and the regional organisations function only under the Security Council. Any enforcement action taken by them must have prior sanction of the Security Council. But the provision of the Charter leaves wide scope for discretionary use. Nothing has been said as to whether non-regional States could become members of the regional organisations. In fact, most of the regional organisations are composed of non-regional powers. The nature of such formations seemed to suggest that instead of furthering the cause of security, their sole conception has been to revert back to the old system of balance of power during the League era. Thus in the NATO, non-regional

States like Italy, Greece and Turkey have been included obviously with the intention to check the spread of Soviet sphere of influence in the Mediterranean. Similary the SEATO although professedly a South-East Asian organisation, included Western Powers like Great Britain, France, Netherlands and the U.S.A. Therefore, the regional organisations, as the celebrated Indian author Mr. K. M. Panikkar pointed out,[2] "in matters of security, will become merely another instrument for the effective assertion of the supremacy of the Great Powers." The way these regional arrangements have been turned into predominantly military alliances, also leaves no shade of doubt that instead of promoting world security, they have everywhere made situations explosive. As a matter of fact, the wording of the relative articles in the U.N. Charter suffers from a number of weaknesses. Article 52(1) permits regional agencies to deal with "such matters relating to the maintenance of peace and security as are appropriate for regional action." Obviously the question arises as to who is competent to decide the appropriateness of a regional action. In discussing this aspect, Hans Kelsen[3] opined that the members concerned might have the power of deciding the question because the U.N. Charter does not authorise any particular organ to decide the appropriateness of regional actions. Now this, understandably, is a serious lacuna.

Moreover, under Article 53(1) "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements . . . . . without the authorization of the Security Council." In practice, however, this has not been always respected. One may refer to the RIO Treaty of 1947 which later on developed into the Organisation of American States (OAS). Under that Treaty, a 'fact or situation or an aggression which is not an armed attack could bring about an enforcement action including the use of armed force.' Besides going against the spirit of Article 51 which authorises measures for collective self-defence only in the event of an armed attack, no mention is made in the Treaty as to the need of securing Security Council's authorization under Article 53 of the Charter. In the case of the Guatemala uprising in 1954, resort was taken to the collective security envisaged in the treaty by the OAS and the Security Council was debarred from putting the issue in its agenda.

"The organisation and development of such regional arrangements as the OAS" according to an expert,[4] "have demonstrated a trend in which the limited objectives of the arrangements have taken priority over the universal concept that the threat or use of force originating from any quarter should be met with collective action by the Security Council acting as an agent for U.N. members."

If that trend is to be checked, the scope of regional alliances should be strictly defined, as should be their area. Instead of giving them the liberty to usurp the security functions of the Security Council, they should be encouraged to concentrate on co-operation in the fields of economic development, social progress and allied matters. "Regional councils," to quote once again Mr. Panikkar,[5] "may have very useful functions to fulfil but their usefulness will depend on a clear definition of area and function."

Trusteeship System

Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms have been among the basic ideals of the U.N. Charter. Encouragement of fundamental freedoms which includes the right of every human being to a share in the political independence of the country, was, therefore, accepted as one of the objects of the Trusteeship system. But there are certain loopholes in the system. It makes a needless distinction between ordinary trust territories and those regarded as strategic with the control of the former belonging to the General Assembly and the latter to the Security Council. By doing so, much room was left to make use of a strategic trust area in the game of cold war politics. It would be evident if we compare the American Strategic Area Trust Agreements with some of the other Trust Agreements. Under the U.S. Agreement the entire territory of the Pacific Islands has been regarded as a strategic area vital to the security of the United States. The Agreement also provided under Article 13 that the requirements of the Charter for the submission of reports, petitions might be limited by

2. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.
3. *Law of the United Nations.*
4. John S. Gibson: "The Guatemalan Case and Universal-Regional Relationship," *Foreign Affairs Reports*, January 1955.
5. "Regionalism and World Security," *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2.

administering authority at its discretion in areas closed for security reasons. This is repugnant to the conception of the Trusteeship system. The distinction between ordinary and strategic Trust areas must be removed and all Trust areas should be placed under the general supervision of the General Assembly. The Security Council should have no say in the matter.

Another lacuna in the system is the discretion left to the former Mandatory Powers to enter into the system or not. While the majority of the former Mandatory Powers chose to conclude Trusteeship Agreements for areas under their mandate, the Union of South Africa did not in respect of South-West Africa. Despite General Assembly's repeated recommendations South-West Africa has been kept out of the Trusteeship system. A way may be found by amending Article 77 to make it read that all Trust territories formerly under mandates become *ipso facto* members of the Trusteeship system.

International Court of Justice

The Charter can be made or unmade by interpretation. Therefore, all questions involving interpretation should be dealt with by the International Court of Justice whose jurisdiction should be made as comprehensive as possible. In view of the conflicting interests of the Power Blocks, it is difficult to assume that any particular executive act of the U.N. would be completely free from prejudice and bias. Therefore judicial review of executive acts especially of the more important ones like admission of new members, or declaring a State as aggressor, is necessary.

IV

As pointed out earlier, these discussions about desirable amendments to the U.N Charter seem to be merely academic since the position that now stands at present offers no chance of making it practicable. The vehement opposition of the Soviet Union during the tenth session of the General Assembly should do enough to brush aside any idea of revision. The decision also of the tenth session to put off the idea of revision for another two years was indicative of the attitude towards amendment. One should not forget that Britain and the USA were among the powers that sponsored the resolution for postponement. With these permanent members up against it, a strong neutralist country like India also maintained that

> "If the Charter were to be revised it would require general agreement but if there was this agreement then revision would not be necessary."[6]

The problem of the revision of the U.N. Charter is much more a political than a legal one. Not even the most unimportant amendment can be made without the consent of all the five permanent members and this has not been possible so far. Nevertheless, as the *New York Times* Commentator Thomas Hamilton[7] writes :

> "The Charter like the United States Constitution has already been amended by interpretation. The best example, since this development is accepted by both the United States and the Soviet Union, is the Security Council's practice of not recognising as abstention by a great power as a veto (Resolution on Korea in 1950). This is clearly a violation of the Charter which makes (for once) this clear statement that the 'concurring vote' of the five great powers is necessary for a decision on any substantial matter."

That resolution has been claimed to have saved the world or at least one part of it from aggression and hailed U.N.O.'s role as the watchdog of peace. Another change has been the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" by which the General Assembly assumed the functions of the Security Council. Whether some more changes would be possible under similar or more difficult situations and the U.N. would be able to play its desired role, it is only the future could tell. But one thing is sure that the United Nations must have to succeed. Because the only alternative to that, in the age of nuclear weapons, is the total annihilation of the human dynasty.

6. Speech by Mr. Krishna Menon in the General Assembly, 17 November, 1955.

7. Issue dated 27 November, 1955.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Introduction

China is the first Asian country to achieve political independence through revolutionary means; she is also the largest Communist Republic in the world, representing the greatest human community on earth.[1] The international impact of the outcome of the civil war in China has been immense; according to an estimate the loss of China deprived the Western Powers 40 per cent of the colonial hinterland they still had in the days of the Second World War.[2] The experiments now being made in China have far-reaching repercussions—many observers have referred to that.[3] The scope of the present article is, however, restricted to a study of the Constitution—the political framework within which remaking of China is taking place today—rather some of its salient features.

A. The Theoretical Background*

"The Constitutionalism existing in the world—whether in Britain, the United States or the Soviet Union," Mao Tse-tung wrote sixteen years ago, "has always meant the promulgation of a body of basic laws, that is a Constitution, to confirm the success of the revolution, and actual achievements in democracy."[4]

Fourteen years later on another top-ranking political leader of modern China explained the significance of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China as the legal embodiment of the new social and State system.[5]

B. The New Constitution

The new Constitution, according to Chinese and Communist Constitutional theories, confirms the success of the Chinese revolution. A true understanding of the new Constitution would, therefore, require an examination, brief though it may be, of the tasks before the Chinese revolution, how those tasks were tackled after victory and how the new Constitution registers "what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—and this would be the main theme of this short study.

What then were the fundamental tasks set before the Chinese revolution? Referring to the task of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1940 :

> "Evidently, the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society determines that two steps must be taken in the Chinese revolution. The first step is to change a society that is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal into an independent, democratic society. The second step is to develop the revolution further and build up a socialist society. In the present Chinese revolution, we are taking the first step."[6]

The Constitution, to accord with the definition, must register China's external independence and must also record China's strivings towards the creation of a socialist society. It does both in fact. That China has already overcome her semi-colonial status is quite evident to all and hardly needs any great elaboration. Professor Quincy Wright, the eminent American international jurist, writes:

> "There is no doubt whatever that the present government of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai is the effective government of China, and not only the effective government of China, but the *most effective government that place has ever had.*"[7]

1. James Cameron : *Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 100.

2. V. Avarin: "International Significance of the Victory of the Chinese People" in the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 39. September 27, 1950. See also C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, London, 1952, esp. chapter nine.

3. See for example: *The Prospects for Communist China* by W. W. Rostow, Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., Alexander Eckstein, New American Library, 1954, pp. 287-88. Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York, 1955, p. 335.

* Theory has always been accorded a very high place in Communist circles. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice," said Lenin. For an interpretation of the place of theory in the Chinese revolution.—See Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, Harvard, 1952; Introduction, pp. 1-2

4. Mao Tse-tung: "New Democratic Constitutionalism" being a speech delivered at Yenan on Feb. 20, 1940, before the Association for Urging the Advancement of Constitutionalism in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 184, Bombay, 1954. This view of a constitution was first formulated by J. V. Stalin according to whom a constitution "is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact"—Stalin: *On the Draft Constitution of the USSR* being a report delivered at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress on Soviets of the USSR, November 25, 1936—Moscow 1952 edition, p. 28.

"The State is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class."—Lenin, "The State and Revolution" in the *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 156.

"In reality, the State is nothing more than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in a democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."—Engels: Introduction to Karl Marx's *Civil War in France*.

5. Liu Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of China*, p. 60.

6. Mao Tse-tung "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 110.

7. Quincy Wright: "The Chinese Recognition Problem" in the *American Journal of International Law*, No. 3, 1955, p. 321. Italics added.

The Indian statesman and historian Sardar K. M. Panikkar says: "China had become, in fact, what it had always claimed to be, a Great Power."[8] Equally undeniable is the fact of the liberation of China's teeming million from the fetters of feudal slavery. Land Reform and redistribution was practically completed by the end of 1952.[9] Indeed, as one observer has pointed out:

> In four years (1950-54), the Minister of Agriculture in China, Mr. Liao Lin-yen had "caused more real estate to change hands than any other man on earth. Sixty-five million acres had been reshuffled between 400,000,000 peasants. The plan was characteristic of China's way and persuasive approach to a monstrous problem . . ."[10]

Registering the victory of the Chinese revolution led by the alliance of the workers and peasants against the imperialists, feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie the new Constitution of China, adopted on September 20, 1954, by the First National People's Congress (Parliament) of China, describes China as a "People's Democratic State led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."[11] The State is a unitary one[12] and dispenses with the traditional separation of powers between the executive, legislature and the judiciary; as well as the specifically Chinese five-fold division of authority between the executive, legislative, judicial, control and examination Yuan. All power in the State vests in the people who exercise their power through the various elected bodies at the apex of which stands the National People's Congress elected by universal, adult but indirect and unequal suffrage.

8. K. M. Panikkar: *In Two Chinas*, London, 1955, p. 177. See also Chester Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, New York. 1955, pp. 115, 121. ". . . the revolution in China had produced a nation more united and, as far as one could see, happier than ever before, and that by every recognizable evidence they were peace-loving."—James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*. p. 102, London, 1955. See also Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955, p. 269; Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, London, 1953. pp. 285-290. Also see *The New Leader*, weekly. New York. 24.9.56.

9. W. W. Rostow and others: *The Prospects for Communist China*, p. 89. For a cogent summary of the effects of land reform see Jack Belden: *China Shakes the World*. pp. 201-20; K. M. Panikkar: *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Basil Davidson: *Daybreak in China*, pp. 51-68; C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, pp. 177-179. For a critical study see Quentin K. Y. Huang: *Now I Can Sell*, pp. 185-222, New York. 1954; Walker: *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

10. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 165. Mr. Cameron bitterly describes the lot of the Chinese peasants: "China counted its land by the ten thousand miles, the Chinese by the *mow*—the unit of personal possession: one-sixth of an acre." (p. 217, *ibid*).

11. Art. 1 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*.

12. Art. 3, *ibid*.

C. "People's Democracy"

It has already been stated that the first Chinese National People's Congress declared their State as a "People's Democratic State." At this stage, however, a definition of a "People's Democratic State" is called for since the term has assumed a technical connotation in political discussions. "People's Democracies" were unknown before the Second World War. The term gained currency only since the end of the war. Generalizing the features of the people's democracies that had emerged in Eastern Europe after the Second World War, Eugene Varga, the noted Soviet theoretician, wrote in 1947 that

> "People's democracy" signified a "state of affairs in a country where feudal remnants—large-scale land-ownership—have been eliminated, where the system of private ownership of the means of production still exists but large enterprises in the spheres of industry, transport and credit are in State hands, while the State itself and its apparatus of coercion serve not the interests of monopolistic bourgeoisie but the interests of the working people in town and countryside."[13]

The new people's democracy began, the Yugoslav political leader Edward Kardelj said,

> "where the working class, in alliance with all the other working masses held the key positions in the State power."[14]

The social structure of such states, (referring to the European people's democracies since China was out of consideration then), Varga added, differed "from all those hitherto known to us; it is something totally new in history of mankind" being neither a full-fledged proletarian dictatorship (socialism) nor a bourgeoise dictatorship (capitalism).[15] There was, however,

13. E. Varga: "Democracy of a New Type" in the *Communist* (monthly organ of the Communist Party of India), September, 1947. p. 132. See also "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" by C. E. Black in *European Political Systems* edited by Taylor Cole, pp. 231-243, New York. Alfred A. Knopf, 1953; Zhdanov's report before the inaugural session of the *Cominform* published in the *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*, November 10, 1947; William Z. Foster: *History of the Three Internationals*. pp. 455-456, New York, International Publishers, 1955.

14. Edward Kardelj: *Report* on the activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party before the inaugural session of the *Cominform* in September, 1947.

15. Varga: *Op. cit.*, p. 132. *Cf.* "under present conditions the people's democratic regime is a new state form of revolutionary power."—A. I. Sobolev: *People's Democracy, A New Form of Organization of Society*. p. 9. Moscow, 1954. See also Mao Tse-tung: "On New Democracy" in *Selected Works*. Vol. III, pp. 118-119.

no unanimity[16] among the Communist leaders on a definition of people's democracy as an altogether *new* form of State organization. At any rate, such strict distinction between the Soviet system and the people's democracies is no longer insisted upon in later authoritative Soviet writings on the subject.

> "In essence," writes the Soviet author, A. I. Sobolev, "Soviets and People's Democracies are synonymous: *their content is the dictatorship of the working class*. The difference is *in the form* of political organization of society."[17]

The characteristic features of the "People's Democratic State" as a new form of the proletarian dictatorship are stated to be (*a*) the existence of active political parties in addition to the Communist Party; (*b*) mass popular political organizations of the people's front type composed of Communists and all other political parties; and (*c*) the "indispensable condition that the Communist Party is the *only* leading and guiding force of the State."[18] Mao Tse-tung, the master revolutionary, says:

> "If the State system, which is the common property of the people and not the private property of the bourgeoisie is supplemented by the leadership of the working class then this system will be the dictatorship of the people's democracy. . . ."[19]

The Chinese State approximates the ideal of "people's democracy" in a very high measure. As has already been noted, feudalism has been abolished and it would presently be shown that the State, led by the workers who in turn are guided by the Communists, controls all the key positions in the national economy of China—fulfilling all conditions for a valid claim to be called a "People's Democracy."*

16. The Bulgarian Communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov told a meeting of the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Party that "the Soviet regime and the People's Democratic regime are two forms of one and the *same system* of government. . . . Both are based on the dictatorship of the proletariat."—Quoted in Hugh Seton-Watson: *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, p. 260, London, 1953. Foster, the Communist historian of the international Communist movement, also refers to the initial confusion among world Communists on the characterisation of People's Democracy. See *The History of the Three Internationals* by W. Z. Foster, p. 465. The People's Democracies, according to him, showed a new road to socialism.

17. A. I. Sobolev: *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-107. Italics in the original.

18. *Ibid*, pp. 107, 108.

19. Mao Tse-tung: "Dictatorship of People's Democracy" in the weekly *Crossroads*, May 26, 1950, Bombay.

* The Chinese State has been remarkably free from the violence that characterized the life of the European People's Democracies. In a like measure the Communist Party also has been relatively free from bloody purges characterizing Stalinist Russia and the post-war European East. In early Soviet pronouncements, China was not accorded equal status with the European people's democracies. Lately, however, her status has been raised in their eyes and she is now bracketed with the Soviet Union at the first place as leaders of world revolution.

D. Leadership of the Working Class

The Chinese State, as the Constitution says, in the light of the "People's Democracy," is led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The working class leadership of the State is also one of the distinguishing marks of people's democracy. How is such leadership exercised by the workers in China where there are only three million industrial workers constituting barely 0.51 per cent of China's 582,584,839 people[?][20] Here again a reference to theory is necessary before an answer can be attempted. According to accepted Communist theories workers may exist as a class "the members of which stand in the same relation to the means of production, have the same status in production and in society, the same objective common interests and yet *not conscious* of their common fundamental interests" which lay in overthrowing capitalism to usher in the era of socialism.[21]

> "The history of all countries shows," Lenin writes, "that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, *i.e.*, it may realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals . . ."[22]

The present system, the coalition of various classes called People's Democracy, "is symbolized by the five stars on the flag, representing the workers, peasants, national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party."†

† Mary Austin Endicott: *Five Stars Over China*, p. 153.

20. For an estimate of the workers in China, see Richard L. Walker: *China Under Communism*, New Haven, 1955. Mr. Walker quotes official figures for Chinese labour force including technical and administrative personnel and school teachers as fifteen million or approximately 2.6 per cent of the total population (p. 154, *ibid*). According to the latest official figures, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which virtually embraces all the "workers" in the country had a membership of about 12,400,000.—*China's Workers March Towards Socialism*, Peking. 1956, p. 9.

21. See for example, F. V. Koustantinov: *The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society*. Moscow, pp. 68-69. Italics added.

22. V. I. Lenin: "What Is To Be Done?" in *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1947, pp. 167-168.

In such circumstances, socialist consciousness could grow among the workers only through the efforts of outsiders (non-workers)—the Communists. This historical limitation of the working class points to the need of a Communist Party in each country charged with the task of engendering socialist consciousness among the workers of that country and organising them for a forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Equipped with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism (the theory of proletarian revolution leading to the overthrow of capitalism) the Communist, through logical deduction, becomes the "vanguard and organised detachment" of the working class. In this way Communist leadership is generally equated with working class leadership in Communist academic circles.

E. The Communist Party and the Leadership of the Working Class

An examination of working class leadership thus leads to an examination of the position of the Communist Party in modern Chinese society. The Communist Party is mentioned only once in the Constitution—in the Preamble. As a marked contrast to the Soviet law the Communist Party of China has no valid constitutional recognition. But the absence of any direct constitutional recognition of the Communist Party of China does not in any way negate the unique position of leadership of the party at all levels of the State structure. The leading role of the Chinese Communist Party in the affairs of China is recognised both by the Chinese Communists themselves and by the non-Communist observers as well. Lin Shao-chi in his report on the draft Constitution of China emphasizes the leading role of the Communist Party, which, he says, "is the core of the leadership of our country."[23] In keeping with theory (may be practical necessities also) other parties are tolerated no doubt[24] but their influence is dwindling. The virtual monopoly of leadership by the Communist Party of China was confirmed in 1952 when the other parties in the Democratic United Front agreed not to campaign for membership among the industrial workers and peasants (the two classes between themselves accounting for 95 per cent of China's population). The Communist Party membership goes beyond a crore and stretched down to almost every village in China. In recent years, however, particularly since 1949 workers have been sought to be recruited in larger numbers to the party[25]—in keeping with both theory and the practical necessity of associating a larger number of workers with the new regime.

Working class leadership of the Chinese State is ensured in another way by giving the workers a favourably weighted representation in all levels of State administration from the country level upwards.[26] Great efforts have been made to train up workers to hold more and more responsible positions.[27]

F. The "People"

It is evident from the foregoing paragraphs, the State being a people's democracy a definition of 'people' is also called for. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, says:

> "There is a difference between 'people' and 'national'. 'People' include the working class, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the national capitalists and certain other patriotic democratic elements. The remaining reactionary elements are not within the category of 'people' but are 'nationals' of China. For the time being they cannot enjoy the rights of the 'people' but they have to observe the obligations of 'nationals'."[28]

Who are the reactionary elements? They are the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists.

> A feudal lord is one who "owns land but does not engage in labour or only engages in supplementary labour, and who depends on exploitation for his means of livelihood. Exploitation by the landlord is chiefly in the form of land rent, plus money-lending, hiring of labour . . ."[29]

23. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, p. 63.

24. Recently the Communists declared themselves in favour of a long-term co-existence with other parties. See Li Wei-han's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, August 16, 1956, pp. 8-9. For an interpretation of the toleration of non-Communist parties in People's Democracies, see, C. E. Black: "The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe" in *European Political Systems*, pp. 232-233. For an account of the various political parties in China immediately on the eve of the adoption of the Constitution, see S. G. Kashikar's article in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, July 23, 1953; also *A Guide to New China*, Peking, 1952.

25. See Peng Cheng's article in the fortnightly *People's China*, July 1, 1951.

26. See Articles 14 and 20 of the *Electoral Law* promulgated in 1953 which apparently still retains its validity.

27. Re: Chinese Communist effort to train up the workers and peasants, see Basil Davidson: *Daybreak in China*, Ch. XI, esp. pp. 121-122; *Chinese Workers March Toward Socialism*, pp. 65-78. "By 1952 workers and Chinese students constituted 80 per cent of the total enrolment in the nation's primary schools; 60 per cent in secondary schools, and 20 per cent in schools of higher learning."—Liao Kai-lung: *From Yenan to Peking*, Peking, 1954, p. 168; Walker: *China Under Communism*, pp. 128-176; Bowles: *The New Dimensions of Peace*, p. 123.

28. Quoted in *Far Eastern Governments and Politics: China and Japan* by Paul M. A. Linebarger, Djang Chu and Ardath W. Burks, p. 220, New York, 1954, D. V. Nostrand Co. See also Mao Tse-tung: *People's Democratic Dictatorship in A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* by Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, London, 1952, p. 456.

29. This definition follows an official Chinese decision of August 4, 1950.

> "The bureaucratic capitalist," Professor Fitzerald explains, "is the official who controls the economy for his own profit, rigs the exchange, manipulates the market, establishes monopolies, seizes State property for his own in other words the Kuomintang."[30]

The power of the landlord was broken through the decisive operation of land reform and that of the bureaucratic capitalist through outright confiscation, The landlords and the bureaucratic-capitalists are deprived of the right of voting but they are nevertheless assured of a means to earn a living "in order to enable them to reform through work and become citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour."[31]

G. Democracy in Chinese State

What is the character of democracy in the modern Chinese State? Democracy, in Communist political thinking, is always tied up to one particular class. In a capitalist society real democracy, it is held, is enjoyed only by the "money-bags" and the vast majority has to suffer oppression. In a State where political power is in the hands of the working class real democracy is enjoyed only by the workers and their allies and the decaying (defeated) capitalist or feudalist elements can have no freedom. As Mao Tse-tung puts it:

> "Democracy is realized within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc. The right to vote is given only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, means the people's democratic dictatorship."[32]

As a matter of fact, the Constitution contains a chapter on fundamental rights and duties of citizens guaranteeing among others, "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration."[33] The State guarantees to the citizens enjoyment of all the rights. For all practical purposes, however, there is no freedom to advocate a change in the people's democratic order.*

30. C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, p. 170.

31. Article 19 of the Constitution. According to James Cameron, the counter-revolutionaries in China technically embraced four categories: (a) direct agents of Kuomintang; (b) leaders of secret counter-revolutionary bodies; (c) bandits or saboteurs and (d) counter-revolutionary despots and landlords—*Mandarin Red*, London, 1955, p. 96.

32. Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Peking, 1953, p. 13.

33. Article 87 of the Constitution.

* The present article forms part of the author's book on the new Chinese Constitution awaiting publication.

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JESUIT FATHERS

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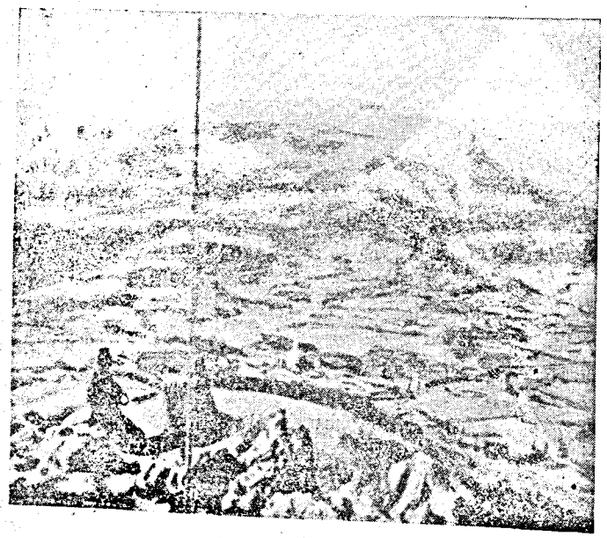
Early Jesuit history may be said to begin with that of Father Ignatius Loyola and Father Francis Xavier in Spain; or with the scholars of the college of St. Barbe in Paris; or with the Pope's Bull of approval in Rome, since he alone can sanction a Catholic Religious Order. Both Loyola and Xavier were natives of the Basque country in Navarre, a country which lay four-fifths in Spain and one-fifth in France across the Pyrences on the shores of the Atlantic. Both the families claimed descent from renowned ancestors, and both lived in castles which at that time abounded in Spain. These two particular castles had been demilitarized by Spanish kings, the one to curb the Feudal military ardour of the Loyolas, and the other during a war with the French Crown to whom the Xavier family was ever loyal. But though their early days had much in common, their future lives were to be spent in very dissimilar circumstances. Loyola, to the end of a long useful life, was to be fettered by the burdens of office to the General Headquarters of the Catholic Crusade against a strong Reformation movement in Europe. In this capacity he tactfully distributed and directed his faithful followers in the work best suited to their capacities and temperaments. Xavier, on the other hand, was destined to travel to distant lands and to labour under the most trying conditions. Six thousand extant letters, exhorting, entreating and comforting, testify to the skill with which Loyola fulfilled his office. And, on the other hand, the thousands of churches, convents, hospitals and schools spread over many lands serve as enduring memorials of the accomplishments of Loyola, Xavier and their followers.

Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491. Up to the age of 30, he was "given to the vanities of the world" and "his chief delight consisted in martial exercises with a great and vain desire to win renown." Backed by his comely appearance and his family connections, he entertained a rather hidden devotion to a Spanish Princess. Although tonsured, and hence bound to a certain religious decorum, he was not beyond participating in "gentlemanly exercises" and on at least

one occasion his tonsure did not save him from censure for his part in a brawl at the age of 24. He was, however, always chivalrous and generous to those whom he bettered on jousts at arms or in less formal contests. In the last battle of his life, Ignatius was wounded by a cannon ball while defending the fortress of Pomplona, the capital city of Navarre, against a French assault in 1521. It may well have been a cannon ball fired by the brother of Francis Xavier which wounded him and brought about the complete change in his life. He was taken captive and treated in a hospital. There he had to undergo operations, "butchery" as Loyola called them, which he bore very bravely. But despite the operations, Ignatius limped for the rest of his life. The French honoured him for his gallantry in attempting to hold the fortress against



Loyola Castle today

impossible odds, and released him, sending him on a litter to Loyola castle.

During his convalescence he asked for something to read, desiring to distract his mind with romance and tales of chivalrous adventure. But he was given the only available literature in the castle, books about the lives of the Saviour, the Apostles and the Saints. Strangely enough, these books came to fascinate him and he imbibed them in a spirit of penance and loathing for his vain past life. There was born in him a longing to visit Jerusalem. The persuasions of his brother to resume his promising military career and the offer of a Commission from the Duke of Navarre left him undeterred in his resolve. Abandoning his dreams of Knighthood, he set out for Montserrat across the country. At the first village he discarded his fine dress and equipment for sack-cloth, pilgrim's stuff and a water bag. Limping towards Barcelona on the Mediterranean, he proceeded to Manresa and from there applied to the Pope for permission to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the permission was delayed, and plague broke out in Barcelona. Once proud, gallant and chivalrous, he now lived on alms, slept in hospice, cell or cave, paying little heed to his appearance. The stay at Manresa was forcibly protracted from the intended week to 10 months. During this time he was favoured with visions and dreams.* It was at this period that he sketched his famous "Spiritual Exercises" of Christian prudence, humility and devotion to Jesus Christ. His austerities, deliberate self-deprivations and long hours of prayer twice brought him to death's door.

In 1523, he set out for Barcelona. From there a free passage with a kindly Captain brought him, after many tribulations, to Rome. He obtained the Pope's permission for his pilgrimage and trudged over 300 miles to Venice, tending the sick, living on alms, praying and fasting, succouring the poor with most of the alms received, giving away all money that came to him. He faced the Doge in the ducal palace and obtained a free passage in a government ship to Cyprus and then in a special pilgrims' galley to Jerusalem where he intended to pass the rest of his life. But he was forced back after an exhilarating fortnight, and returned by the same tedious and hazardous journey of 100 days the way he had come. Back in Venice, still dependent on charity, he made the momentous decision to continue his studies so as to b more useful for the Lord's work. After a very risky journey he came to Barcelona. Since his recovery, seven years had been spent in Spain, Italy and far-off Palestine. At Barcelona, at the age of 34, he studied Latin for two years in the company of little boys, living without shelter on alms which he shared with vagarants. Then he went to the free University of Alcala and, unattached and unadvised, attended classes on various subjects such as, dialectics, physics, theology, etc. While in Alcala he lived the same austere life on alms, succouring the poor and giving the Spiritual Exercises. Here he was joined by three ardent followers.

In the uncertain condition of the time everyone

* We have recent examples in Ramakrishna ih this country.

was suspect, and Ignatius was tried for spying by the ever-vigilant inquisitors.† Ignatius was sent to prison but was released later under restrictions which forced him to go to Salamanca. Here again confinement and trial followed. Set free again under restrictions, he walked penniless in bitter winter through an alien enemy country to Paris in 1531. As advised, he brought some money with him but was cheated of it by a fellow countryman with whom it had been deposited.

In pursuing his studies, subsistence on alms and residence in a distant poor-house took up most of his time. So in his offer to serve as a servant, his limp and his age (37) stood in the way. He went to Flanders and England and secured some funds on the advice of a Spanish Friar. On his return he undertook a journey of 84 miles to Rouen, bare-footed and fasting for days and succoured the sick Spaniard, who had cheated him. A passage on ship bound for Spain was secured for him and letters of introduction to his (Ignatius') followers at Salamanca were given to him. But they had deserted his cause, as did three others at Paris, later on.

Ignatius' choice of the first college in Paris was a mistake and in 1529, he joined the Arts course at the Saint Barbe, at the age of 39. Short of funds he was obliged to share a room with two others, much younger in age but vastly superior in studies. One of them was Francis Xavier and the other Peter Favre, who in course of time became his faithful followers. Peter was easily won over and became the first Jesuit. About Xavier, not much is known regarding his early life. His family history has been touched at the beginning. We may surmise that he got his later athletic habits from grazing the sheep, when he was very young. He chose a priest's life, it is said, to avoid a military one, and left for Paris at the age of 19 and was 11 years at the college. When short of funds, he appealed to his influential brother. He fell into bad company at the college, but corrected himself. An offer of the position of a Canon in his own Parish, later in his life, did not attract him. In later years, he proved always intense, practical, steadfast, uneffusive and completely self-forgetful and of the unique Basque mentality, as his preceptor St. Ignatius.

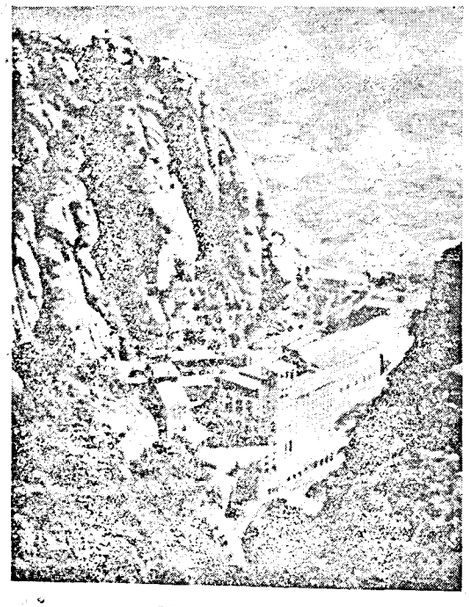
Xavier at the time was advanced in erudition and conscious of his nobility. So he could not take kindly to the advances of the opposite character of Ignatius. It took 3 years of persistent efforts to win him over. Two others, very clever but loyal, Laynex and Salmeron, fellow-students at Alcala, who had also come to Paris in 1533 for higher studies, followed suit. The

Cave of Manresa

next convert was Nicholaus, called Bobadilla, an unknown poor wandering scholar. Then Simon Rodriguez, noble and head-strong, joined Ignatius, but was the cause of great anxiety to him. Lastly came the roving Jerome Nadal, who was of a suspicious nature and took 10 years to actually capitulate. Ignatius employed these early followers, except Xavier, in his work in Europe, in favour of the Catholic Church. Xavier was sent to the East. By 1554, in spite of advanced years (53), destitution and ill-health, Ignatius outstripped his brilliant young disciples and graduated as Master of Arts. It was then that Ignatius and his six followers came to a decision to go to Jerusalem, after being ordained as priests, in a body, but without any thought of starting a new religious order. They were to meet at Venice in January 1537. If after meeting, it was found that the pilgrimage was not feasible within a year, *i.e.*, by January 1538, for any reason, they would return to Rome, as was the custom of returned pilgrims and place themselves ready for any

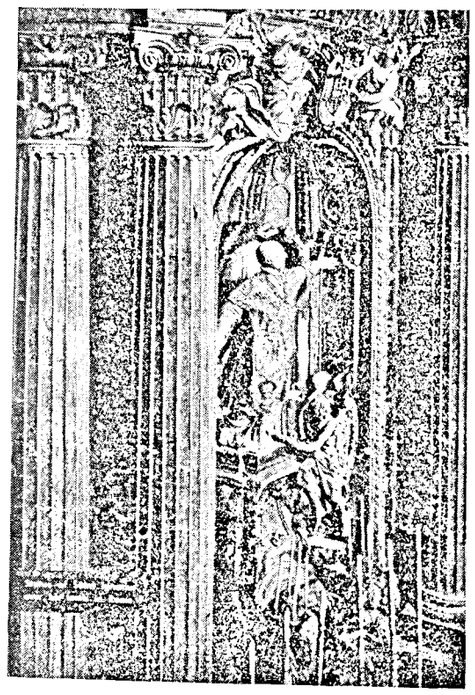
† Inquisition had different meanings in different ages from burning by religious fanatics, of heretics who would perhaps not repent even under torture, to excommunication of the present day. Similarly, slavery in early days was not considered as inhuman as at present.

task that the Pope might give. The scholars used to have excursions and discussions together and at a meeting in an unused Chapel at Montmarte took the vows of poverty and chastity and of going to Jerusalem. Now Xavier made the Spiritual Exercises for the first time. For many years Ignatius had been trying unostentatiously to get him into his fold, even by helping him to find students, when Francis took to teaching and was in a bad way, fianancially.



Montserrat today

Favre was already ordained as priest in 1534. Ignatius now began the study of theology under the Dominicans and learned to revere the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who was later chosen as the intellectual master of the Society of Jesus. Long years of self-imposed austerity and privations, having gravely injured the stomach, Ignatius was advised by the Doctors to take rest in his native land, Spain. This he intended, while the others were graduating. His rest-cure began with his usual life in a poor-house just outside the Loyola domains, and preaching, in spite of importunities to go and live in the castle. Then he began to look up, always on foot, the families of Xavier, Laynez and Salmeron, Bobadilla having no family. He walked a hundred miles to see his disciple Castro of early Paris days, near Valentia. From Valentia he sailed to Genoa, despite risk of falling into the hands of Turkish pirates, and met a fierce tempest. Worse experience befell him when he slipped from a foot-bridge crossing the Appenines from Genoa towards Bologna. After a week in hospital, he proceeded to Venice instead, towards the end of 1535 and living his usual life, he studied theology. Here another disciple Hoces was won. While he was waiting for the others, he was again suspected, tried and released.



Statue of St. Ignatius over his tomb in Rome

After having obtained their Master's degrees and not waiting for their D.D., the Paris party made a hurried start for Venice as war broke out between France and Spain. They were joined by two priests, Jay and Broet, and Codure, attracted by the spiritual charm of Favre. Thus five Spaniards and four Frenchmen started for Venice through neutral Lorraine, Germany and Switzerland, owing to the war, speaking French or Spanish, as occasion demanded. On the way, having no shelter, they had to pray publicly, which brought heated debates with the Protestants, who filled the country. This intensive walk amidst turmoils of war without any knowledge of German was a great feat. After eight weeks they arrived at Venice in January 1537, and found Ignatius, who had long spent all his substance and was being maintained by help sent from Spain.

As there was no sailing to Palestine at that season owing to war and weather, the pilgrims began their usual austere life and work in the hospitals. Expecting

the weather to improve later, they decided to go to Rome to obtain the Pope's blessing on the pilgrimage, Ignatius remaining behind fearing opposition in Rome. They divided into parties and splashed in mud and water, starving or having very little food during their long eight months' journey of over 300 miles. Xavier was once cleaning the suppurating sores, as of a leper, when to crush his rebellious feeling of avoiding contagion, he swallowed the filth. A similar story in case of a plague patient is recorded about Ignatius.

At Rome, His Holiness blessed them after receiving them in audience and granting a faculty to receive Holy Orders from any Bishop "on the sufficient patrimony of learning." The Pope and some Spanish gentlemen gave unsolicited monetary help for the passage to Jerusalem and they came to Venice. Leaving out Favre, already a priest, 5 out of 6, including Ignatius and Xavier were now ordained as priests. They delayed saying their Mass (unusual these days) but left Venice in parties to seek seclusion, for forty days, Ignatius, Favre and Laynez going to Vincenza. After their seclusion, the others joined them there. The Turkish war continued and the visit to Palestine seemed far off. So it was decided that Ignatius, Xavier and Laynez would go to Rome and put themselves at the disposal of the Pope. Others were to go to various Universities in North Italy, in parties to attract student followers. But before separating, they decided to call the Society the Company of Jesus. Ignatius was again accused of heresy (for the eighth time). He moved the Governor of Rome and the Pope for a thorough investigation, even when the detractors backed out.

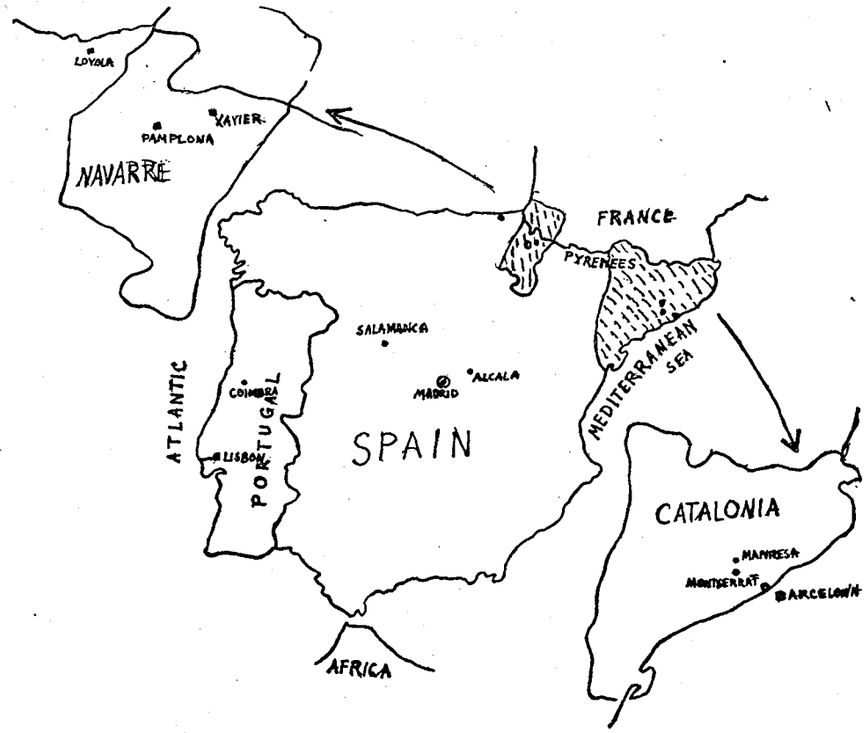
The Pope was already sending out Jesuits to different places for Evangelical work as protagonists in counter-reformation. The mission to Ireland, undertaken under great difficulties against grave warnings at Lyons and Edinburgh, was abandoned within five weeks, owing to Protestant inroads at the time. Xavier was sent to the East. Others were going to America and Africa. In fact, these missions were very much in demand, not only to convert the natives, but also to keep the Empire-builders virtuous.

In view of the Pope's constant demands on the Jesuits to go to work in distant stations, it was decided after much deliberation to bind themselves together under a vow of obedience to one of their own members, as superior or General, elected for life. He was to be helped by a council of members present at the time. Ignatius was unanimously chosen General and took office in spite of his reluctance. The Society would become thus a new religious order instead of a voluntary association, as hitherto, if the Pope approved it and did not compel them to join any of the existing orders. Thus was the plan of a compact unity conceived and fortified by the election of a General, even if the Pope did not support it. Training of new members would involve a two-year noviceship. Now-a-days a novice meditates on the Spiritual Exercises for two years. Then he takes the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. After 2 or 3 years of study of languages, he takes up philosophy for three years. Then follows three years of Regency-teaching or special studies. Then he studies theology for 4 years, being ordained "Priest," after the third. The "brothers" on the other hand, after three years of noviceship and two years of practical work after taking the same vows, do the secular work. Apart from the first two years, all these are intellectual work for the Fathers, as the priests are called, and the course is finished with another year of spiritual studies, in Tertianship, before being sent out for field work. Normal period is thus 15 years.

St. Ignatius (Loyola)

The vow of obedience without question to the Superior and to the Pope was a later development, while the vows of chastity and poverty, already taken at Montemarte, were introduced from the beginning. Whether Divine office were to be individually recited instead of being sung in a choir, was the subject of considerable controversy. It was argued that the latter would hamper the work of charity and apostolate.

The Pope when approached, directed that it should be scrutinised by Father Badia, who highly commended it. The Pope then gave his preliminary approbation. However, a Cardinal, who was to draw up the Papal Bull (edict) opposed it on the grounds of exclusion of Choir duties, election of Superior for life and obedience to Pope, the last being superfluous. The Pope then turned to another Cardinal, who, while generally approving the whole, was basically against the starting of a new religious order. Ignatius then reverted to his usual remedy in difficulties, *i.e.*, to praying and vowing ten thousand Masses for a change of heart in the Cardinal. Ignatius further did a little



propaganda work. Recommendations came from outstations, where the Pilgrims had done good work. The Cardinal finally yielded and the Pope gave verbal approval in 1539. The Bull, however, establishing the Society of Jesus, bore the date, 1540. The missions in Europe continued with vigour, but we are more concerned with the mission to the East, which Xavier undertook.

We may notice a parallel in modern India, where Gandhiji's propaganda and Satyagraha or fasting to change people's hearts, produced unimaginable results.

We now come to the Xavier mission, one of the many, sent out by the Pope. King John III of Portugal who had endowed the Saint Barbe College at Paris during the time of Portuguese expansion, importunated Principal Diego for priests for India to keep his doughty conquerers in the path of righteousness. The Jesuits were prepared to go anywhere, provided the Pope supported the proposal. So Diego wrote to the King, who approached the Pope nine months later. The Pope, however, would not give his support, unless the mission was voluntary, as the journey was very hazardous. The king after investigation about the Jesuits, asked for two of them from the Pope. Some were proposed for the mission but illness or other causes intervened, until Xavier, not initially marked for the Indian mission and acting as secretary to Ignatius, was appointed to it at very short notice. He accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to Lisbon, *via* Bologna, Loreto, Regio, Parma, sacred places, and Lyons and Xavier, where he had a last look at the castle from a distance. Arriving at Lisbon, he lived in a hospice and on alms, rejecting the King's offer to live comfortably as his guest. The King fascinated by his work detained him for eight months. Then his long journey with two followers, Paul and Mansillas, accompanying the Portuguese Governor, began. The vessel was cramped with passengers, merchandise, provisions, food; clothing; dirty water and all sorts of diseases. The sea was infested with pirates and there was danger from tempests, shoals and fire. He got busy with his usual work on the journey, preaching and tending the sick. At Mozambique, he fell ill himself. He met the Moslems for the first time at Malindi. The Christians, he found at Socotra, were persecuted by the Moslems. Knowing that help could have been easily given by the King, Xavier wrote to him. He reached Goa after thirteen months.

In India, Calicut was first visited by the European

Pedro in 1486. Vasco da Gama came in 1497-98. During the Portuguese expansion, Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, establishing a number of stations. He also conquered Cochin and Ceylon in Southern India and Malacca on the opposite coast in 1511 and Ormuz at the head of Persian Gulf in 1515, thus paving the way for Xavier's activities. Albuquerque was a pious, firm and wise ruler, building the fine hospitals and the Church at Goa. The atrocities of the early conquerors as attributed to him were due to fear. Equally unfortunate was the defeatist mentality of the early missionaries who considered that when rational creatures and potential converts did not respond, Christ had no duty towards them. Such deeds and such attitudes, perhaps, explain the slow progress of Evangelical work in India notwithstanding the great endeavours that Xavier made, which interest us most in the Jesuit history. Real India was not touched—too few missionaries came despite earnest importunities of Xavier to the King and the Pope. The quest was for both pepper and spices (trade) and for the soul (conversion) backed by the Portuguese Armada. The pepper predominated. Portuguese rapacity appeared no whit less unconquerable than Indian customs regarding child marriage, Sati rites as noticed by foreigners.

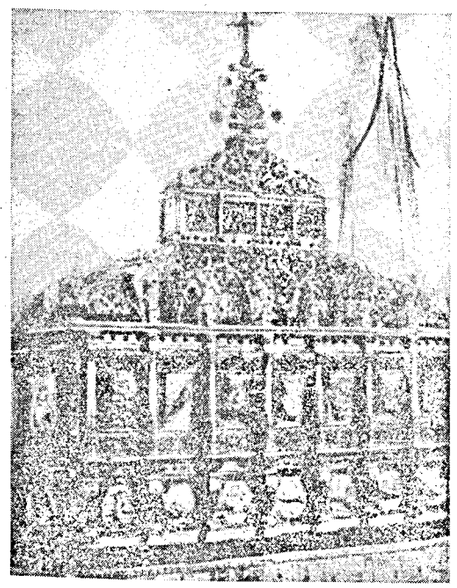
At Goa, hospitals, prisons and slaves in the market kept Xavier busy in his own way of service. After five months at Goa, he proceeded to Cape Comorin, where barefooted, in tattered gown, he lived in the Fishery Coast for two years. He slept anywhere, amidst rats, snakes and mosquitoes and ate anything available. Language was also a great handicap, but he Baptised 10,000 souls in a month, 1 every 2 minutes, counting 12 hours work in the day. He arrived at Cochin in 1545 and sent a strong protest to the queen regarding the profligacy of the Portuguese. He walked or voyaged to many places: Cochin, Goa, Negapatam, whence he earnestly appealed to the King and to the Pope for Portuguese assistance, but without avail, even when wild tribes, helped by a local Raja massacred 500 Christians. He then spent four months at Madras at the shrine of St. Thomas.

In 1545, he sailed for Malacca, the outpost of the Portuguese Empire, beyond the Indian land and in his usual service, converted a Japanese, Yajiro, who drew bright pictures of prospect in Japan, full of Universities and easygoing, steadfast people. In 1546, he sailed for Ambonia in the Straits through the pirate-ridden seas and was for 3 months at Moro, amongst the head-hunting aborigines. He then returned to examine the progress in India that was left behind, and visited Cochin, Kandy (Ceylon), Goa, Bassein, Goa, Fishery Coast, Cochin, Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Goa in quick succession walking or voyaging 5,000 miles. He also sent a mission to Ormuz. With letters of credit, constituting himself as Portuguese Ambassador, he left Goa in 1549 with two priests, Yajira and two other Jesuit converts for a 6,000 miles voyage. The latter part of it was in a pirate boat, where idol worship and superstitions nauseated Xavier. In spite of the efforts of the skipper and others to winter in a Chinese port, luck took them to Japan.

The trip to Japan proved a great disappointment. Japan at the time was under a nominal phantom king, a nonentity. It was really ruled by powerful rival chieftains, some of whom were friendly to Xavier in the hope that trade would prosper or follow in his wake. He shuttled from one chieftain to another under most trying conditions and once walked 300 miles in dead winter to post a letter in a Portuguese boat. Universities described by Yajiro proved to be Buddhist Monasteries. He was kept in virtual confinement by a chieftain as a bait for merchants to come. Yet he sought to meet the King at the Capital Kyoto in 1550 and made a journey of 300 miles in advanced winter, without shoes in land, and with all sorts of abuse on the sea. He was even pelted with stones by children, which almost broke the patience, even of Xavier. He was given no shelter, until helped by a nobleman, whose troop he followed as a lackey to the Capital. But he could not get an audience with the king, as he was without any presents, having left them with his follower Toress in the stronghold of a chieftain. To bring the presents, he undertook a tedious and trying journey back, of 500 miles in two months, having made his garb more decent, as advised, for a better reception. However, he abandoned his previous ideas and thought of giving his presents to the chieftain. He gradually realised that there was nothing

doing in Japan. He came to think that as Japan held the Chinese as their ideal, in scripts, arts and philosophy, it would be best to convert China first, as a short cut to conversion of Japan. Not having received any mails for a long time also, he hastened and left Japan in 1551, after making 2,000 converts, all the same. Near Hong Kong he met Piere, from whom he learnt about 30 Portuguese seamen rotting in the dungeons of Canton, being caught as smugglers, against the king's express orders, prohibiting all trade. Earlier Xavier had met Piere in Japan. Having received offers of the use of his ship and of meeting all expenses, he decided to have Piere as the Portuguese Ambassador to the King of China, officially to be made by the Viceroy at Goa and to return to China early with fresh presents for the King and to release the Canton prisoners. While Piere was outfitting his vessel at Malacca, he returned to Cochin to find the College and Churches functioning well. Reaching Goa in 1552, he dismissed the unadopted high-handed Principal Gomes of the College and visited some other stations. He spent a huge amount of money purchasing pepper and other merchandise as well as presents for the Chinese King. Then he returned to Malacca, where Alvero was the Grand Captain of the Malaccas, in command of the harbour and the channel. He wanted to be the Portuguese Ambassador himself and detained Piere, though Xavier carried the diploma from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa appointing Piere as Ambassador to the King of China. He had, however, left the precious document constituting himself the Apostolic Nuncio of the East, behind. From Malacca he undertook his last journey of 1,500 miles against all warnings and reached Sanchien, a small island near Canton, on the main land. No vessel would take him ashore. All Portuguese ships sailed away in time and ration ran short. Xavier, left with one companion, caught high fever and was bled but to no avail. He soon died (1552). His body, covered in lime in a coffin, was twice removed until it found a last resting place at Goa in the great shrine.

St. Xavier

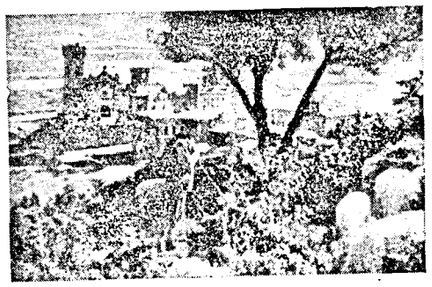


Shrine at Goa

Immediate subsequent history of the Jesuits in India was their contact with the Mogul Emperors. Babar conquered India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi in 1510. Akbar, his grandson, reigned from 1556 to 1605. The first Jesuit mission was sent to Akbar at his invitation in 1580 to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa. But he had met the first Jesuit in 1573, and Periera from Bengal was sent to him in 1578. Two Jesuit Fathers accompanied Akbar in his Kabul campaign in 1581. He used to hold religious discussions with them sometimes late in the nights, as with other religious preceptors. The second mission to Akbar at Lahore dated about 1591. The third mission, dated 1595, accompanied Akbar to Kashmir in 1597, returned to Agra in 1598, went to Deccan in 1599 and continued with him until the end of his days at Lahore. But it appears that besides making a deep impression, there was no change of faith. Akbar's successors also kept some

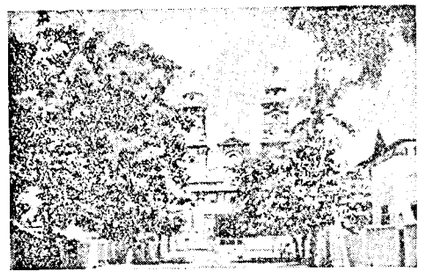
contact with the Fathers until the time of the orthodox Aurangzeb.

The Jesuits became very powerful and appeared very pushing in their methods. They were very popular with the common people and began to interfere in politics, particularly in South America. All these the ruling Princes of Europe could not ignore. They were, therefore, banned. Later, the Pope also was influenced to ban the Jesuits, as he was at that time, one of the ruling potentates and not simply the Episcopal head without temporal powers, as now. All this went on during the third quarter of the 18th century until the Society stopped altogether in 1773. Only Russia did not join the ban, belonging to the opposite political party and wanting Jesuits to educate



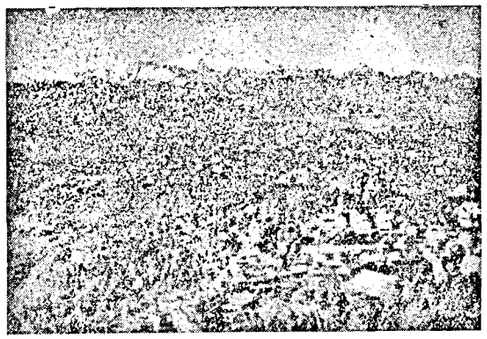
Xavier Castle today

the country. So the Jesuits clustered there for the time. The Pope removed the ban from certain countries in 1805 and generally in 1814. This became effective in India between 1836 and 1850, when the Jesuit Fathers came and started work from four Centres. The first was from France in Madura in South India; the second from Belgium in Bengal (Calcutta); the third from Germany and later Spain in Bombay; and the fourth from Italy in Bangalore. But now the foreigners are dwindling in numbers or have left and there are more and more Indian Jesuits only. Gradually these enclaves expanded into many districts or Provinces, under a Superior directly under the General who is helped by six assistants in Italy. There grew big training institutions in Kurseong, Shembaganur and Poona. and minor ones in other centres, such as, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, etc., for parts of the complete course. Students come from various districts, such as, Darjeeling, Patna, etc., and are partly maintained, except perhaps in Southern India, from alms from abroad. The St. Mary's College at



Cathedral at Cochin

Kurseong is, however, under the Calcutta district as an exception, being built up from there. The present



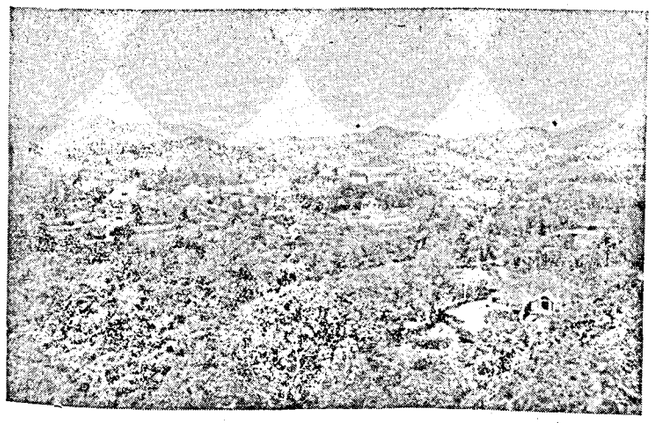
St. Mary's College, Kurseong

position and the benevolent work of the Fathers here have been dealt with in another article of mine, "Way Back From Darjeeling."

MERCARA—THE CAPITAL OF COLOURFUL COORG

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

"Where on earth is Mercara?" is what even most of the Indians ask. Like a shy, self-conscious maiden, this charming town is still wrapped in mystery and is yet to be fairly known by connoisseurs of Nature's beauty. Cradled in the uplands of South India, surrounded by dense forests and watered by the sacred



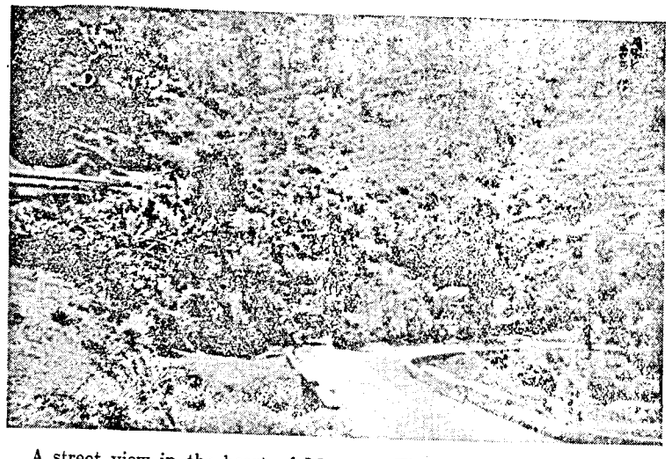
Mercara Town—The Capital of Coorg

Cauvery, Mercara is the dreamland of one and all. With its band of enterprising people and glorious historical background, the town offers a way of life and thought altogether new and novel.

Perched at an average elevation of about 4,000 feet above sea-level, Mercara, the metropolis of Coorg State, enjoys a lovable climate with enough rainfall to feed its coffee and cardamom gardens and paddy fields. The town is flooded with numerous estates of pepper, sugarcane, oranges, plantains and coffee. Almost bordering the zigzag roads of Mercara are the dense forests, rich in flora and fauna. Besides offering a variety of useful timber to its people, these jungles are the haunting grounds of the sportsmen who come here for big-game hunting, fun and exhilaration.

The eighty-mile motor drive which lasts for about 5 hours takes us from Mysore City to Mercara. The journey is fascinating in itself. As one moves on in the bus or in car, one sees long-lingering sights of green wooded mountains, tiny waterfalls making their way right through the winding road, the gently flowing Cauvery and the pleasant pastoral scenes.

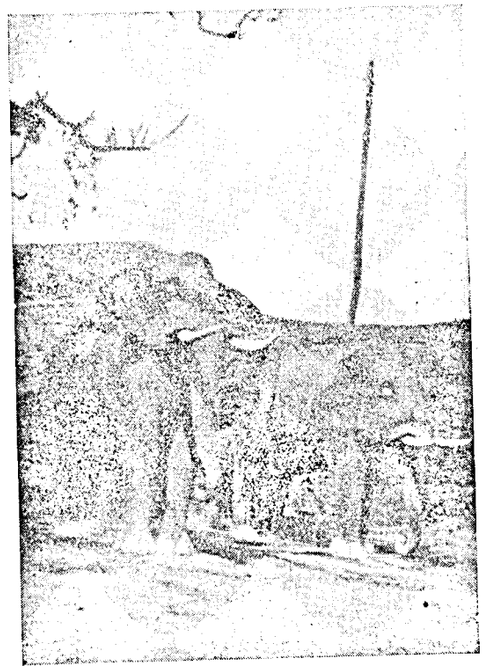
The Coorgs or Kodagas, as the dwellers of Mercara are known, are noted for their pleasing manners, hospitality and graceful traditions. They are Hindus by religion and martial by blood. The mountain homes and awful surroundings of nature have moulded them to be aggressive and fearless. No wonder, then, that they have given some of the finest soldiers to their motherland. The first Indian Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa, hails from Mercara and also Lt.-General Timmiah who is now heading for the same honour. The national dress of the Coorgs, the white turban and the black long coat with the inevitable *Odi Katti*, certifies the fact that they are warriors by race and lovers of pastoral life. These "children of the soil" have never known anything called famine even in the most trying times.



A street view in the heart of Mercara. The winding road actually touches the forest and coffee gardens

Perhaps, nowhere else in the whole of India is the fair sex so much adored as in Coorg. The women of Mercara hold an honourable position at home and in society and enjoy the same sort of freedom as their men-folk. While child marriages are extinct, the Coorg women marry only after adolescence or they may even live the life of "single blessedness" if they so desire. Female education is widespread and is largely responsible for their advancement in different walks of life.

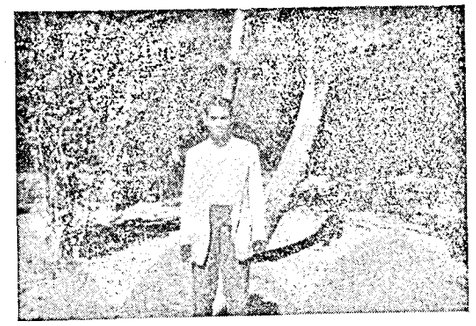
Mercara is a comparatively less known hill-station where the temperature hardly shoots up beyond 75 deg. even in the hottest summers. The houses, most of which are tile-roofed and single-storeyed, are often separated from each other as they are built on the hill-tops. This Capital town has a civil hospital, parks and playgrounds, a Convent for girls, a High School



The stone-elephants in the Fort area at Mercara. These are life-sized and evoke awe and wonder at first sight

for boys and a Government College. The Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat are housed at the Old Fort which is practically the last remains of the powerful Linga Raja who once ruled over Coorg. The pair of elephants in the Fort area are a great attraction to tourists who can hardly make out at first sight that they are only made out of massive stones. The current Five-Year Plan of the Government of India gives enough scope for furthering the prospects of agriculture and industry, thus promising a better future to its citizens.

The *Raja Seat* and the *Stewart Hills* are the most sought-after beauty spots of Mercara which none can afford to miss. The far-off mountain ranges touching the lazy black clouds, green pastures and the swift-flowing Cauveri can be sighted at the *Raja Seat* where one is lost in oneself in the presence of Nature's majesty. Everyone has paid one's humble tribute to this charming piece of land.



The writer in the colourful land of the Kodagas

"Coorg has been compared to *Meru* among mountains, jasmine among flowers and to a string of pearls around the neck of an enchanting girl."

A Coorg wedding is an affair which should be seen and must not be missed by anyone. It is very

A typical hamlet in the Coorg State

different from other Hindu weddings as the Kodagas neither believe in Brahmins nor in Fire worship There is a lot of anxious "to do" on the wedding day. Right before the auspicious hour the guests, dressed in their pleasing multi-coloured attire, assemble and add lustre to the scene. Presently the bride, dressed in

The bride (*centre*) carrying water to the bridegroom's house

her best and laden with ornaments, overwhelmed with joy and pleasure, is brought to the *mandapam*, the wedding place, by her friends and relations. To the music of band and pipe are added the marriage songs of the priests. After certain religious rites the bride's father requests the guests for a sumptuous dinner. After dinner there is an exciting dance. Similar proceedings have been in progress all the while at the groom's place and it is only late in the night that the couple are united. Again, there is a feast, drinks and dance after which the bride leaves with her husband in a complex atmosphere of deep agony and unknown pleasures.

This lovely hill station, with its peculiar customs and delightful way of life of its own, should no longer be allowed to play the "hide and seek game" with the world at large. Every one can be familiar with it only when the bashful face of the town is unveiled, when better hotels are opened and means of transport improved further. A great future awaits Mercara which already occupies a pride of place in the hearts of world trampers.

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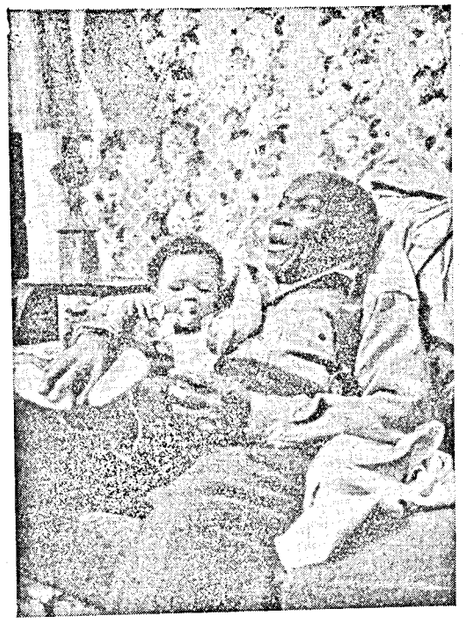
PLEASE TAKE MY CHILDREN

Over the years, George and Josephine Morris had built a rich life together—a life which was richer, in their eyes, because both had worked so long to reach it.

Birthdays come almost every month, with a cake and party for each

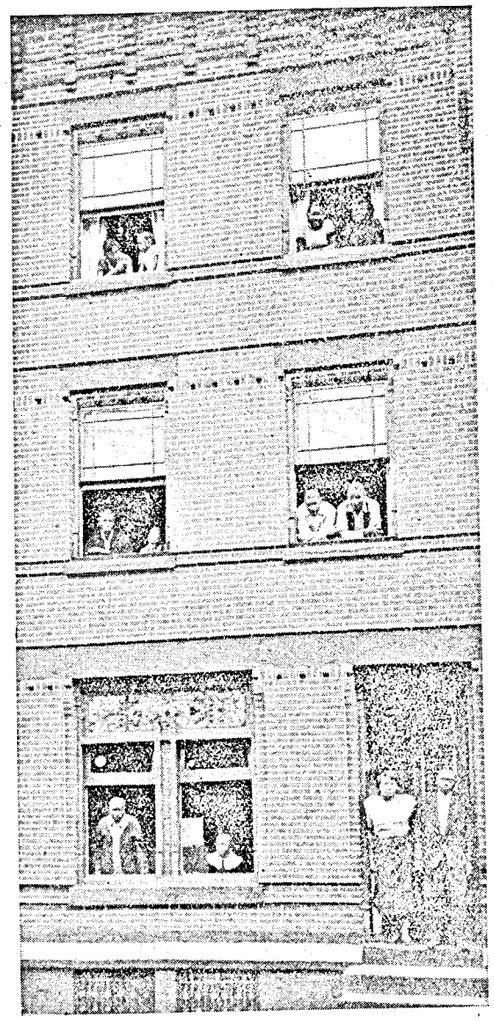
Biscuits for dinner—3 panfuls—are appreciatively eyed by Janett, age 5



Senior member of the family is grandfather Paulhill, Aunt Jo's father. He walks 5 miles for exercise and will teach a dance step to any child

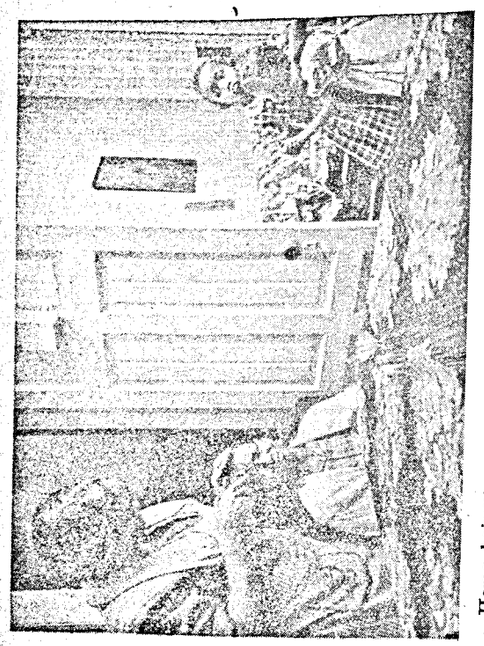
Pattie (lower bed) and Adelaide listen in while young Jo hears the little girls' prayers

Four years ago George and Josephine, then in their middle forties, and Mrs. Morris's father were living quietly and comfortably in the same eight-room house here which the Morrises had bought soon after their marriage in 1942. They had no children. After years of hard work and saving, George Morris had



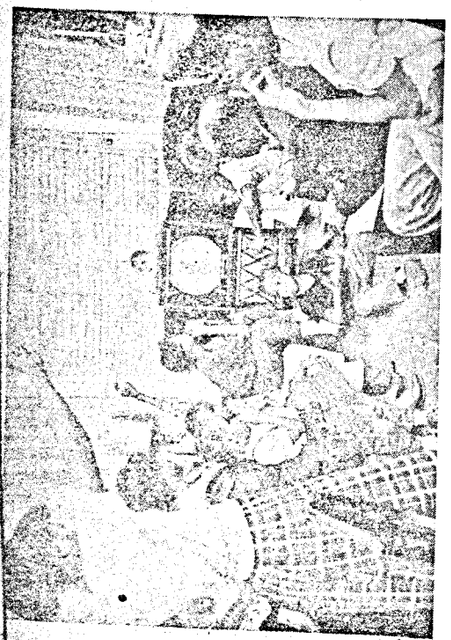
This neat three-storied house was bought by Morrises in 1942. Girls sleep in 1 room, boys in 2

built the labor organization and the career in labor he had dreamed of. Today he is business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. For the first time in his life he was able to save regularly. Josephine worked and was saving too.



Home haircuts save money, but the older boys object. Uncle Billie explains that a small fund of money has to take care of all their little brothers and sisters

After-school snacks help use up 6 to 7 loaves of bread a day. Aunt Jo buys fruit and vegtables, meat in bulk



The television set is in big demand and the programme is selected by the majority of the party

Fanny yawns after an exciting day and Aunt Jo relaxes

Suddenly, in 1951, something happened which completely changed their way of life. It became necessary to use their savings, yet both unhesitatingly say, "Our richest years began when our savings disappeared."

One morning in April 1951, Josephine's younger sister, Amanda, died unexpectedly after the birth of her ninth child. The older children were staying in the Morris home while the mother was in the hospital. A few hours after Josephine telephoned the news from the hospital, George Morris called the children together and said simply, "Your mother is dead. From now on you live here."

There had been no time to talk with Josephine about it. When he said, "You live here," he spoke on impulse, thinking of the days just ahead. Because the children almost never saw their father, Amanda had been their security, the center of their lives. There was no way to soften the news of her death, but George Morris wanted to assure them at once of a home and someone to care what happened to them.

The Morrises were the only relatives able to take the children and keep them together as a family. Donald, the oldest, was away in service in the Air Force. State authorities would see that the other eight, from Fanny Rebecca, not yet two days old, to Lawrence, fourteen, were placed in institutions or foster homes. The children would, of course, be separated. In addition to losing their mother and their home, they would lose each other. The older boys, fourteen, twelve and nine, were already having adolescent adjustment difficulties about which Amanda had been consulting Mr. Morris before her death. All of the children needed to "belong." What would happen if all the order they had known were wiped out at once?

For Josephine, who loved Amanda's children dearly, there was no alternative. "There was nothing else to do," she says simply. But she admits she will never forget her wonder that Mr. Billie (Mrs. Morris's nickname for her husband) should so willingly agree, to give and do so much for children who were "not his people, but mine."

So it happened that for the Morrises there was nothing gradual about parenthood. With their ready-made family they found that problems and concerns which many parents face one or two at a time, and over a period of years, "just fell in our laps all at once." In addition to the newborn baby, not yet home from the hospital, there were a two-year-old, just beginning to feel independent; a five-year-old starting kindergarten; three children, seven, nine and eleven, in grade school; a twelve-year-old just ready for junior high school; a fourteen-year-old who would enter high school within months; and a boy in service soon to be sent to Korea.

The decision was made in love, but neither Mr. Billie nor Aunt Jo underestimated the changes in their own lives this decision would bring.

Mrs. Morris would have to leave her job. The constant care of a new baby and a two-year-old would keep her on her feet many more hours, day and night, than she was used to. Uncle Billie and Aunt Jo worried secretly about the effect the new life would have on the other (and they still do) but both felt, deeply, that they had to try.

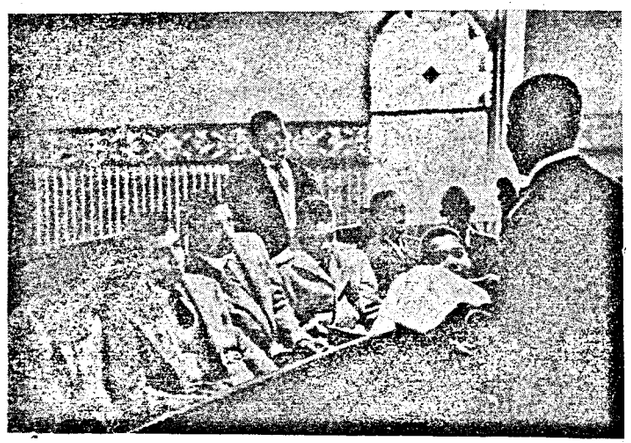
First-floor hall is the only "free space" used for play, sorting laundry, checking off chores on a blackboard. Married Donald's 2-year-old son also tries it out for basket-ball

The first year was hard, they admit. During those first weeks the new baby's crib was a market basket. Until the Morrises could get more beds, some of the children slept on the floor, with the front bedroom an improvised dormitory for the boys, the back bedroom for the girls. Mrs. Morris's first purchase was $60 worth of sheets and pillowcases. Until they could get chests to provide more drawer space, she used a large table in one of the bedrooms for the children's clothes. They ate meals in two shifts or, when the family did sit down to dinner together, in different rooms. The overflow from the dining room ate at the kitchen table.

One of the first projects was to have the long oversized table made for a corner of the kitchen (the dining room isn't large enough to hold it) because "we hated not being able to eat together." Wall benches

were covered in soft yellow plastic cloth to match the bright tabletop. Then a new heating system for the house, an electric freezer to preserve large quantities of food, an automatic washing machine, bunk beds and chests quickly reduced the Morris's savings.

With so many children in school, Mrs. Morris joined two Parent Teacher Associations (she belongs to three now), and she and Uncle Billie began having occasional talks with the children's teachers. Luckily all of them make good grades and all of them, so far, like school and hate to miss more than a day.



The Morris family is active in religious circles. Here John recites at a church youth gathering

Mrs. Morris is gratified that the children's teachers agree with her on one point. "We can't give them much: our food isn't fancy; they have to wear hand-me-downs; we can't afford allowances. But this is a happy house. Our children go off to school happy, and the teachers say that's the most important thing."

Aunt Jo found that the only way to work out the early-morning scramble of getting six off to school was to establish a few rules—the order of precedence in the one bathroom, who would help get breakfast, who would help get Victor ready for kindergarten. Then she saw that the rules were followed and let the young ones get themselves off.

The two oldest girls have been invaluable help from the beginning. Eleven-year-old Adelaide is the first downstairs in the morning, gets breakfast for everyone, packs lunches for those who will need them. Josephine (named for Aunt Jo), three years older than Adelaide, can turn her hand to any household job.

For the older children that first year was hard too. The boys, especially, found adjustment to a new household and new rules hard. They didn't like having to ask permission when they went out. But the Morrises, with so many to care for, felt they had to know where the children were.

For the Morrises the days and weeks of those first years as parents run together in their memories. But with every memory shared the new family has grown closer. As each Thanksgiving Day and Christmas finds the family together, the children happy and growing, the Morrises give added thinks—and happily buy a larger turkey.

The Morrises feel that their children have co-operated to an amazing extent. The children know how much it means to be together. The older ones understand from acquaintances at school that even having to tell where you are going and having to be home by a certain time is better than having no one to care whether you come home or not.

Part of the accord, too, comes from the children's background. Thanks to Amanda, they came to the Morrises with the habit of love and of being a family, and with the habit of work. Amanda had kept them together, and happy, on even less means than the Morrises.

The house on North Gratz Street in Philadelphia doesn't really come alive until the children start arriving home from school in the afternoon. But there is an order of events under all the noise and fun. First comes the change from school clothes to work clothes. Then to the kitchen for food. Aunt Jo, picking up the news of the day from each arrival, is busily preparing the early morning wash to be ironed. But part of her thoughts are on the children's chores to come. Victor didn't clean the bathtub this morning. Butch still has the stairway to do. Pattie can get the little girls dressed after their afternoon naps and help Adelaide with dinner. The clothes are sorted into piles for John and Josephine who will be busy at the two ironing boards in the basement for an hour or so.

When Uncle Billie comes home a little after six, chores and homework are nearly finished, the television set is turned on in the living room, and dinner is ready to go on the table.

George Morris was born on a farm in Maryland and worked his way through Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. When he came to Philadelphia with his machinist's certificate he couldn't get a job without a union card and couldn't join a union without a job. So he took the first work he could find, cleaning windows. Window-cleaners and janitors were not organised into unions in the early 1920's. He and a friend decided to do something about it and worked for twenty years to organize a union. To make himself more effective, Mr. Morris took special courses in writing and speaking. Today as business agent of the Window Cleaners and Maintenance Union, he helps with all first-level arbitration for wages, pensions and other benefits for the members of his union. He is a member or officer of numerous committees and organizations for education, labor, and racial understanding.

The Morrises sometimes worry that they cannot save any money, but they are deeply thankful that they have been able to keep food on the table and clothes for the children.

It has been hard, "but if it had been even harder, we would still do it." For Josephine remembers that four days after the Morrises had made the decision to take the children, she found a letter in her sister Amanda's personal things which read, in part: "My sister Josephine, please take my children and do all you can for them."—*USIS*.

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MY PILGRIMAGE TO HELSINKI, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By SACHIN SEN GUPTA

III

Czechoslovakia

A gala reception was given to us when we crossed over into Czechoslovakia. The warmth of the Czechoslovakian people assembled at the border-stations, their generous hospitality and their cordial expression of fellowship freed us from the mental depression we had been seized with since we parted from our Russian friends. It took a whole day and the early hours of the night to reach Praha (Prague) by railway.

Czechoslovakia is a brilliant, beautiful, country. She has a smile as sweet as the smiles her children have. She has a strength too that cannot but be noticed in her serene calmness. On looking at her fields through the window of the railway compartment where I was seated I thought that a vast multi-coloured carpet had been spread obliquely to give us the full view of its beauty radiant against the grey background of the mighty Tatras mountains, and the whole panorama encased in a bright blue dome. The skill and care with which the cornfield carpet was woven brought to my mind images of men and women who had woven it with full knowledge of the art of agronomy and hearts filled with pride and faith. Unless the workers were so, their work could not have attained that height of perfection both in respect of production and decoration. Not an acre of land I found fallow. And yet, I was told, Czechoslovakia was not self-sufficient in food. But Czechoslovakia is rich in industry. She can well afford to buy food for her children from abroad. And that she is not miserly in feeding her sons and daughters is evident from their shining smiles, brawny muscles and sturdy work by which they have made their little country one of the most advanced industrial countries in Europe.

The famous Skoda works tempted many an aggressor. Hitler too wanted to have it at any cost. He had had it through the infamous deed of Chamberlain and also through the betrayal of some weak-kneed persons who held the administrative machinery of Czechoslovakia in their hands at one of the most crucial moments of the nation's life. Wells wrote:

> "The German armies advanced into the regions of Czechoslovakia assigned to them (through the Munich Pact) and then kept on. By March, 1939, Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist, and the Skoda works were turning out munitions for the ever-strengthening German armies—the German pressure on the contracted lines continued. One most effective weapon in their hands were the Skoda tanks."

Czechoslovakia was liberated by Soviet Russia in 1944. Since then Czechoslovakia has made a tremendous stride forward. She has not only retrieved her shattered industry, but has made Skoda and other works more productive and effective organisations of national utility.

But her greatest achievement has been the union of the Czech and the Slovak peoples. Imperialists had always tried to keep them at loggerheads as they had done in other parts of the world. Today the Czech and the Slovak peoples stand united on the foundation of a Peoples' Democracy. We visited the Czech and the Slovak regions and found both the peoples happy and proud of the union they had been able to materialise. Equity and equality have cemented the union. And this is no miracle, but a scientific social order that is sure to be reached if no selfish grouping is allowed to grow through artificial and arbitrary social and political systems. Czechoslovakia has not

only solved her age-long racial problem by fostering the cause of the two peoples born and grown within her bounds, but has also set an example how agreements may be reached where dissensions keep races apart and antagonistic to one another in a multi-racial and multi-lingual country. The pioneer power to prove it is, of course, the union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

A tiny little country though, Czechoslovakia, used to be known as Bohemia, had always given birth to men who loved freedom more than their lives. Martyrs and fighters for freedom had made her history fascinating and inspiring.

We remember that as far back as 1398 John Huss exposed the autocratic and corruptive rule of the Latin Church in a series of lectures in the University of Praha. His mission was to liberate the people from the bondage of a church that instead of helping the people on to a better life was demoralising and degrading them. That John Huss voiced the feeling of the people was proved by the fact that although he delivered his speeches before the learned section of the society assembled within the walls of the University, the masses outside it also were touched by the spirit of revolutionary thoughts about the religion they had been practising so long. That was in a sense the first awakening of the masses in Bohemia. John Huss seized the opportunity by direct preachings from the pulpit of a special church erected for the purpose of cleansing Christianity itself.

Adherents of John Huss increased in numbers so rapidly that the council of the whole Church was called and John Huss was invited to participate. A safe conduct was promised by the Emperor himself. But the council treacherously seized hold of John Huss. He was charged of heresy and was burned alive. This treacherous murder committed by the Church Council infuriated the followers of John Huss. They formed themselves into a fraternity, renowned later on as the Hussites, threw out a challenge against the vitiated Latin Church. The Pope declared crusade against the Hussites. But the army sent by the Pope was beaten back by the Czechs of Bohemia to the chagrin of the Latin Christendom. Five times in succession armies were sent against the Hussites and five times were they repulsed. The crusaders got so unnerved that they used to beat retreat without facing the Hussites whenever they scented the approach of the latter. Finally, the crusade had to be withdrawn and a compromise was arrived at with the Hussites by yielding to some of their demands.

The Bishop of Czechoslovak Church himself took the trouble to show us round the church where John Huss used to impart his teachings to the people. It was a memorable coincidence that while we were visiting the church we found there in person the wife of another martyr of the recent past, Julius Fucik of Czechoslovakia. Previous to this meeting in the church Madam Fucik honoured us by sitting with us for lunch at the hotel where we had stayed.

The Bishop of the Czechoslovak church is a charming personality. His genial temperament, his liberal humanitarian views, his sympathy for the people and his love for righteous peace made him dear to us. I believe that his own people cannot but take him as a dear. I have already told what his church, the progressive church of Czechoslovakia, stands for. I need not repeat it.

But I owe an explanation to the readers of this report why I have, more than once, referred to the Church and Christianity. It has been a fashion to call the capitalist democracies as Christian Powers and to put the stigma of non-Christianity on the Peoples' democracies. Because Communism does not take cognisance of the common Fatherhood of God and the image of God in every man and also other concepts of Christianity, the Christian Powers want to establish that co-existence with the peoples' democracies is not possible for adherents to Christianity. Rev. Candy of Canada referred to it in the Helsinki Assembly for Peace. President Eisenhower also had touched it in his report on Geneva. But, nevertheless, many a man and women of the peoples' democracies are Christians. They have a right to ask the Christian Powers whether those who are found to be sticking to colonialism and imperialism and economic exploitation of the undeveloped peoples may rightly be called Christians. Those are expressions of man's greed and lust and selfishness that tempt him to do unrighteous deeds against which Christ warned his disciples.

Whatever the Communists say or believe, the existence of Christians in Communist countries cannot be factually denied. There are Christians there, there are also churches there. But there are no Christians there who believe that Churchianity is greater than Christianity which stands for humanity. There are Christians who have accepted Communism as a social order congenial to the growth of Christianity, to what it exactly should be. The socialist aspect of Christianity, they believe, was nipped in the bud by the imperialist and the capitalist systems. It should be allowed to blossom forth is the desire of many a Christian dwelling in the Communist countries. The Communist States do not suppress them or gag them either. I have already quoted from the speeches of the Metropolitan Nicholas, a member of the Holy Synod of the Russian orthodox Church. I have also tried to explain the views of the Czechoslovak church in regard to Progressive Christianity.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia do not ignore the contribution of John Huss because of the fact that he was a Christian; on the contrary, they are immensely proud of him, proud of his followers, the Hussites, who like many other true Christians in many

other parts of Christendom valiantly fought against the Church which by expressive claims, by unrighteous privileges, and by an irrational intolerance destroyed that free faith of the common man which was the final source of all its power. 'The story of its decline tells of no adequate foemen from without but continually of decay from within,' this assessment is from H. G. Wells.

Christians in Communist countries, living in Secular States, envisage Christianity not as a doctrinal thesis but as a humanitarian and a socialist view of life for which stood Waldo, St. Francis, Wycliff, John Huss, and many other martyrs throughout the Christendom.

I have mentioned that I have observed that a spiritual urge for the betterment of the lot of mankind has been working in the minds of the peoples of the Secular States of the Peoples' Democracies. I am not sure if our hosts would take it seriously or laugh it away as a ridiculous observation. But as an Indian, I believe, I know a little about the distinction between religion and religiosity, between Christianity and Churchianity and between the material way of life and the spiritual way of life. I know that a progressive mind is sure to develop a spiritual sense unless it loses its progressive urge for fulfilment. The citizens of the Peoples' Democracies by their selfless service to the cause of the common man do convince a visitor that the urge for the material welfare of their States and their peoples gathers strength from a source which the earlier pagan powers, dipped in materialism, did not discover. The pagan way of life is non-spiritual but not so the life of the citizens of a Secular State. The Peoples' Democracies are Secular States but they are not anti-Christian or un-Christian to that extent that co-existence with them should be ruled out on that ground alone. The message of Christ has gained a material form in the Peoples' Democracies more than anywhere else in Christendom. It is not a Christianity for the peoples that stands in the way of a fruitful co-existence but the Christianity that strengthens the hands of the capitalists and the colonialists and the expansionists is found to be irreconcilable to the principles of co-existence, *viz.*, mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. These principles emanated from the heads of the world's two largest republics. These republics are Secular States. The principles were originally enunciated by Lord Buddha six hundred years before Christ was born. But these principles do not in any way contradict the teachings of Christ. Secular States, Communists or non-Communists, do not find them impossible to accept, but Christian Powers do. Progressive Christians, therefore, want to know how they are irreconcilable to Christianity and what has Christianity to do with Pancha Shila or the Five Principles enunciated by Prime Ministers Chou En-lai and Nehru. These Progressive Christians believe that a time has come when a re-orientation of Christianity is needed. It does not mean that by feeling like that they have gone back to the pagan way of life. Among the 75 religious figures who participated in the World Assembly for Peace, the majority came from the Christian faith. They did not think that co-existence with the Communist countries was an un-Christian thought and deed. Neither the Progressive Church thinks so. There are plenty of true Christians in Czechoslovakia and other Peoples' Democracies.

"I have lived with my flock for 35 years, I shall die with them," declared the parish priest of Lidice when the Nazi aggressors promised him mercy if he would renounce his congregation. He had John Huss's Christian blood flowing in his veins. He defied the Nazi Christians and fell a martyr as John Huss did. The difference was that the Council of Latin Church burned the person of John Huss alone and the Nazi-Christian first tortured the parish priest, made him see his church destroyed, burned the entire village, and then shot him along with the other villagers.

The last place we visited in Czechoslovakia was Lidice. We found the rebuilt Lidice, the symbol of Czechoslovakia's determined will to wipe off scars of vandal dark deeds, by Christian charity, piety, and human sympathy. 'Lidice must live' was the solemn cry that rose to the heavens when people came to know of the horrible fate of that unknown village and its innocent inhabitants—men, women and children. The cry was the outcome of a righteous indignation against the Nazi Christians. Lidice has lived again out of the ashes of her past existence, a beautiful village has sprung up with broad roads, picturesque houses equipped with all the amenities of modern life. Some of the surviving women inhabitants have come back from their captivity at the Nazi concentration camps and have found homes built for them. Some of the children, too, could be recovered and rehabilitated where their grandfathers, fathers and brothers had died martyrs' death.

But what is, after all, this Lidice? It is a substitute village for one that existed during the Nazi occupation on the hollow near below. There stood the original village which the Nazis had obliterated from the face of the earth. And why? Well, that is a story the like of which you find in plenty on the pages of the history of conquests, colonial expansions and dominations of nations.

Lidice was a tiny speck of a village not far off Praha. It was inhabited by a handful of miners, workers, and peasants. The Nazis occupied it along with the rest of Czechoslovakia but thought they had failed to bring it into total submission. They wanted that it would not exist. But to efface out an entire

village a pretext had to be manufactured. The Nazis found one such in the murder of one of their Chocolate-fuhrers named Heydrich. Nobody knew who had murdered him. It was given out that two unknown parachutists had dropped down from the blue above, killed Heydrich, and disappeared. The Nazis charged the villagers to hand over those assailants to them. But how could the poor villagers, innocent of any knowledge about the identity of those persons, produce them before the mighty masters of the occupying force? The whole village was declared to be guilty of abetting and aiding the murder and also of keeping the culprits in hiding. An exemplary punishment was hatched in secret by the officers-in-charge.

In one dark night the Nazis raided every house of the village, dragged out of bed sleeping men and women and children, separated the women from their relations, and marshalled the male members of the village, including even those who were in their teens, to some barn-yard or a school house, I do not recollect now. They were then placed in a line against a wall and shot one by one—miners, farmers, shop-keepers, teachers, the parish priest, everyone they found in the village that fatal night. The women were transported to concentration camps outside the country. The kiddies were either offered for adoptions or suffocated to death in gas-chambers.

But that was not all. The church and all the private and public buildings were looted, blown up, and the vestiges were burned into ashes and the ground on which Lidice stood was ploughed and placed within a barbed-wire ring to keep it barren for all times to come, so that future generations of the Czechs might know by the sight of the wasteland how mighty were their masters, the Aryan Christians, known as the Nazis.

The sordid story I listened to in sad silence. I saw the common grave which contained the charred but sacred bones of one hundred and seventy-three helpless but indomitable Czechs. I also visited the little museum where articles used by the victims and documentary evidences of the brutal deed were preserved. I stood for a while looking at the cross raised high on the common grave. I then separated myself from my colleagues and dragged my body back to the waiting omnibus. I wanted to be alone. And alone I sat for over an hour in the lonely bu on a lonely street. Visions of images flashed in and faded past before my mental sight. The exploits of the Portuguese pirates in lower Bengal, the terrible vendetta of soldiers and officers of the East India Company of the British merchants after the Sepoy Revolt proved to be a failure, the Jalianwallabagh massacre, raids on villages by the British police and the army during the Freedom movement of 1942 appeared before me as phantoms. I saw faces of Bengali men and women who were carried away by force from their land of birth and sold into slavery to Christian planters by the Christian Portuguese pirates. I saw dangling and bullet-ridden corpses of innocent villagers supposed to be participating in the Sepoy Revolt hung on the boughs of road-side trees as object-lessons to passers-by. I saw those innocent men and women and children who had assembled in Jalianwallabagh to celebrate the birthday of Lord Buddha, the messenger of peace and non-violence. An Irish general of the British Army took it into his head that it would not be safe for the British regime to allow such a vast multitude of unarmed devotees to assemble at one place when the country was passing through a political unrest. He asked the celebrators to disperse. And without allowing them a time for dispersal ordered his machine-gunners to shoot at the crowd. The square had only one exit. And the machine-gunners placed their guns just at the gate, and mowed down men and women and children by hundreds. The General had to be packed off. But his christian countrymen raised a big sum of money and rewarded him for his heroic effort to save the crown of a Protector of the Protestant Christianity. During the Indian freedom movement in 1942 when Congress leaders and workers were put behind the prison-walls a part of the fighters went underground. They did not keep the movement strictly non-violent. They felt that the time for the break of the shackle of foreign domination had at last arrived. Now or never should be the final bid for freedom. The people also thought like that. A man-made famine was fostered by the administrators in collaboration with the profiteers and black-marketeers. Three millions of men, women and children, mostly villagers, lost their lives of starvation and a bigger number than that lost their lands and livelihood. The fighters for freedom, who went underground, dismantled railways here and there, snapped telegraph wires wherever they found any opportunity to do so, burned police stations and declared independence in certain localities of Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern India. The British armed police and the military were engaged to retaliate by guns and fire. Many a village were sacked by them and their inhabitants were shot down or carried away as prisoners for their sympathy for the fighters for freedom or for harbouring the fighters.

Sitting in a lonely omnibus on a lonely street of Lidice I saw visions of all those excesses committed by the Christian Powers of the West to keep in bondage the Eastern peoples and to rob of them whatever wealth they still had in kind of raw materials, and minerals yet unexplored.

Suddenly my sight caught the cross planted on the common grave of the Lidice martyrs. Yes, it had a justification to be there in all its glories. Those who had planted it there, those who had made Lidice alive again, and even those who had survived the atrocities,

had pardoned the offenders with this Christian belief that the perpetrators of that abominable crime against humanity did not know what they had been doing. They were befooled by a monster with a false hope that their Fatherland would profit by crimes of that nature. But the poor dupes learned at the cost of the freedom and the integrity of the very same Fatherland that crimes had never been found paying dividends but had alyays worked as recoils hitting hard the perpetrators to prostration and frustration.

It is really wonderful to think that those who had survived that terrible ordeal and those who thought it to be a sacred duty with them to make Lidice alive again were found to be supporting actively the demand for German re-unificaion and restoration to her of the freedom she lost through her own faults. And more than wonderful is the sublime fortitude the surviving wives and mothers have shown. I heard the tragic story of Madam Petrakova's life. She had been, for years, kept confined in a concentration camp. Her miner husband and her brother were murdered in Lidice along with their comrades, three of her children suffocated to death in gas-chambers. And this wife and sister and mother, grief-ridden and lacerated in heart though, managed to keep herself living, and came back to the place where she had once a sweet home a little after the Nazi Power had collapsed. But not for a moment even she thought of vengeance and vendetta. She devoted her life and soul to service, service to the memory of Lidice victims by making Lidice alive again and service to the cause that would prevent for ever any repetition of child-murder in any form in any part of the world. Her own children were indeed parts of her flesh and blood, but she realized, through her loss and grief, that children of all mothers all over the world were also inseparable parts of her soul which desired for a better world of better men and women. She has filled her heart with an elixir of affection for every child in every part of the world menaced by nuclear war. They are no less dear to her than those she had herself given birth and had lost in gas-chambers. In them she had found afresh what she had lost.

We Indians call this realization a spiritual transformation into a universal motherhood. We believe a mother who attains it becomes the source of a dynamic energy that strengthens man and leads him to victory. We worship that mother in the symbolic expression of *viswajanani*, the mother divine, the mother of the universe. I do not know what the Christians think of such a mother. But I have come to know that the Czechoslovak people and the government have accepted the view of Madam Petrokova that children should be the first care of those who dream of a better world for mankind. Starting right from the creches up to the Institute of Physical Training and ensembles of arts there are different organisations for different age-groups of children to take care of the florescence of children into blooming manhood and womanhood. All the infants and young pioneers and students we saw in Bohemia, Moravia and Bratislavia, looked healthy, happy, bright and brisk. I remember some pictures of the National Spartakiade held shortly before we had visited Praha participated by three hundred and sixty thousand children and young athletes of both the sexes. Those pictures looked like huge gardens of human flowers in different formations. In Bratislavia a boat excursion on the Danube was arranged for us. We had on that occasion, the pleasure of the company of quite a number of young pioneers and young workers from the factories. I talked with some of the pioneers, and I was amazed to find the interest they had grown for children in other lands besides their own. On our way to Bratislavia we were given a grand reception by the kiddies of a village. They wanted to listen about Indian children and persuaded me to promise to them, while we left them, that I would speak of them to the children in India.

Czechoslovakia's treasure in children is making her richer every day in every field of her activity. It is known to many that Czechoslovakia is one of the world's best toy makers and the producer of the best puppet films in which toys are made to tell a story and to play the drama in it. This has been possible for the love for children the world-renowned women directors of those films have in them and the subtle but sound approach to child-mind they are able to make. Treated as precious national assets children in Czechoslovakia grow sweet in fragrance and solid in physical strength.

As I had been thinking of children in terms of flowers my eyes naturally fell on the rose-garden laid over an extensive area of land on which stood a part of the extinct Lidice. The rose-garden is a symbolic expression to the significance of New Lidice, a part of the planning itself. The slogan 'Lidice will live' was raised by democratic peoples all over the world. Money to help the re-building of Lidice came voluntarily from several sources. It came from the British miners, came from the miners of Sweden, from the Egyptian Lidice Society, from the Czechoslovaks living abroad, from the wage-earners of the Americas, and several other parts of the world. Although the government and the people of Czechoslovakia shoulder the entire burden of finance on themselves, these generous and spontaneous contributions from abroad are precious tokens of a growing relationship between man and man. To perpetuate this fraternal sympathy and the active service lent to build a road connecting the rebuilt Lidice with the highway leading to Praha by the participants in the World Youth Festival held in Praha in 1947, this rose-garden has been grown with plants sent from countries far and near.

From Lidice we went straight to the air-port for our journey homeward. But the skymaster chartered to carry us back to India had not arrived. It had been waiting in Amsterdam for our instruction. We had to spend the whole day and the greater part of the night in the waiting halls of the big airport of Praha. Needless to say that our hosts were, as usual, by our side to see us comfortable. During our rush from one place to another we had hardly any time to think of our lovely hosts accompanying us. But when the time for our departure drew nearer every moment, I could not help thinking how nice and sweet and friendly they were to us. I have already spoken of the wonderful Bishop of the Czechoslovak church. He came to the port to bless us once again. Engineer Pushman stuck to us till we had boarded the plane and by his pleasant conversations and sparkling humours kept us cheerful. Dr. Dusan Zbavilel and his pupils and colleagues who helped us with interpretations during our private conversations and public speeches were still on close attention to our needs and feelings. Mr. Kubin's enthusiasm always inspired us to be on continual move. And above all, was the fraternal guidance and forbearance of Dr. Krasa of the Department of Cultural Relations, Ministry of Culture. I have come across many a leading personality in my own country in the course of my long and chequered life, but I do not think I have found many among them as unassuming and as devoted to the people's cause as Dr. Krasa is. His sharpness of intellect, his zeal for enlightening his friends, his ability for organizational work, and above all, his charming personality drew out of us deep respect and no less love for him. We left our friends and Praha at 2 a.m. in the morning by one of the Skymasters of the India Airlines Corporation.

I can hardly sleep a wink while on a plane-journey. The vast blue or the dark blank has a great appeal to me. I also find a kind of music in the monotonous hummings of the motors. But this time my mind was occupied by the memory of Lidice. I know that the crime committed in Lidice is not the only instance of man's brutal expression. Histories of wars, conquests and colonial expansions are full of them. I have cited some of them from the history of my own country. But Lidice is justly glorified not for the fact that she was obliterated altogether but for the determination of the people to see her alive again and for the fact that she is really alive today not only through the untiring efforts of the people of Czechoslovakia but also through the goodwill and blessings of peoples from every corner of the earth. This fact make a lot of difference between the Czechoslovak Lidice and other Lidices we find in histories of nations.

In 146 B.C., the Pagan Romans committed the same crime on Carthage that the Aryan Christians were found to be committing in Lidice. The population of Carthage was about a quarter of a million then. All but fifty thousand only perished before the Roman sword and fire. Those fifty thousand were then sold into slavery. Alike Lidice, the city of Carthage was demolished, burned, ploughed and sown ceremonially. Peoples of other countries looked at the atrocious deed in silence and worshipped the Romans as heroes.

The atrocities I have cited from the history of my own country were supported by the British citizens because they were tutored to believe that Law and Order imposed on a subject-nation were more sacred than its national freedom, and that they must be maintained even at the cost of the lives and properties of the subject-people. India did not receive any material help or spiritual support from abroad to break the shackles off her feet. The atrocities reacted on her to arouse in her a soul force which could not be kept in bondage. India won her freedom.

When the neutrality of Belgium was violated by the Hohenzollern Power during World War I, some of the Western Powers did not, indeed, come forward to beat back the aggressors. But that it was due to no determination of theirs to protect the sovereign right of a nation got exposed when the text of the Versailles Treaty was available to the public.

When floods of invasions were let loose on the new born and internally distressed Soviet Russia between 1919 and 1921, nine of them in three years, nobody thought of extending a helping hand to her. Her former allies, on the other hand, fomented and assisted them even, to see Soviet Russia obliterated altogether.

In 1935, Abyssinia was gassed into submission by the Fascist Power of Italy. The latter had totally disregarded the International Law of Warfare. But the League of Nations as well as the Western Powers did not raise a finger in protest. Likewise, the military clique of Imperialist Japan launched several attacks on China and occupied several of her provinces by sheer logic of might is right. The Christian Powers watched it unconcerned.

The waves of aggression and forceful occupation receded back on European lands. Public opinion had, by then, all over the world, taken a shape to resist the play with the fate of the peoples the Western Powers had indulged in. And it was when the Spanish Civil War was on the point of being turned into an aggressive war by the Fascist Powers that voluntary aid was rushed to those who stood for the people's cause in Spain. It was for the first time demonstrated to the administrators of States that there was a force known as the Public Will which was not less stronger than the armed forces of the Powers.

Baffled in Spain, the Fascist Powers fell on eastern Europe. Annexations, intimidations and aggressions followed one another in such a lightening speed that

public opinion came to be confused and utterly nonplussed.

It was only when the Christian Power of America dropped Atom Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and made insignificant the brutalities in Carthage perpetrated by Pagan Romans and those in Lidice repeated by the Nazi Christians, that public opinion voiced, after the first shock mas over, a deep note of protest. It would not tolerate any such atrocity. In Korean war, it helped to forge the force of resistance against any more violation of any people's birthright by Powers, however mighty might they be. The Korean War had to be stopped. But the Powers contrived to keep on the cold war by repeated demonstrations of the irresistibility of atomic weapons.

There are reasons to believe that the explosions were more in the nature of demonstrations than tests or experiments. Experiments made in public may also help the rival Powers to some extent. Why should a Power help its rivals even to that extent? Russia does not fanfare her atomic explosions. Russia has no intention to intimidate peoples. But America believes in it. America knows Russia is well-equipped with atomic weapons. Russia cannot be terrorised by explosions made in the Pacific islands but, on the other hand, she may gather experiences from the results of those explosions. America takes that risk only to terrorize the peoples of Eastern Asia and to coerce them to join the anti-Communist block built up and nurtured by her.

The peoples of Eastern Asia have on several occasions protested against the bilateral defence treaties concluded with the puppets planted on Asian soil by American politicians. The Bandung Conference believed that the Manila Pact was useless. The Asians themselves fear no Communist conquest. Governments of South-East and East Asia have mostly accepted the Chou-Nehru principles. The Soviets and Yugoslavia have accepted them. Why does not America accept Panchashila and tear into pieces all the bilateral treaties she has contracted with her Asian puppets? Why does not she liquidate the Manila Pact? Her economic aids have been gratefully welcomed everywhere in Asia. But her political debut in Asia is resented by every free Asian. The conference of the Asian peoples in New Delhi and the Bandung Conference of the heads of the governments of the States of Asia and Africa gave genuine expression to the feelings of the Asian and African peoples as a whole. They are not prepared to tolerate any extraneous authority over them. They are determined to shape their own destinies. No other force than the force of persuasion, they believe, is necessary to prevent aggression. No other method but the implementation of Panchashila, they believe, will be able to dispel distrust and fear of conquest and to bring about friendly relationships between nations and nations.

The Panchashila has been working wonders. We have observed how sacred and humanitarian is it considered to be, not only by the people of the Soviet Republics and the People's Democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia, but also by progressive peoples of those sixty-eight countries of the world who had sent their representatives to the Helsinki World Assembly for Peace. The Helsinki Assembly has been able to arrive at a unanimous agreement that

> " . . . the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference have proved that, over an entire continent, peaceful co-operation between countries with different social systems can be based on ideas, such as those proclaimed by China and India."

The excerpt above is culled from the Helsinki Appeal issued by the World Assembly of Peace. I have already described the scene of jubiliation that was witnessed when its unanimous acceptance was announced. The scene demonstrated the spirit the agreed appeal had aroused. We found it manifest wherever we had visited. It had succeeded to set to work that 'real transformation of relations between nations' which Jean-Paul Sartre desired to find fulfilled. New men and women have, indeed, born to give this world a new civilization based on Panchashila. This is the experience we had gathered while we were abroad in Finland and the Soviet Republic and the Peoples' Republic of Czechoslovakia. We felt we were on a pilgrimage which rewarded us with the knowledge of man's march to victory over wars and dominations —political, social, and doctrinal.

Geneva

We have not been in Geneva. But the picture of Geneva was always in our mind. The Helsinki Assembly was, in fact, summoned to let know the Heads of the Big Four what exactly the peoples of the world expected of them. It wanted to impress upon them the necessity it felt for an immediate settlement of problems which were driving the nations from the existing cold war to an all-devastating atomic conflagration.

On the ashes of the League of Nations met for the first time in ten years the victors of World War II. The prospect of their meeting was hailed by all. The World Assembly for Peace hoped:

> "For the first time in ten years in this divided world the Four Great Powers are going to meet, thanks to the efforts of public opinion. On them lies the burden of a universal hope. Their first duty will be to overcome their mutual distrust."

This hope that the Assembly had nourished was not blasted into ashes to add to the ashes of the late League of Nations. And, as a matter of fact, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, with the active support of Mendes France and our own Krishna Menon, had already turned the Geneva ashes into a fertile soil on which

grew and took shape the agreements on Indo-China and the subsequent cease-fire. On the wake of those agreements came the momentous declaration of Panchashila in New Delhi over the joint signatures of the two Prime Ministers of the world's two largest Republics, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indian Union. It would not be irrelevant to mention that Chou En-lai flew to India and conferred with Prime Minister Nehru immediately after he had succeeded to conclude favourably the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. Geneva has since then been the source of the growth of a spirit now known as the Geneva Spirit.

This new spirit was indeed brought to Geneva by Chou En-lai who along with Nehru forced an armistice in the Korean War. This spirit has been constantly gathering force through the declaration of Panchashila and the ever-increasing support to it by the peoples and governments of Asian and African countries, and the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. The heads of the Four Great Powers met in Geneva just when this Geneva spirit had been blowing off mutual distrusts and had been at the same time creating an atmosphere of goodwill and friendliness. A change had really been noticed in the attitudes of the heads of the governments of even those countries who were not favourably disposed toward Panchashila.

I have in the beginning of this report quoted at length from *Crusade in Europe* to show that President Eisenhower, while he was the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, had been seriously thinking of a friendly relationship between Russia and the United States of America, because he was sure that 'no other division among the nations could be considered as a menace to world unity and peace.'

When he had said 'no other division' he had obviously meant the ideological division which had created the two opposing power-blocs, the Communists and the anti-Communists. He did not then take into account the non-Communist nations of the world, because none of them was then free from colonial bondage.

General Eisenhower by virtue of his martial abilities won the hearts of the people of America and their political support, and became the President of the greatest living pattern of Western Democracy. Even as a President he continued to explore the possibilities of founding a friendly relationship between his State and the State of U.S.S.R. In pursuit of it he discovered that the relationship he sought for might be founded if Communism could be knocked off. He started a campaign against Communism. The capitalists and the church organisations of his country lent him unqualified support. A crusade was declared, and a network of military bases established around the Communist bloc. Demonstrations of nuclear weapons were publicly made to terrorize peoples who had no such weapons, nor means to manufacture them or to make them available to them. Pacts like the Manila Pact were so forged as to threaten the sovereignty of independent States where the balance would indicate a swing toward Communism. Treaty organisations were manipulated to asphyxiate Communism. An intolerable tension was created. Apprehension of a third World War seized the peoples and made them extremely uneasy. All these were done by him while he had been sincerely looking for a just and lasting peace.

He took ten long years to realize, and to admit it too, that the ideological differences between nations should not be taken as insurmountable barriers against peaceful negotiations. And it was exactly to carry on such negotiations that he agreed to meet the other three heads of the Big Four Powers in Geneva. He did not go back to his country disappointed either. Before he left for Geneva he had said to his people:

> "We realize that one ingredient has been missing from all past conferences. This is an honest intent to conciliate, to understand, to be tolerant, to try to see the other fellow's viewpoint as well as we see our own. I say to you if we can change the spirit in which those conferencese are conducted, we will have taken the greatest step toward peace for future prosperity and tranquillity that has ever been taken in the history of mankind."

On his arrival back in the United States from Geneva he made a report on the conference to the citizens by radio and television, in which he gave his personal impression in these words:

> "Now for myself, I do not belittle the obstacles lying ahead on the road to a secure and just peace. By no means do I underestimate the long and exhausting work that will be necessary before real results are achieved. I do not blink the fact that all of us must continue to sacrifice for what we believe to be best for the safety of ourselves and for the preservation of the things in which we believe, but I do know that the people of the world want peace. Moreover, every other individual who was at Geneva likewise felt this longing of mankind. So, there is great pressure to advance constructively, not merely to re-enact the dreary performance, the negative performances of the past."

He also apprised his listeners how he felt that a change in the negative performances is imperative. He explained:

> "There seems to be a growing realization by all that nuclear warfare pursued to the ultimate, could be practically race suicide. There is a realization that negotiations can be conducted without propaganda and threats and invectives. Finally, there is a sharp realization by the world that the United States will go to any length consistent with our concepts of decency and justice and right to attain peace. For this purpose we will work co-operatively with the Soviets and any other people as long as there is sincerity of purpose and a genuine desire to go ahead."

That a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation guided the Geneva discussion was thus told by the President:

> "We talked about a free flow of news across the curtains of all kinds. We talked about the circulation of books, and particularly we talked about peaceful trade. But the subject that took most of our attention in this regard was the possibility of increased visits by the citizens of one country into the territory of another, doing this in such a way as to give each the fullest possible opportunity to learn about the people of the other nation. Now in this particular subject there was the greatest possible degree of agreement . . . Now, of course, we are profoundly hopeful that these assurances will be faithfully carried out."

While he spoke he was not sure how his speech and his endeavour in Geneva would be received by his listeners. He, therefore, assured them:

> "I can assure you of one thing: there were no secret agreements made, either understood agreements or written ones. Everything is put before you on the record. Now outside of these conference meetings there were numerous official meetings, conversations with important members of the other delegations and, of course, very specifically with the Soviet delegation. In these conversations a number of subjects were discussed, and among them the Secretary of State and I specifically brought up more than once American convictions, and American beliefs, and American concern about such questions as the satellites of Eastern Europe, and the activities of international Communism. We made crystal clear what America believes about such matters as these."

The above was obviously meant for the diehard elements of his listeners who were made to believe that the Communist powers were still preparing themselves to swallow the rest of the world. Does the President himself still hold the same view? He would not have been the President if he did not. He said America had 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of believing things'. So have the other peoples of the world. The Helsinki Assembly for Peace have showed that there are peoples in sixty-eight Communist and non-Communist countries who have this 'conviction' and this 'belief' that world-Americanism through chains of military bases, puppet-States, and treaty organisations is a growing menace to world-peace. From the 'numerous conversations' with important delegations and very specifically with the Soviet delegation, the President, if not his Secretary of State, must have been able to gather that in spite of their 'convictions' and 'beliefs' on aggressive world-Americanism they have been sincerely working for conciliation and co-operation and against further repetition of the 'negative performances of the past.' That was really the Helsinki spirit and that was again the spirit that the President had found working in Geneva to sweep away mists of distrusts and doubts.

The President felt that a search of hearts was needed, a policy of give and take had to be adopted. He had searched his own heart. He found himself, as a person not as a President, prepared for conciliation and co-operation. He knew what the obstacles were. But those did not discourage him. He had caught the Geneva spirit. He had searched his heart to find it filled with the Geneva spirit of conciliation and co-operation. He told it not only to his own people but to all the peoples of the world. But have all Americans searched their hearts? The honest President did not know. The industrial magnets and the church organisations possibly loomed large in his mind while he had been speaking on the Geneva spirit. But he meant to be frank as he always had been, and continued to spin:

> "A gulf as wide and deep as the difference between individual liberty and regimentation, as wide and deep the gulf that lies between the concept of man made in the image of his God, and the concept of man as a mere instrument of the State. Now if we think of those things, we are apt to be possibly discouraged but I was also profoundly impressed with the need for all of us to avoid discouragement merely because our own proposals, our own approaches, and our own beliefs are not always immediately accepted by the other side."

Once more my mind goes back to the Helsinki Appeal which on the eve of the meeting of the Heads of the Four Powers gave out the hope:

> "The work of peace can at last be done if forces for peace whose aims are similar, particularly peace movements and big political organisations of Christian or socialist tendencies—unite their efforts to dispel mistrust and win peace."
>
> "Step by step, the contradictions in the world can be resolved and the hopes of all people fulfilled."

The President concluded his report on Geneva with this exhoration:

> "We, all of us, individually, and as a people, now have possibly the most difficult assignment of our nation's history. Likewise, we have the most shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans. May this truth inspire and never dismay us. I believe that only with prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance, never forgetting vigilance and prudence, can we keep alive the

spark in Geneva. But if we are successful in this, then we will make constantly brighter the light that will one day guide us to our goal—a just and lasting hope."

When we had read the speech above, we thought America would rise up to the occasion as her President expected of her. But America is too deeply obsessed with her own 'convictions' and 'beliefs' and 'American way of thinking' to agree to conciliation and co-operation. Her Foreign Secretary came to the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers with exactly the same blue-print she had prepared when she founded NATO. Without a united and armed Germany netted in NATO European Security could not be founded on sure ground was one of America's strongest 'convictions' and 'beliefs.' A strong wall of resistance against the Communists was essentially needed for European Security was just what was really the 'American way of thinking'. The last two World Wars were not caused by any offensive movement of the Communists. The Americans know it. But as they are bent upon making history, they are determined not to be swayed by the lessons of history like most of the past imperialists. The British and the French Foreign Ministers forgot their very recent past, and wanted a re-armed and re-united Germany as a bulwark against Communist aggression. Chamberlain died disgraced by his conservative compatriots but his ghost won a spiritual victory over them in Geneva. Chamberlain appeased a monster which was ultimatlly killed by a wonderful alliance of Communist and capitalist powers. The present Conservative Ministry of Sir Anthony Eden wants to resurrect a fresh monster in Germany to fight Communists on behalf of the French and the British. Chamberlain believed it was possible. He paid the penalty of his folly by his dismissal. But that did not prevent the terrific air raids on London and terrible casualties due to them.

President Eisenhower had said that a new spirit of conciliation and co-operation was assured by each side to the other during the conference of the heads of the four powers, and the acid test would begin in October at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers. All world watched anxiously the crucibles containing the basic metals of conciliation the Foreign Ministers had taken with them to Geneva. No sooner were they put to test, disagreement was found to be the distinctive reaction. The Western Powers wanted the whole of Germany within the fold of NATO while they had previously netted the western part only. Obviously they proved themselves very loyal to the American President by closely following his advice of give and take. Molotov could not concede to it. He was then dubbed as an irreconcilable trouble-shooter. Capitalist papers proclaimed that Molotov wanted to Communise the whole of Germany. Molotov made it clear that Russia wanted to see the whole of Germany as a free but neutral State, free from any kind of foreign bondage, including that of NATO. Was that unreasonable? The Western Powers thought it was so. Molotov suggested a panel of supervisors composed of European States to maintain European security. The Western Powers ridiculed the idea as another contrivance of the Communists to capture power in their hands. The Geneva spirit failed to sweep away distrust from the minds of the Foreign Ministers of the Western Big Three. The Acid Test rather demonstrated that the distrust had gathered too deeply to make it almost an element giving no reaction to any acid.

Was Molotov prepared for a give and take? He was found ready to give both parts of Germany to the German people. He stood for a European security under the supervision of European States plus America. But a free and neutral Germany was inconceivable to the Western Powers. He had come to take it as a certainty that a free and reunited Germany outside NATO would inevitably go Communist. It would be hundred times better, they supposed, if by keeping West Germany bound to NATO, Germans may be made to fight Germans than a neutral Germany. In that case Russia may be trapped in, and her credit in the world movement for Peace may be lowered and shattered even.

It is not the German might that the Western Powers are afraid of. Have not they twice crushed it? They have, as the world knows it. It is the awakening of the people that they are afraid of. An emperor or even a Fuhrer may be crushed by military force, but not so a conscious people. The German people are increasingly growing conscious of their potential power as a people. It is not likely that any future Fuhrer is going to have any chance of leading the entire people once again to a war. Neither is it likely that the awakened and conscious people of Germany would any more allow themselves to be used as pawns in the game of power politics. This progressive outlook of the people is what the capitalist States and Christian politicians dread the most, and this too they call Communism.

But what about President Eisenhower's appeal to his people 'to bear in mind the shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans'? How did America work in Geneva to 'translate into specific agreements' the new spirit which warmed the President's heart while he talked with the other three heads of the Big-Four? The acid test could show nothing. It is really unfortunate. The Big Four powers have disappointed the peoples who want an end to the cold war.

The American President reported on Geneva on the evening of July 25th, 1955. His Assistant Secretary of State, Walter Robertson, spoke at the John Hopkins University on "Nationalism and Progress in South and

South-East Asia" on August 8, 1955. The highlights of his speech are:

> "Communism has destroyed the true independence of several countries in Asia, and threatens all the others with every technique in its arsenal from subversion to armed revolt to external aggression."

It is an example of the 'American way of thinking.' Their 'convictions and beliefs' suggest to them that China by evolving a People's Democracy has lost her independence and only a part of it has been preserved by Chiang Kai-sek in the Chinese island of Taiwan through the grace of American forces.

The next remarkable passage of his speech was raised to this strain of seeming truthfulness:

> "No free Asian nation today is under major Communist influence, as the Bandung Conference clearly showed."

And yet he could not resist the temptation to strike terror by declaring:

> ". . . The people of Asia are reluctant to face the fact that they and their work are threatened by an implacable enemy dedicated to their destruction by stealth or by force."

This certainly does not give expression to the Geneva spirit by which the President and his Secretary of State was deeply impressed. Nevertheless the Assistant Secretary once more got inclined to be generous. He commented:

> "While recently, as we have seen, the gale-force winds of Communists have become softer, and the Communists have professed their wish to live peacefully with their neighbours it is too soon to tell whether this is a change of heart or a propaganda."

But he had no patience to wait and see. He continued once again to hit the nail:

> "The best efforts of the people of Asia toward self-development, massive American economic assistance, would not serve to keep armed Communism across the border if there were no force available to resist. The Communists are interested in the conquest of Asia, not in the welfare of its people."

The American President's reference to the new spirit was useless. The American way of thinking had undergone no change whatsoever. It is no wonder that the American President would have a mild heart attack. The Secretary of State went back to Geneva not inspired with the New Spirit the President supposed he was imbued with, but with the same old slogan of 'Resist Communism at any cost.' He convinced his Western counterparts that the security of Europe depended not only on the segregation of the Communists but on their total elimination. Conciliation and co-operation and co-existence should never be thought of. His French and British counterparts were amazed, but dared not to contradict him. They expressed their desire to keep open the doors for further negotiation. The American Secretary of State indignantly kept silence over it although his President counselled prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance and a lot of pious qualities. As soon as the Geneva conference was over the Secretary of State gave wide publicity of his intention to visit immediately South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Manila. Indonesia and South Vietnam was not mentioned. Probably he wanted to show a tightening of belt. The Geneva spirit must not be allowed to grow. It has weakened the stout heart of the veteran winner of the war, who knows that it would not affect other stony hearts?

The peoples are vitally concerned with the Geneva Spirit. Although they do not find any place in the summit conferences held in Geneva, they have rightful places in the Cabinets and Ministries and Parliaments and fields and factories, in all the public and private sectors of all the systems all over the world. They will not allow the Geneva Spirit to be frittered away. Ever-increasing pressure must be used to make heads of governments agreeable to conciliation and co-operation. Public opinion must stand stubborn against the policy of strength as declared by Helsinki Assembly. The Helsinki Spirit will sustain and strengthen the Geneva Spirit. And the combined will of governments and peoples will give the world a just and everlasting Peace.

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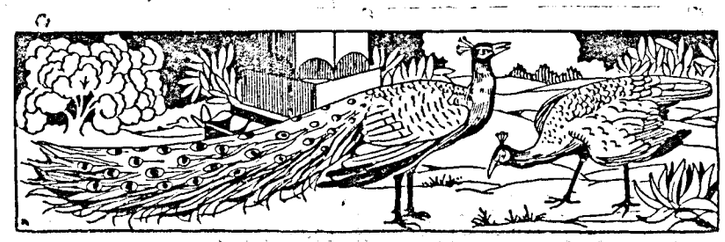

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Mdern 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 DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY: *By Jitendranath Banerjea, Ph.D., F.A.S. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1956. Pp. xxxvii + 655. Price Rs. 30.*

This is a work of immense industry and learning, being the fruit of the author's life-long study of the subject in all its bearings. The special feature of the first edition which appeared in eight chapters with ten Plates in 1941 was the author's attempt to trace the development of individual iconographic types in the light of extant specimens of the sculptures, and more particularly of the coin and seal devices of early times. As a whole, however, it dealt with "the general principles of Hindu iconography, the early iconographic types and the iconographic and iconometric technicalities." In this second edition the author has made an addition of four chapters (on folk-divinities, on Vishnu and Surya, on Siva and Sakti and a number of miscellaneous and syncretistic divinities), while reshuffling the material and re-arranging the matter of the three Appendices. Its value has been further enhanced by the substitution of an analytical table of contents, a list of forty-eight well-selected Plates (in place of the original ten) as well as a General Bibliography. Throughout the work the author shows mastery of the widely scattered material as well as an excellent judgment in weighing the evidence and examining the views of his predecessors. It is evidently not possible to notice here even a considerable portion of its contents, but a few points may be noted. In the first chapter, the author gives a good account of his original sources under two broad heads, namely, archaeological and literary, the latter being further sub-divided into works of a general and of a technical character. The second chapter contains a valuable discussion of a question which has seriously engaged the attention of Indologists from the time of H. H. Wilson, namely, whether the Vedic Indians were worshippers of images. In the third chapter, the author carefully explains the part played by the commingling of the Aryan and the indigenous cultures and more specially by the cult of *bhakti* in developing image-worship, and he brings together the literary and archaeological evidence from the pre-Christian centuries to indicate the prevalence of image-worship in those times. The fourth chapter gives an exhaustive account of the representations of the Brahmanical divinities (especially Siva) and their emblems on the early Indian coins (indigenous and foreign) down to the Kushan period. In the fifth chapter, the author gives a necessarily provisional account of the religious beliefs and practices of the Indus valley people in the light of the figures and the scenes depicted on the Mohenjodaro sealings. This is followed by an exhaustive study of the figures of the deities and their emblems on the early Indian seals belonging mostly to the Gupta period. The sixth chapter deals with the icono-plastic art relating to the manufacture of images as well as an analysis of the factors contributing to the same. The seventh chapter is concerned with iconographic terminology after the technical works on such subjects as hand-poses and the poses of figures of the deities, while the following chapter deals with the canons of iconometry after the ancient texts. The last four chapters deal exhaustively with the evolution of the Brahmanical cults from their dim (Vedic and non-Vedic) beginnings down to their highly developed and complex forms, while they give (except in the notable instance of the Sakta cult) nearly complete accounts of the various iconographic types with illustrative references. Of the three Appendices the first two deal with various iconographic and iconometric texts (in translation or in the original or both), while the last seeks to apply the iconometric test to some specimens in the galleries of the Indian Museum as well as the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.

The above brief sketch will give the reader some idea of the comprehensive scope of the present work as well as its authoritative and exhaustive treatment of the subject-matter. Suffice it to say that it is the most important work that has appeared on Hindu iconography since the publication of T. A. Gopinatha Rao's two monumental volumes on the subject in 1914 and 1916. It will remain as such a standard work of reference for a considerable time to come.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OUTLINES OF HINDUISM: *By Dr. J. M. P. Mahadevan, with a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Chetana Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 7-8.*

A modern pedant like William James might have characterised God as wet-nurse to humanity and branded religion 'a narcotic.' But that does not tell the whole truth. The old type concepts of compartmentalized human mind gave birth to different ideas of religion as emphasising one or the other of the three principal activities of man's mind, *viz.*, thinking, feeling and willing. All these concepts overlooked the fundamental unity of man as man and consequently they missed the fundamental unity of all religions. Religion is man's response to the call eternal. This contingent world of ours, the telos or purpose that is evident everywhere in this vast creation lead us to the Formulation of an Idea which carries the guarantee of its own reality. That Idea is God with the Hindus and everyone of them was allowed to look upon this Idea from his own peep-hole, big or small. The nature and size of this peep-hole gave birth to the pantheon of the Hindus, their multi-coloured philosophy and ethics, and above all, their diverse modes of living.

The volume under review brings out this fundamental truth of our religion. Prof. Mahadevan has done a singular service to the strife-torn humanity by bringing into them the unifying and elevating message of Hindu wisdom, that is embodied in the religion, Ethics and Philosophy of the Hindus. 'For the Hindu, the aim of religion is the integration of personality which reconciles the individual to his own nature, his Fellowmen and the Supreme Spirit.' This process of reconciliation is diverse and Hinduism has found room for them all. Its catholicity accounts for its hoary past and its dynamic present. This dynamic character of Hinduism was evident to Mahatma Gandhi when he said with the utmost confidence at his command: "I have no other wish in this world but to find light and joy and peace through Hinduism." Hinduism is a living force and it could still hold out to the rest of the world its valued claim that it could deliver the goods. Prof. Mahadevan's illuminating discourse will help everybody to understand the core of Hindu religion and it is quite in the fitness of things that such a book will come out when resurgent India is making rapid strides in all avenues of human activity.

The book under review is written in nine chapters. Appendices I and II are valuable contributions as embodying the Fundamentals of Hinduism in modern terminology. Prof. Mahadevan's definition of religion touches on the fringe of a universal religion and it has been rightly fitted in the broad compass of Hindu religion. We unhesitatingly recommend this book to all lovers of religion and to all serious students of theology.

A Foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan has enhanced the prestige of the treatise. The publishers of the book deserve a word of praise for the nice get-up and neat printing.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

OUTLINES OF JAIN PHILOSOPHY: *By Mohanlall Mehta, M.A. With a foreword by B. P. Wadia. Published by Jain Mission Society, G-146, Chickpet, Bangalore-2. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 5.*

The learned author of the book under review is a double Master of Arts in Philosophy and Psychology and a Research Fellow of the Banaras Hindu University. A glance at this book will at once show that he is a distinguished authority on Jainism and a profound scholar of Jainology. Out of 81 celebrated works quoted in this book 46 are Jain and 35 are non-Jain, and over 50 of them all are Sanskrit. He has made a splendid attempt to present the common features of Jain Philosophy on the basis of original Prakrit and Sanskrit texts in such a manner as to make the exposition an intelligent guide and comprehensive introduction to the general readers as well as to advanced students. Sri B. P. Wadia, the Founder-President of the Indian Institute of Culture in Bangalore, in an appreciative foreword to this book rightly observes that it is not only informative for the general reader but will prove valuable to the students of different religions and philosophies. The erudite author makes a profound study of Jainism in comparison, not only with different systems of Indian philosophy but also with leading systems of Western thought. A bibliography of works with authors quoted as well as an index of general subjects and Sanskrit terms are duly appended. Printed correctly and nicely got-up, the book may be regarded an abiding contribution to the philosophical literature of the academic world.

This treatise on Syadvada, by which name Jainism is philosophically known, is divided into six well-written chapters. The first of them is devoted to a brief survey of the conception of Reality from the standpoint of realism, idealism and Jainism. The Jain idea of soul has been thoroughly and critically examined in the second chapter. In the third, Jain conception of matter is described. The canonical and logical theory of knowledge is discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth one deals with the relativity of judgement and theory of Naya. The important doctrines of *karma* and *gunasthana* are precisely presented in the last chapter. Sri B. P. Wadia quotes the significant couplet of *Samadhi Sataka*,' a popular Jain work as follows: "One who has identified his own self with the body in which it is encased is extremely afraid of death seeing therein his own destruction and separation from friends." From this we can clearly understand that the descriptions of liberated and enlightened states given in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism are almost identical. A synthetic vision pointing out the salient similarities with the sister-religions would have made the book more accessible to the votaries of other religions also. How is it that no reference is made to the *Samadhi Sataka* in this outstanding work? In spite of all these negligible limitations this scholastic essay deserves to be a doctorate thesis.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOUR: *By T. N. Rastogi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is a timely publication on Labour in which not only students of Economics but people interested in the industrial development also will find useful. The subject has been discussed with special reference to textile labour. Being a Labour Officer himself, the author's outlook is realistic and he never tries to press his views on the reader. He records his personal experience, discusses the subject and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The book is divided into twelve chapters, subjects discussed being—Labour and Industrial Relations, Labour Welfare, Labour Administration, Employer-Employee Relations, Industrial Housing, Social Insurance, Labour Legislation, Industrial Peace, Trade Unionism, Personnel Department, and Profit Sharing. Thus various aspects of the present-day labour problem have been discussed. Old relations between Capital and Labour, Employer and Employee have ceased to exist. Labour is no longer a means to an end but an end in itself. Human element has come to the forefront for consideration and as a result Labour's voice has become a determining force in industry and ultimately in the matter of production and efficiency. Under the circumstances Labour must be satisfied in regard to its position as a partner in production. So the importance of the Personnel Department in modern industrial establishments cannot be overemphasised. As a matter of fact, Labour Officer's duties to keep a close and cordial relation between the employer and employee work is a pivot on which the entire industrial and social efficiency turns. Since the establishment of International Labour Office by the League of Nations at Geneva, various conventions have been adopted by the International Labour Conferences many of which have since been ratified by the National Par-

liaments. In compliance with these conventions various legislations regarding labour welfare have been passed by the Indian Legislature from time to time. And since the transfer of power to Indian hands the progress has been very rapid and if these laws are properly applied in letter and spirit, not only the labour but all classes of society win benefit as a result and increase the National Dividend due to increased national efficiency.

The book contains six Appendices and a Bibliography which the reader will find valuable and illuminating. We have no hesitation in recommending this volume to employers and officers who have to deal with labour and also to students who are interested in the subjects of Labour Welfare or who desire to take up duties in the Personnel Department of Industrial establishments.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

KIRANAVALI OF UDAYANACHARYA: *Translation and critical exposition in Bengali by Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., D.Litt. Distributed by U. N. Dhar & Sons, Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintance with the different systems of Indian philosophy. The philosophers of the Nyaya-Vaisesika systems of thought have made invaluable contribution to the stock of critical and scientific investigation. Unqualified acceptance of the Nyaya methodology by different schools of Indian philosophy bears ample testimony to this truth. While the Nyaya is engaged in epistemology the Vaisesika concentrates on metaphysics. The Vaisesika starts with the sense-data and seeks to interpret the world of experience. Reality, according to him, is not merely a substance or a quality but a net-work of different categories which are mutually related with one another. This harmonisation in the world of experience is unique and scientific. The Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy grew in its strength and volume as a result of the impact with the Buddhists. The more significant contribution to this field was made by the neo-logicians of Mithila and Bengal. Udayana was the pioneer of this school which found its consummation in the works of Gangesa. Without a first-hand knowledge of the process of reasoning knowledge of other systems cannot be complete. But the stumbling block lies at the gateway in the form of its hair-splitting dialectic and technicalities. Udayana is a prolific writer of this school but the general students of Indian philosophy find it difficult to study and appreciate his works. This apathy led a reputed scholar of the day to remark that there is not a single scholar living who can teach Kiranavali with acuteness and explain its verbal intricacies. This remark served as a stimulus to our present editor in interpreting the categories of the Vaisesika in a lucid manner and thus bringing out the futility of the unwarranted assumption of the scholar. Dr. Sastri's work serves as an instance to the truth that no serious student of the Nyaya-Vaisesika can afford to avoid a most thorough and rigorous study of Udayana's dialectic.

Padarthadharmasangraha of Prasastapada was commented upon by Vyomasiva, Udayana, and Sridhara. Udayana's credit lies in the fact that he, for the first time, realised the inaccuracies in both the systems, *viz.*, Nyaya-Vaisesika and cemented them together into a single system of thought. This undertaking made his work pregnant with abstruseness of thought and terseness of language. Kiranavali is an instance on the point. That is why the book has been commented upon from time to time by such eminent logicians as Vardhamana, Pragalbhacharya, Jayadeva Misra, Raghunatha Siromani and others. The present editor has exhibited his erudition in delineating the formidable logical subtleties in a lucid manner. Dr. Sastri has utilised in particular the commentary of Vardhamana and the super-commentary of Ruchidatta and also of Mathuranatha in unfolding the deeper subtleties of Udayana's standpoint. But it is most encouraging to find that in course of his elucidation he has always been extremely careful in examining the position of the commentators and super-commentators and in a quite good number of places he has unhesitatingly challenged the orthodox interpretation and put forward his original contribution and in this he has exhibited the same type of sharp critical acumen which characterised the genius of different ages. Dissertations on salvation and darkness are really illuminating and the entire approach is challenging. These two sections reveal the author's acquaintance with all branches of Indian philosophy. The topic of Janakarma-samucchaya-vada is really noteworthy and reveals an independent and effective thinking. The book, as a whole, compresses within its limited compass a varied source of learning and logical subtleties. A careful study of it will stimulate the capacity for reasoning. The reviewer feels no hesitation in asserting that the present book should be read by all students of Indian philosophy and will be welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit learning. The book is enriched by an introduction which contains in a most compact form a systematic growth and development of the Vaisesika school an account of which is not available in any single work on the subject.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

SLOKA SAMGRAHA: *Navavidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshab Chandra Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Eighth edition. Price not mentioned.*

The 19th century renaissance in Bengal was a forceful liberalising process and great minds worked behind it. Rammohun's vision of a comprehensive religion profoundly impressed his contemporary thinkers as well as the social and religious leaders who followed him. Keshub Chunder Sen, founder of the Navavidhan Brahmo Samaj, one of the most powerful thought-leaders of his time, culled with great care the gems of all the scriptures of the world and the book under review is the outcome of his labour. *Sloka Samgraha* or the Collection of Hymns contains valuable extracts from the Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Sikh, Jewish, Christian, Mahommedan, Parsee and Chinese scriptures and represents the heights of realisation attained by the sages of all countries. The Bengali and English renderings of the passages included will be found particularly helpful. The volume now in its eighth edition has evidently evoked considerable interest.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

GO-SEVA: *By Gandhiji. Translated by Sree Ram Narayan Chowdhury. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1955. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the third revised and enlarged edition of the book, for the benefit of the Hindi-reading public. It is a positive approach to the problem of the cow, a matter of vital importance for the prosperity of India, in sharp contrast to the agitational approach favoured by a section of conservative opinion, insistent on prohibitive legislation against cow-killing. The Preface is a dialogue in which Gandhiji, in 1933, had discussed some problems, or rather answered some enquiries put forward by a delegation. The book itself consists of two parts: the first in 34 sections is made up of Gandhiji's own writings, the second is made up of 12 articles contributed by various writers—his associates like Mahadev Desai, Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Vinobaji. These discussions, it needs no emphasis, are very valuable. Of the appendices, one is an extract from a letter of Gandhiji to Jivanji Desai; another, the constitution of the Go-Seva Sangh; a third, the constitution of All-India Go-raksha Mandal. In addition, there are eleven supplements from such writers as Gandhiji, Mashruwalla, T. Vijayaraghavachariar.

It is a very handy volume, practical and at the same time a resume of the principles of the subject enunciated by thoughtful leaders of our society. The name is too modest for the richness of the contents. An index of subjects at the end for easy reference adds to the value of the book.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

YOGANISHTA ACHARYA SHRIMAD BUDDHISAGAR SURESHWARJI: *By Jaya Bhikkhu and Padrakar. Printed at the Ashok Printing, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 336+152+16. Price Rs.11.*

To celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his death, the followers of the late Sureshwarji have prepared this handsome volume, which sets out in detail, the progress in life, material and religious, made by an unlettered peasant boy, culminating in his reaching the highest stage which is possible for a Jaina Sadhu to reach. Both as a biography and as a dissertation on the highly technical philosophy propounded by the subject-matter of this biography, it is a unique performance. The writers have had a strenuous time of it, but they have done their work thoroughly. The illustrations, numerous in number, have made the treatise attractive.

JNANPRAHARI: *By Vidyutbai Y. Desai. Bhavnagar. Printed at the Bhavnagar Samachar Press, Bhavnagar. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 126+5. Price not mentioned.*

How Bharati, the talented wife of Mandanmishra of Mahishmati, encountered Shankaracharya and defeated him in their discussions on *Jhan* and its *Prahari*, is a subject known to every student of Bharat's old philosophical literature. The incident is set out in this drama with considerable intelligence and insight, and though the subject is technical and above the head of the common reader, Mr. Desai has endeavoured to make it easy and popular.

K. M. J.

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11

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Interpreting India: Vivekananda

T. M. P. Mahadevan writes in the *Vedanta Kesari*:

It is not easy to interpret India with her ancient culture, age-long traditions, and complex texture of thought and life. Not only those who come from outside, but also many of those—especially the educated ones—who are born and brought up in this country find it difficult to understand what India stands for. The essentials of Indian culture are often missed in a maze of non-essentials. Certain facets are over-emphasized with the result that one gets a distorted picture of India's soul. For many a century of India's history, great sons and daughters of India did perform the task of interpreting India both to their own people and to the rest of the then known world. But after India became a subject-country, this task could not be performed effectively for reasons which are obvious. The contact with the West brought, no doubt, new knowledge to our shores. But in the glare of this knowledge, our leaders became blind to the excellence of our own culture, and turned out to be bad imitators of strange fashions and unsuitable modes of life. India's cause suffered by default. Her spirit was being stifled. This process of strangulation reached its climax in the nineteenth century; and its intensity was the greatest in Calcutta which was then the Capital of the British Empire in India.

It was at such a critical time in India's history, and in Calcutta, that a kindly Fate made a great soul appear, who could retrieve the situation and enable India to resume her march to her grand destiny. The progress that India has made in the present century, her successful struggle for Independence through non-violent means, and the stability and self-respect she has regained would have been impossible but for the pioneering work of this great soul—Swami Vivekananda.

Narendranath, as he was known before he became a monk, belonged to an aristocratic family of Calcutta, and had the best of modern education. He was outstanding in his class at college, imbibed a rationalistic—and even a sceptical—outlook, and mastered with equal zest the humanities and the sciences. If this was all that was his share, he would have ended probably as a brilliant college professor or an eminent lawyer. But, there was another mission set for him—the mission of re-discovering India for the benefit both of Indians and of others. The Master that made him recognize this mission and equipped him for this journey was Sri Ramakrishna. The sage did not have any formal education. He had dedicated his life to intense spirituality. True to India's tradition of hospitality, Sri Ramakrishna experimented with God in a variety of ways, including the so-called alien paths, and found that all religions led to the same goal. Paying his tribute to the sage, Mahatma Gandhi says:

"The story of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa's life is a story of religion in practice. His life enables us to see God face to face. No one can read the story of his life without being convinced that God alone is real and that all else is an illusion. Ramakrishna was a living embodiment of godliness."

Romain Rolland, one of Sri Ramakrishna's biographers, describes him as 'the consummation of two thousand years of the spiritual life of three hundred million people.' It was to this great spiritual genius that Narendranath came. Their first meeting was what we would call an accident; but it had a deeper design. The Calcutta college lad did not know it at first. But the sage, Ramakrishna, knew it from the beginning. In fact, he had been waiting for Narendranath's coming. He told him:

"Ah! you have come so late. Why have you been so unkind as to make me wait so long? My ears are tired of hearing the futile words of other men. Oh, how I have longed to pour out my spirit into the breast of somebody fitted to receive my inner experiences!"

The Disciple accepted the Master none too soon. He did not want to believe until he was convinced. Slowly but surely Narendra was converted; and he became the most beloved disciple, commissioned to fulfil the Master's mission. At one stage in his spiritual practice, Narendra wanted to get lost in the exaltation of spirit. Sri Ramakrishna chided him for this wish, and said:

"You will do great things in the world; you will bring spiritual consciousness to men, and assuage the misery of the humble and the poor."

And, just before his death, he called Narendra and told him:

"Today I have given you my all and am now only a poor *fakir*, possessing nothing. By this power you will do immense good in the world and not until it is accomplished will you return."

Narendra, who became Swami Vivekananda, realized only too well that the power he wielded had its source in Sri Ramakrishna. He knew that 'all he was himself came from that single source . . . that he had not one infinitesimal thought of his own to unfold.' And he proclaimed Sri Ramakrishna as 'the spring of this phase of the earth's religious life.'

At the passing away of the Master, Vivekananda and his brother-disciples were disconsolate. Their first impulse was to withdraw themselves completely from the world and spend the rest of their lives in seclusion. Vivekananda himself left Calcutta several times, seeking solace in the Himalayas. But the call of his Master to serve India and humanity prevailed at last, and as a preparation to this mission of service he undertook to go about this country seeing things for himself. Unknown and unannounced, he visited the palaces and the slums, and his heart bled at the sight of the extreme poverty of the masses. He had himself experienced earlier something of the pain of poverty, for his father through carelessness and generosity had left the family in poverty and want. But

he had not realized how pervasive poverty was in this country. Throughout his wanderings for nearly two years it was the misery that he saw that filled his mind to the exclusion of every other thought. The Master had foreseen this, for he had declared:

"The day when Naren comes in contact with suffering and misery, the pride of his character will melt into a mood of infinite compassion. His strong faith in himself will be an instrument to re-establish in discouraged souls the confidence and faith they have lost."

Coming face to face with the misery of the Indian masses, Vivekananda recalled his Master's words, 'Religion is not for empty bellies', and dedicated himself to the task of rousing the world's conscience so that India could be saved from her plight.

"May I be born and reborn again and suffer a thousand miseries," he was later to say, "if only I am able to worship the only God in whom I believe, the sum-total of all souls, and above all, my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all the races."

An opportunity to start his work of service presented itself when he was persuaded by certain friends and admirers, especially of Madras, to go to America and represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions which was to be held at Chicago in 1893. He went to America without counting the costs. He did not have sufficient money; nor did he have the credentials that would entitle him to speak at the Parliament. But the Spirit does not depend on empty formalities. The unseen hands that had guided Vivekananda to the New World would not leave him in the lurch. Providence straightened everything, and the Swami gained admittance into the Parliament. On the opening day when his turn to speak came, he rose and greeted the assembled gathering as 'Sisters and Brothers of America!' This mode of address was in such refreshing contrast to the conventional salutation adopted by his predecessors that the entire audience was thrilled and it applauded most lustily. Thereafter the Swami was in great demand, and was hailed as the hero of the Parliament. The *Boston Evening Post* praised him as 'the great favourite of the Parliament.' The *New York Herald* said, 'He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions.' He was asked to speak many times during the Parliament session; and the one theme of all his addresses was the unity of religions which was the message of his Master and the message of India as well. His final words to the Parliament were these:

"Upon the banner of every religion will soon be written in spite of resistance: 'Help and not Fight,' 'Assimilation and not Destruction,' 'Harmony and Peace and not Dissension'."

Swami Vivekananda went to America primarily to procure the means to ameliorate the material condition of India. In all his ministrations in the New World and in Europe, never for a moment did he forget this aim. But on seeing the West, he realized that a nation has to rise by its own effort. He, however, did a great service to India, while he was abroad, by exhibiting the true nature of India's cultdre. On his return to the homeland, he explained to his people his plan for the regeneration of India. He established an Order of Monks and Laity in the name of his Master as a vehicle for the continued service of humanity.

Swami Vivekananda was the first interpreter of India to the West that laid the proper emphasis on the spirit of religion as the basis of India's culture—religion not in any narrow sense of a creed or cult, but in its deepest and widest significance. In a lecture entitled 'My Plan of Campaign' that he delivered in Madras on his triumphal return from the West, the Swami says:

"Each nation, like each individual, has one theme in this life, which is its centre, the principal note round which every other note comes to form the harmony . . . If any one nation attempts to throw off its national vitality, the direction which has become its own through the transmission of centuries, that nation dies . . . In one nation political power is its vitality, as in England. Artistic life in another and so on. In India, religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life. . . And, therefore, if you succeed in the attempt to throw off your religion and take up either politics or society . . . the result will be that you will become extinct . . . Social reform . . . and politics have to be preached . . . through that vitality of your religion . . . Every man has to make his own choice; so has every nation. We made our choice ages ago . . . And it is the faith in an Immortal Soul . . . I challenge anyone to give it up . . . How can you change your nature?"

As the deepest and purest expression of the spirit of India, Advaita appealed to Swami Vivekananda. In the Advaita-experience which he inherited from his own Master, he found a state that is free from all narrowness. There could be no opposition between this experience and the various systems of thought and pathways to God. Moreover, the Swami was convinced that India needed a philosophy of robust strength. In one of his speeches he said:

"I heard once the complaint made that I was preaching too much of Advaita and too little of Dualism. Aye, I know what grandeur, what oceans of love, what infinite ecstatic blessings and joy there are in the dualistic religion. I know it all. But this is not the time with us to weep, even in joy; we have had weeping enough; no more is this the time for us to become soft. This softness has been with us till we have become like masses of cotton . . . What our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills, which nothing can resist, which will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face. That is what we want, and that can only be created, established, and strengthened by understanding and realizing the ideal of the Advaita, that ideal of the oneness of all."

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While Swami Vivekananda had the highest praise for our philosophico-religious culture, he was unsparing in his criticism of the mal-practices that had crept into Hinduism. It is well to remind ourselves that he was one of the very first, in modern times, to raise his voice of protest against casteism and don't-touch-ism. Modern caste distinction, he declared, is a barrier to India's progress; it narrows, restricts, separates; it will crumble before the advance of ideas. He worked for strengthening India's homogeneity and her acquiring democratic ideas. He insisted that intelligence should not remain the monopoly of the privileged few. He foresaw that education was coming, and that compulsory education would follow. As regards the practice of untouchability, the Swami had very hard things to say. He was convinced that it was against the very spirit of Indian thought and culture. 'India's doom was sealed,' he declared, 'the very day the world *mlechcha* was invented.' He exhorted the children of India to save India from this doom.

How greatly the passion for India burned within his heart, how ardently he wished that the true spirit of India should prevail, how keenly he felt the need for cutting away all dead accretions, may be learnt from the following words addressed by him to his countrymen:

"Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? . . . Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies . . . That is the first step to become a patriot! . . . For centuries people have been taught theories of degradation. They have been told that they are nothing . . . Let them hear of the Atman—that even the lowest of the low have the Atman within, which never dies and never is born—him whom the sword cannot pierce, nor the fire burn, nor the air dry, immortal, without beginning or end, the all pure, omnipotent and omnipresent Atman!"

What better interpreter of India there could be than the Swami who uttered these words both as a warning and as a hope, who in his short life of less than forty years awakened a sceptical world, and what was more, awakened an India that had been slumbering for long!

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G.B.S.: Defender of Animal Outsiders

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Parnell Bradbury pays tribute to Bernard Shaw. It gives due credit to Shaw's active opposition to vivisection. It would have been sad if Shaw's centenary year had passed without mention of this facet of his reformatory zeal:

Bernard Shaw, who was born in Dublin a hundred years ago, has been called many things, but even among his admirers, many of whom are now busily engaged in his centenary celebrations, few have acknowledged him as a champion of animal welfare.

As for the distinguished people who acclaim him a literary giant and a great dramatist, I have searched their remarks in vain for some acknowledgment of G.B.S. as a social reformer; as a defender of minorities (animal and human); as the champion of the outsider. Can it be that the truths which Shaw expounded concerning the futility no less than the barbarity of experiments on animals twenty, thirty or even forty years ago are still unpalatable even to those who accept him as a thinker? Can it be that those truths are so disturbing that most people (even those who feel they are on safe ground when praising the dramatist) would run a mile rather than face them? It looks like it.

In the *Sunday Times* of July 22nd, Mr. Colin Wilson describes Shaw as a psychologist and a mystic. Well, that is something. But no one has dared to see him as what he was, according to his own statements—a professional debunker of the value of animal experimentation; as a man who was moved to both fury and compassion by the idiotic reports that are issued by medical research councils from time to time, and that are, six years after his death, no less idiotic. The implications of this are serious. It looks as though there is a conspiracy of silence against G.B.S. as the thinker who, forty years ago, warned us that cancer would increase if we gave over the study of it to scoundrels who were too lazy or too stupid to search for causative factors beyond the vivisection table—and paid them fantastic sums for being so.

One newspaper which ought to have had more imagination actually printed two of these annual reports side by side with the B.B.C. plans for the Shaw centenary!

It is interesting to compare these reports with the opinions G.B.S. expressed in *Doctors' Delusions* (published in 1931). Obviously, medical science (so-called) has, as far as finding the cause and cure of cancer is concerned, progressed very little. How many animals have been tortured in vain? Money on medical research, we are told, has been well spent—£400,000 by the Cancer Campaign alone. How has it been spent? Several attempts were made to produce cancer in the lungs and skin of rats, mice and hamsters, by treating them with tobacco tars. None of these attempts has so far been successful. What a relief to all those patients who have cancer of the skin or lungs? The vermin and the hamsters are safe! But, perhaps, G.B.S. would not quite agree, for in a letter to *The Nation* he wrote:

"Those of us who have had cherished friends and relatives attacked by the diseases which the vivisectors claim to be able to cure, know best what value we have had for the guineas their announcements have drawn from our pockets into theirs. Those who are more fortunate have only to look at the Registrar-General's returns to see the rate at which we are still dying of the cures. If the men who have been stultifying themselves over vivisection for the last thirty years had been working in the paths of honour and mercy, and using their brains instead of carving living animals and calling it 'Research' who shall say what they might not have discovered?"

(That was on May 24th, 1913).

The Report goes on to discuss the most suitable poliomyelitis vaccine for this country:

"There is no proof, so far, of what value a Salk-type vaccine may have in protecting children under six years of age. Besides, the vaccine contains a strain of the poliomyelitis virus, whose effectiveness, in humans, is quite unproven, although it is safe and effective in animals. (Animal lovers please note.)"

If the Rtports referred to the behaviour of lunatics in a mental institution, they could be studied with less concern. As it is, we may tremble for the future health of mankind. And again:

"When one thinks of the Rockefeller funds, the Cancer Research funds, and the rest of the money that has gone down the viviscctors' sinks during the past quarter century, and compares its worse than negative results with the amazing series of discoveries made during that period by physicists doing sheer brain work within the strictest limits of honour, it is difficult to resist the conclusion (not that any normal person wants to resist it) that only imbeciles can be induced to practise vivisection, and glory in it. We give them huge sums to discover why we are dying of cancer at such an alarming rate, and how we can avoid it. They seize the money and buy innumerable mice with it, to play with in their laboratories. After years of developing in themselves the mouse mind, they tell us that they have found out how to give a mouse cancer, and that they have found a microbe which is quite harmless, but which, when associated with other conditions which they cannot define, seems to pe characteristic of cancer. Who would pull the whiskers of a single mouse for the sake of so pitiful a result?"

Shaw asked that question in the *Sunday Express*, on August 7th, 1927—nearly thirty years ago. If he were here, after reading these reports, he might be moved to ask it again. But, perhaps, his sojourn among the Immortals would have inclined him to have no more to do with us since it is obvious that even after many decades of his vigorous teaching we have learned almost nothing.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Arabian Days of Faith and Science

A member of the *Unesco* Secretariat, Dr. Khaldoun Kinany of Syria graduated from the University of Paris and London. He was professor at the University of Damascus from 1948 to 1951. Writes he as follows:

The ordinary reader has usually derived his knowledge of the Islamic world from renderings of *The Arabian Nights,* which may or may not impart some of the flavour of Arab tastes, but are, in any case, racy, highly coloured stories, mingling wild flights of imagination with sordid details, and conceived originally as light entertainmtnt for the masses.

Other sources of knowledge are the many travel books written by Westerners. Some are very well written, but unavoidably biased, and the most popular and widely circulated are usually those which content themselves with fascinating details and romantic descriptions. However, there is an increased demand for more exact and serious literature on Eastern cultures, as the numbers of internationally-minded readers in Europe and America are growing. These readers, representing the new spirit of the century, seek to know, through their national institutions or through international organizations promoting international understanding, such as, Unesco, more about the East—to understand better than tourists walking in narrow streets whose high walls hide the life of the people within. They would like to enter oriental houses, to be introdduced to Asian life, to learn about its soul and to study its culture from the inside.

"No culture," says T. S. Eliot, "can appear or develop except in relation to a religion." Arabian civilization and Moslem civilization during some periods of Arab history, and sometimes now, are identical. So it will be relevant to begin by looking at Moslem religion, and the ways in which it has deeply influenced the thought and behaviour of the builders of Arabian civilization.

Islam, by the extreme simplicity and clarity of its creed, struck the minds of men who were looking for a God and for a faith. Islam, recommending puritanism and brotherhood, appealed to the masses and to communities which were in need of social reform, moral and spiritual revival, and political security. Conversion to Islam helped nations and individuals to find their souls and ensure their salvation. It made them feel that they belonged only to themselves and to God, and to the large Moslem community based on brotherhood among all believers.

History has known religions which came too early or too late for their times. But Islam is one of the religions which arose at the right moment in time. Its message swept like fire all over the Middle East, and by the Seventh Century A.D., only ninety years after the coming of Mohammed. Moslem culture was established in a vast empire extending from Spain to India.

Why was Islam so phenomenally successful? Springing up as it did at the right moment was fortunate, and the fact that it has always disregarded prejudices based on race, colour, social class and country. It accepted from the very beginning the co-existence of other religions, which were free to develop within the Moslem world. Islam's traditional tolerance is well-known to all readers of the history of the Arabs, and the Arabs were well-rewarded for their religious tolerance. The tremendous wealth of philosophical and scientific knowledge which came to them from Greece, Egypt, Persia, India and other countries during the first centuries of their renaissance was passed on to them faithfully and consciously by Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian hands. Moslem religion, and subsequently Arabian culture, set the search for truth as the highest aim of human life. There is only one truth, all over the world. Islaim never claimed to be a new religion, but the continuation and reformation of Judaism, Christianity and the Hanif religion. Similarly, Moslem thinkers and scientists never believed the truth could be found in only one peopie and one country. Their endless journeyings all over the Moslem and non-Moslem world during the Middle Ages in search of true knowledge was almost certainly unprecedented in the past.

One last characteristic of Islam is its conception of Evil. Although Islam may be classed with those religions which conceived the creation and evolution of the universe to be the result of a perennial dualistic struggle between light and darkness, in Moslem religion evil is not as powerful as good. The Devil's power is smashed by the omnipotent God and reduced to the level of power that any single human being could possess. At any rate, if the evil power could sometimes overwhelm individuals i could not prevail against communities or nations. The prophets who were sent by God to help nations and races in their fight against evil are no longer needed since the coming of Mohammed, the very last prophet of God.

Islam takes a firm stand on this point. The belief that evil has little power against group thinking probably explains the Moslem's close attachment in thinking and behaviour to their groups, and may be one of the reasons why the Moslem brotherhood is so strong all over the world.

What bearing has the foregoing on Arabic culture? In the field of literature and the fine arts, Arabian culture suffered heavily from the absence in its universe of little gods and powerful spirits fighting with each other for the possession of this world, and the domination of the destiny of mankind. During its long centuries of development, Islam gave birth to no myths, metaphysical legends, folklore, carnivals, dances or religious theatre. However, it showed fertility in other fields of art and literature, which expressed confidence in life, trust in human destiny, and self-assurance in the artist's mind and soul. Arabic architecture, arabesque ornaments on mosques, palaces, carpets and luxurious furniture are well known to the Western world. However, the influence of Arabic poetry of troubadours and courtly love in Europe, and the role of Arabic music and prosody in the creation of the European sonnet, ode and ballad, although

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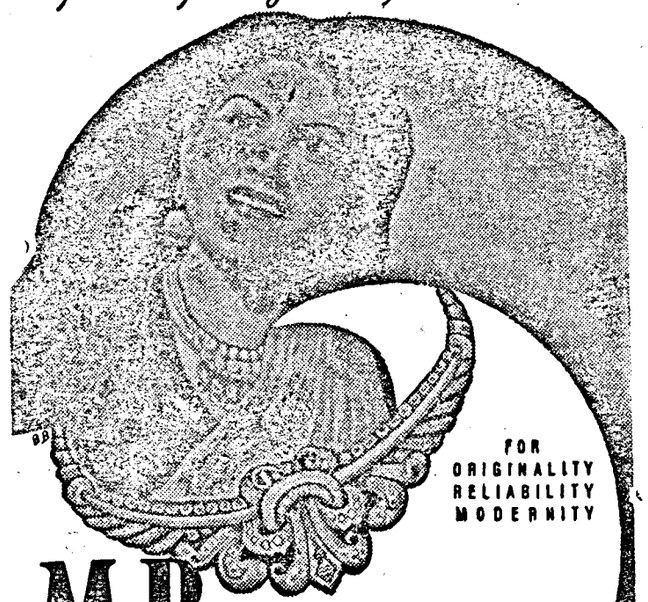

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accepted by some orientalists, has not yet been seriously stddied.

The freedom from fear of harmful and mysterious powers encouraged the Arabs to adopt a daring attitude towards the universe, and they set out to study its phenomena, to disclose its mysteries and discover its governing laws.

According to the Koran, true believers should reflect on the creation of heaven and earth. Those who succeed in melting and using iron or in benefiting from wind power, for example, and all who succeed in making life on earth more enjoyable and more comfortable for themselves and for their fellow men, are favoured by God. Their deeds and discoveries are considered as an act of worship. So it follows that the Arabs were as attracted by positive sciences as by philosophy and ascetism, and their favourite Greek philosopher was Aristotle, who was mainly concerned with science. The major contribution of the Arabs towards the progress of the culture of mankind, was in the field of science.

During the centuries when Arabs were the torch-bearers of civilization, the Arab scientists strove to replace astrology by astronomy, and alchemy by chemistry. In place of mythology they offered highly developed mathematics, algebra and trigonometry for the better understanding of the cosmos. Sarton, in his encyclopaedial *Introduction to the History of Science*, and E. F. Gautier, in his book *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans*, show, in detail how the Arabs not only preserved Greek science and transmitted it to Renaissance Europe, but how they improved on it immensely, and that in such subjects as mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, chemistry, physics, mineralogy, medicine, pharmacy, agriculture, metallurgy, the Arab scholars left their Greek teachers far behind. Gautier believes that it could be claimed that pharmacy was created by the Arabs. He reminds us that the mariner's compass, and the inexpensive writing paper made in those days from cotton. wool were also Arabic inventions. The major Arabian contribution to the progress of science did not consist solely in achieving additional knowledge and new discoveries in physics and chemistry and other scientific fields. The Arab contribution was much more important—they introduced an entirely new method, they introduced experimentation in science.

Sarton states that the Arab's great contributions to the advance of science is not generally known to the average scientist. For this lack of information he gives the following explanation: "The majority of the teachers and historians speaking of mediaeval thought have dealt with Western, and specially with Latin, writings. Now, it is true that a number of important works were composed in Latin, but many others, just as worthy of consideration, were written in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and even in Japanese. The most valuable of all, the most original and the most pregnant, were written in Arabic. From the second half of the eighth to the end of the eleventh century, Arabic was the progressive scientific language of mankind.

People often refer to the universal character of the Arabian culture and to its capacity to accommodate itself in any region with any civilization. Nevertheless, the sweeping character of the Arab conquest was in some ways harmful to the development of the Arabian culture. The Arabs became unable to control their vast empire, especially in the cultural field. In some countries, their culture and their religion were not given sufficient time to adjust themselves to new conditions. Fatalism invaded Moslem religion and the Arabian culture which had primarily advocated free will. The productive scholasticism which, on the basis of the Unity of Truth, maintained a wholesome liaison between scholars and scientists, was hastily substituted by an unproductive scholasticism which put scientists at the mercy of religious scholars. Love for perfection and ideals were overshadowed by love for materialistic existence and the acceptance of daily life without glory or noble ambitions. Unfairness and seclusion were sometimes, and in some regions, the reward of Arab women who fought courageously with their men for the victory of Arabian civilization, and who enjoyed, in Arabia during the first century of Islam, rights and privileges which are not obtained even today by women in some civilized countries. The Arabian culture went into a long period of decay, from the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century.

The awakening of the Arab world, which began in the last century, is now achieved. The modern Arabs are now fully aware of these two aspects of their culture, the one which built up their glorious past, they they went to keep, and the other which caused their decay, which they are trying to overcome. The Arabian culture has already demonstrated its firm belief in moral values, in universality, the dignity of the human personality, and in the progress of knowledge. It has advocated tolerance and fraternity among nations, races and religions. This culture, in spite of a very long period of decay, has now worn itself out. In fact, it has taken on a new vigour, and has great potentiality. The revival of Arabic culture will surely contribute to international understanding and the advance of mankind towards a better world. —*Unesco.*

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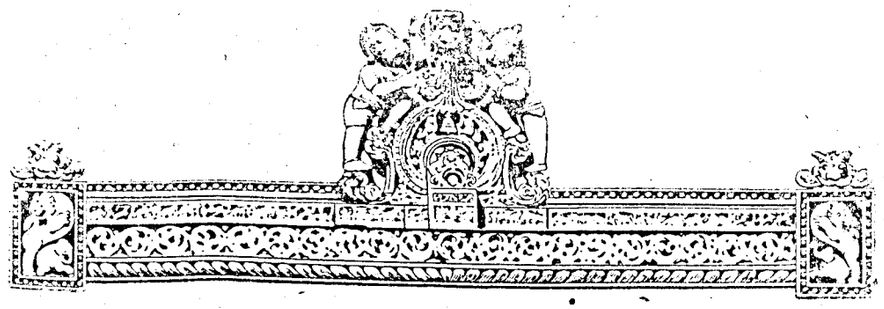

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